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# THE FORUM.

VOL. XXIX.

MARCH, 1900—AUGUST, 1900.

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1900

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Press of Wm. D. Jennings, New York.



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# The Forum

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MARCH, 1900.

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## GOVERNMENT DEPOSITS IN BANKS.

THE relations between the National Treasury and the banks have been a constantly recurring subject of scrutiny, criticism, and discussion ever since there has been a Treasury. They will doubtless continue to be, so long as the laws remain as they are ; and there seems to be little likelihood of any change that will take the subject out of politics—for the outbreaks of criticism have been almost wholly due to partisan politics. The temptation to exploit for partisan ends any act which may benefit a bank, even though the act be required for the public welfare, is irresistible to many people. All parties have done it whenever they have had a chance.

It sounds well to say, that the Government should keep out of the money market, that it should not interfere with the natural movement of prices or intervene to rescue defeated speculators. But the Government, with its existing independent Treasury, is necessarily a factor in the money market. Its ordinary revenues are now nearly \$50,000,000 per month ; and the operations of any institution that may draw on the circulating medium of the country at that rate must be of great importance in the money market. The Treasury operations are so intimately and inevitably connected with the money market that a do-nothing, or “go-it-blind,” management would sometimes involve the country in disaster. The most intelligent and skilful direction is required to keep them from disturbing the natural course of the market.

It matters not how people may disagree over other features of the

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money question, there is one point upon which they are of one mind, viz., that, given a certain volume of money, with business undertakings and calculations adjusted to that supply, a rapid and arbitrary contraction of the currency is to be avoided. Money is an instrument of commerce. Its office is to circulate through a community as a medium by which people may trade with each other. Modern industry is accustomed to its use ; and producers expect to make their exchanges through its agency, instead of by barter. They make their engagements in terms of money ; relying, as a matter of course, upon the usual supply being available. The actual volume of the currency is not primarily important, for if it bears the same relation to all products and services these will have correct relations to each other. But changes in the volume are very important.

There are only two movements by which the available stock in this country is liable to be reduced : (1) the export of gold ; and (2) its flow into the Government vaults.

Everybody understands that gold exports reduce the supply of money in the country, and that a continued movement necessitates a reduction of loans, a general curtailment of credits, and a check to business expansion. The outflow of gold, however, can usually be approximately estimated in advance ; and, furthermore, it can be checked, if it has serious results ; for, if money becomes tight, inducements may be offered that will stop the shipments. The flow of money into the Government vaults takes it out of use even more completely than its removal from the country ; for in the latter case its influence abroad will have a reflex effect here, while if locked up in the Treasury vaults it becomes dead and useless capital. The movement into the Treasury is more threatening for another reason, namely, that no one can tell how long it may continue. When the pressure of hard times becomes sufficiently widespread over the country to compel general retrenchment in living expenses, the revenues will, of course, decline, and Treasury absorption cease ; but that is after the mischief has been done. If, therefore, it is to the disadvantage of the country to have its money stock depleted by export, it is yet more to its disadvantage to have useless hoards accumulate in the Treasury.

The Government's receipts in January of this year exceeded its disbursements by the great sum of \$8,823,068. If this surplus were not diverted back into the channels of commerce, by the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it would be locked up in the vaults of the Treasury. This would mean a contraction of the currency at the



rate of \$100,000,000 per annum. Supposing a Secretary of the Treasury had it in his power to cause such contraction, by other means, what would be said of him if he did it? How the critics of the present Secretary would assail him if he were causing such contraction instead of preventing it! The contraction of the greenback currency inaugurated by Secretary McCulloch at the close of the war was at the rate of only \$4,000,000 per month; but a cry of protest was raised against it which Congress made effective by legislation. The very people who are most ready to find fault with the efforts of a Secretary to avoid an automatic contraction of the circulating medium through surplus revenues are at all other times most alert and vigorous in demanding an "adequate volume of money."

There are but two remedies against the movement of the currency into the Treasury: (1) To take up Government indebtedness; and (2) to keep the surplus in banks authorized to be made depositories. If the Government has indebtedness payable at will, the first course is always followed. If it has no indebtedness payable by its terms and its efforts to buy bonds in the market are defeated by advancing prices, there is no alternative but to divert its receipts into the depositories. And whether the Secretary of the Treasury at such a time happens to be a Republican, a Democrat, or a Populist, he will certainly take that action.

The practice is represented as advantageous only to bankers, and as adopted solely to give them the use of public money. Indeed, to hear some of the comments made upon the policy of depositing Government funds in banks, one would suppose that it was an unusual and extraordinary act, and presumably an indefensible one. On the contrary, the practice of keeping money in idle hoards is, in these modern times, the unusual one. Individuals, corporations, school districts, municipalities, counties, states, and all associations of men, public and private, ordinarily, and almost universally, keep their moneys in banks. If all the states of the Union and all municipalities and local governments were to adopt the plan of keeping their receipts locked up in their own vaults until disbursed in the regular order of expenditures, not only would the loss to the country, by reason of idle capital, be enormous, but the interference with business calculations and operations, by reason of the uneven supply of money in the market, would be most serious.

The Independent Treasury, with its own vaults, was the outcome of Andrew Jackson's successful war on the Bank of the United States,



and the subsequent collapse, in the crash of 1837, of the state banks, to which the deposits had been removed. When Jackson was inaugurated as President the Government funds were kept in the Bank of the United States, as the moneys of all European governments are now kept in semi-official banks. Under such a system the Government receipts are at no time withdrawn from the channels of circulation. Its receipts and disbursements meet and offset each other in the bank ; and whatever surplus there may be remains there, available for business use.

Jackson asserted that the bank was using its power in politics, that its management was unsafe ; and he determined to remove the public moneys. The forced contraction of loans which followed illustrates the evil inseparable from any sudden withdrawal or displacement of an accustomed supply of money ; and the popular denunciation of Jackson's " pet banks " shows that he had to take his full share of the kind of criticism since familiar.

The accounts we have of those exciting times are interesting reading. Carl Schurz, in his " Life of Henry Clay," says :

" Taney forthwith ordered the removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States ; that is to say, the public funds then in the bank were to be drawn out as the Government required them, and no new deposits to be made in that institution. The new deposits were to be distributed among a certain number of selected state banks, which became known as the ' pet banks.' The amount of Government money at that time in the United States Bank, which was to be gradually drawn out and not to be replaced by new Government deposits, was \$9,891,000. The bank resolved to curtail its loans to the extent of nearly \$7,000,000, which sum had been the average of Government deposits for several years. The money market became stringent. Many failures occurred. The general feeling in business circles approached a panic. The whole country was in a state of excitement."

Bolles' " Financial History " says :

" The sensation produced by this extraordinary act in commercial, financial, and business circles in every part of the United States was unprecedented. The banks everywhere, but especially in commercial cities, were compelled to call in their loans, and curtail their circulation ; trade and commerce became embarrassed ; distrust and uncertainty prevailed, putting a stop to enterprise ; almost every product was reduced in value and was unsalable ; manufactures were checked, laborers thrown out of employment, failures and bankruptcies were of daily occurrence, and general financial distress pervaded the country."

Again :

" When the deposits were removed from the United States Bank the Secretary of the Treasury placed them in state banks, which were called ' pet banks.' These in-

stitutions were directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to make liberal discounts in order to relieve the stringency caused by the new policy of curtailing discounts, which the Bank of the United States was obliged to adopt."

The following paragraphs from the "National Intelligencer" illustrate the kind of criticism that Jackson was subjected to at this time :

"It is known (for it has been boasted of) that the Treasury Department has lent the public money by \$500,000 at a time, in addition to the public deposits, to some of these *pet banks*. It is not known, generally, but it is a fact, that the Government, through the agency of one branch of it, has been borrowing *its own money* from the pet banks, and paying interest for it out of the public chest without authority to either in law or gospel. All this is well known to the Kitchen Cabinet, and they dare not deny it." (December 2, 1833.)

"What we have said and what Mr. Kendall dare not deny is that the Executive through one of its Departments is *borrowing the public money* at interest, from banks in which Mr. Kendall caused it to be deposited, and to which with his privity if not his advice (besides the deposits) the public money has been *unlawfully lent*, by \$500,000 at a time ; that both the borrowing and the paying interest are without any authority in law." (December 4, 1833.)

And the following extracts from speeches by Mr. Chilton, of Kentucky, and Mr. Gordon, of Virginia, in the House of Representatives, are samples of the assaults made upon the President in Congress. Mr. Gordon's flamboyant appeal for a larger "divy" on the strength of Virginia's deserts is quite familiar in style.

"Mr. Chilton : It is vain, it is preposterous, for gentlemen to tell me that either the throne, or the power behind the throne, is at all concerned for the existence of bank influence ; they are concerned for the *direction* which is to be given to that influence. They had sooner see the country beset by 500 'pet banks' and have them continually worshipping before the throne and shouting 'hosannas' to him that sits therein and to the 'heir apparent' than to tolerate the existence of one bank."

"Mr. Gordon : Sir, while the great State of New York, so justly styled the Empire State, in addition to all her other advantages natural and political, has her banking capital increased by the accession of more than \$13,000,000, by a single move of the executive arm, Virginia, the Old Dominion, receives from the same arrangement a little more than \$200,000 in gross revenue. Ay, sir, that ancient commonwealth, that has borne the battle and the breeze, which in all emergencies of this republic, if not foremost, has ever been found in the front rank of its defence, in this distribution of the loaves and fishes puts into her coffers \$200,000, while the great State of New York, with her army of representatives on this floor and all her preponderating weight in the councils of the nation, receives the modest and inconsequential sum of \$13,000,000."

Schurz, in his account of the great contest, says :

"The very business distress, which at one time seemed to become so dangerous to Jackson, was at last made to tell against the bank. The great mass of mankind can



easily be induced to believe evil of a powerful moneyed institution. It was not difficult, therefore, to spread the impression that the whole calamity had really been inflicted upon the country by the bank, the heartless monopoly, which without necessity curtailed its loans, pinched all business interests, and ruined merchants, manufacturers, and laborers, in order to bring an enormous pressure upon the President and Congress for the purpose of extorting from them the restoration of the deposits and the grant of a new charter. A monopoly so malicious and tyrannical must, of course, be in the highest degree dangerous to the public welfare and to popular liberty; it had to be put down, and there was nobody to put it down save the old hero; he was willing, and it was for this that the 'minions of the money power,' the 'slaves of the monster monopoly,' the 'subjects of the bank' in the Senate, were prosecuting him."

The panic of 1837 found the funds of the Government scattered in state banks, without security, or with inadequate security; and it suffered considerable loss. President Van Buren recommended that the Government cut loose from banks entirely, receive nothing but coin in payment of its dues, and keep that coin in vaults of its own until ready to disburse it. The followers of Jackson admitted that the use of state banks had been unsatisfactory, but they were unwilling to go back to a national bank. Security was the principal consideration urged for making another change. Daniel Webster, opposing it in the Senate, said:

"The very first provision of the bill is in keeping with its general objects and general character. It abandons all the sentiments of civilized mankind on the subject of credit and confidence, and carries us back to the Dark Ages. The first that we hear is of safes and vaults and cells and cloisters. From an intellectual it goes back to a physical age. From commerce and credit it returns to hoarding and hiding; from confidence and trust it retreats to bolts and bars, to locks with double keys, and to pains and penalties for touching hidden treasure. It is a law for the times of the feudal system; or a law for the heads and governors of the piratical states of Barbary. It is a measure fit for the times when there is no security in law, no value in commerce, no active industry among mankind. Here it is altogether out of time and out of place."

The proposition carried in 1840 was repealed a year later when the Whigs came into power, and again became a law under the administration of James K. Polk, in 1846. The act provided for the keeping of all public moneys in the Treasury, sub-treasuries, and mints. All collectors of revenue, postmasters, and public officers of whatsoever character were required to "keep safely, without loaning, using, depositing in banks, or exchanging for other funds than as allowed by this act, all the public money collected by them till the same is ordered by the proper department or officer to be transferred or paid out." With some modifications, the most important of which is the one

authorizing all national banks to be made depositories and financial agents of the Government, the act of 1846 still stands.

In the early years of the Independent Treasury the Government balances were small ; but the opponents of the system were soon able to point to its disturbing influence. On October 24, 1848, Webster discussed it at length in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall. He said in part :

“In the first place, gentlemen, as to this constitutional sub-treasury, I look upon it as one of the strangest fantasies, as one of the greatest deceptions, and as one of the least plausible political delusions ever produced by party power and party management. Is there a civilized and commercial country in the world that knows any such thing as locking up in chests and boxes, under bolts and bars, the public Treasury ? . . .

“I have been at some pains to investigate the matter, and I will state the results as I have learned them. The truth is this : when money is plenty, the sub-treasury is only a ludicrous, bungling, and annoying thing, forcing men of business to move about bags and kegs of specie, when the business would be just as well done by the passing of bank notes. When money is plenty, it is only expensive, bungling, useless, annoying, and ridiculous, but the moment that by the exportation of specie, or whatever other cause, money becomes scarce, and the exigencies of the business community begin to press, then it is not merely a harmless and ludicrous engine ; it then becomes a means of torture and distress, because its inevitable effect, when money is scarce, is to make it scarcer, and when it is difficult to be had, to increase that difficulty.

“I find that on the 25th of August last, the commercial banks in the city of New York had in their vaults \$5,800,000 in coin. That was the basis upon which they made their issues for the accommodation of the mercantile world. The sub-treasury had at that time in its vaults, in the same city, \$1,400,000. In the course of events, within one month, that relation was greatly changed ; for on the 29th of September, the banks had but \$4,600,000, while the sub-treasury had increased its amount to \$2,400,000. Thus, in a few days more than a month, the banks parted with \$1,200,000 of specie, and the sub-treasury obtained the additional sum of \$1,000,000. This change in the relation between the amounts of money in these respective depositories at once created a great scarcity of money. . . All practical men understand this. If a bank loses a certain quantity of specie, it must curtail its discounts, not to the same extent, but to three or four times that extent. . . This very operation, then, led to the necessary contraction of \$3,500,000 or \$4,000,000 in the commercial business of the city of New York. Now this demand of the sub-treasury could be made in one day, and when made in one day or in one week, it must be answered in one day or in one week. But then no banks could make the curtailment in one day or in one week or one month, to such an extent, without greatly distressing the community.”

The prosperous years of the early fifties gave increased revenues to the Treasury ; but the surplus was used in paying off a debt. The Secretary of the Treasury at that time, the Hon. James Guthrie, belonged to the party which had established the Independent Treasury, and he was himself an advocate of it. In his report for the fiscal year



ended June 30, 1856, however, he called attention to the harm that results from a continued drain of money into the Treasury. He said :

“The Independent Treasury, however, may exercise a fatal control over the currency, the banks, and the trade of the country, and will do so whenever the revenue shall greatly exceed the expenditures. There has been expended since the 4th of March, 1853, more than \$45,525,000 in the redemption of the public debt. This debt has been presented, from time to time, as the money accumulated in the national Treasury, and caused stringency in the money market. If there had been no public debt, and no means of disbursing this large sum, and again giving it to the channels of commerce, the accumulated sum would have acted fatally on the banks and on trade. The only remedy would have been a reduction of the revenue, there being no demand and no reason for increased expenditure.”

From 1856 to the breaking out of the War the Treasury was not troubled by surplus revenues. But when, in 1861, the Government faced the problem of raising large sums by loans, the necessity of some modification of the Treasury Act was recognized ; and the statute of August 5, 1861, contains the following provision :

“Sec. 6. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the provisions of the act entitled, ‘An act to provide for the better organization of the Treasury, and for the collection, safe-keeping, transfer, and disbursements of the public revenue,’ passed August six, eighteen hundred and forty-six, be and the same are hereby suspended, so far as to allow the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit any of the moneys obtained on any of the loans now authorized by law, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, in such solvent specie-paying banks as he may select ; and the said moneys, so deposited, may be withdrawn from such deposit for deposit with the regular authorized depositories, or for the payment of public dues, or paid in redemption of the notes authorized to be issued under this act or the act to which this is supplementary, payable on demand as may seem expedient to, or be directed by, the Secretary of the Treasury.”

The New York banks, which made three loans of \$50,000,000 each to Secretary Chase, in 1861, urged him not to remove any part of the proceeds to the Treasury vaults, but to make his current disbursements after the manner of their private customers, by checks on them, permitting them to pay the checks in whatever manner the holders might designate. They were confident that if the disbursements were made in this manner, the checks being deposited as usual with banks in different parts of the country, and passed through the clearing houses by the ordinary course, there would be only a light drain on their coin resources ; and by selling the bonds they acquired and turning over their capital rapidly they could continue to make loans for an indefinite period on a coin basis. Secretary Chase was not willing to adopt the plan proposed by the banks ; and the amounts subscribed by them were paid into the Treasury in instalments, and disbursed by it. Mr.

George S. Coe, who, at that time, was President of the American Exchange Bank, and prominent in the negotiations between the banks and Secretary Chase, says, in his "Financial History of the War" :

"To draw from the banks in coin the large sums involved in these loans, and to transfer them to the Treasury, thence to be widely scattered over the country at a moment when war had excited fear and distrust, was to be pulling out continually the foundations upon which the whole structure rested. And inasmuch as this money was loaned to the Government, and was in no sense a trust reposed in the banks, there appeared to them no reason why it should not be drawn by checks in favor of Government contractors and creditors who would require to exchange them for other values in commerce and trade through the process of the clearing house. . . .

"The banks began their work, paying into the Treasury in coin one hundred and fifty millions in sums at the rate of about five millions, at intervals of six days. Even with all these unfavorable circumstances surrounding them, it was an encouraging fact, observed by those who were anxiously watching the practical operations of the great and novel experiment, that, while the circulating notes in the country were restricted, the disbursements of the Government for the war were so rapid, and the consequent internal trade movement was so intense, that the coin paid out upon each instalment of the loan came back to the banks, through the community, in about one week ; the natural effect of this general commercial activity upon the circulating medium being simply to quicken its flow."

The associated banks of Philadelphia and Boston were coöperating with the banks of New York. The latter supplied over \$80,000,000 of the \$150,000,000 in coin turned into the Treasury ; and yet, after completing the third loan, they found that they had lost only \$7,400,000 of their coin reserves.

Soon, however, the paper currency issued by the Treasury began to crowd on the banks and to interfere with their receipts of coin. The banks could not continue to lend coin to the Government unless they received coin from the public. Mr. Coe says :

"But at this time the demand notes were paid out freely by the Treasury, and began to appear as a cause of embarrassment among the banks which were pressed to receive them on deposit ; and while they could not decline them without diminishing public confidence in the Government credit, they could not give them currency without impairing their own specie strength. In fact, the notes became at once a substitute for coin withdrawn from circulation, and their emission expressed a purpose of resorting to Government paper issues to carry on the war. So soon as these notes thus appeared, the reflux of coin to the banks at once sensibly diminished. During three weeks from the 7th of December, the reserves of the banks in New York fell to \$29,357,712—a loss of thirteen millions within that short period ; and on the 28th of December, after conference with the Secretary, in which he still adhered to the views before expressed, it was decided as expedient for the banks to suspend specie payments."



It has been believed by many able financiers that if the Secretary of the Treasury had followed the advice of these practical bankers—who were familiar with the economy afforded by the use of drafts, and with the facilities of clearing houses—instead of attempting to collect the proceeds of his loans in coin, transfer it to the Treasury, and thence bodily over the country, to make his disbursements, creating an extraordinary demand for actual cash, the suspension of specie payments might have been avoided, the cost of the war greatly curtailed, and the bonded debt held at much lower figures.

The National Bank Act passed in 1864 provided for the use of any bank in the system as a depository or financial agent of the Treasury ; and thus a means has ever since been available by which the Secretary of the Treasury has been enabled to so dispose of the receipts as to avoid unfavorable, disquieting effects upon commercial interests.

The provision is as follows :

“ All national banking associations, designated for that purpose by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall be depositories of public money, except receipts from customs, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary ; and they may also be employed as financial agents of the Government ; and they shall perform all such reasonable duties, as depositories of public moneys and financial agents of the Government, as may be required of them. The Secretary of the Treasury shall require the associations thus designated to give satisfactory security, by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise, for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the public money deposited with them, and for the faithful performance of their duties as financial agents of the Government. And every association so designated as receiver or depository of the public money shall take and receive at par all of the national currency bills, by whatever association issued, which have been paid into the Government for internal revenue, or for loans or stocks.”

Customs receipts were excepted because they were collected in gold, which at that time was at a premium, and which the Treasury desired to hold to meet the interest on the public debt.

In his “ Recollections ” the Hon. John Sherman, reviewing the steps to the resumption of specie payments, says :

“ A question arose whether the Secretary of the Treasury had the power to designate national banks as public depositories of the proceeds of bonds sold under the resumption and refunding acts. The object to be gained by this designation was to prevent the withdrawal of coin from circulation, and the undue accumulation of coin in the Treasury of the United States. If the exchange of one bond by another could be directly effected through the banks without the payment of coin, it would facilitate the process of refunding.

“ I submitted this inquiry to Attorney-General Devens, and on the 30th of August, 1877, he stated his opinion and closed as follows :

“In answer to your inquiry, I have, therefore, the honor to say that the Secretary of the Treasury, if he deems it expedient as a matter of administrative policy, may sell bonds under the act known as the “refunding” and “resumption” acts, depositing the amounts received therefrom with such public depositories as he may select under the National Bank Act, taking such security as is required by the statutes.”

Secretary Sherman also used the banks freely throughout his refunding operations in 1879 ; his deposits at the end of May of that year reaching \$279,544,645. To have drawn such an amount from the channels of trade and locked it up idle in the Government's vaults would have been wholly impracticable. To have attempted it would have defeated his refunding operations. But he was accused by ignorant and partisan critics of pursuing this policy for the sole purpose of giving profits to the banks.

In 1882, Secretary Folger found himself confronted with a surplus, and discussed it at length in his report for that year. Among other things, he said :

“What now perplexes the Secretary is not wherefrom he may get revenue and enough for the pressing needs of the Government, but whereby he shall turn back into the flow of business, the more than enough for those needs that has been drawn from the people.

“There are now in the Treasury unused assets to a large amount, and the daily receipts into the Treasury from customs and internal revenue taxation are about a million and a quarter.

“From the inequality between daily large receipts and comparatively small daily disbursements, there comes an evil effect upon the business of the country. The collections by Government are taken out of the money market in sums and at dates which have little or no agreement with the natural movement of money, and are returned to it with the same inadaptation to commercial and financial requirements. Occasionally the large disbursements of the Government have created a plethora of money ; more frequently its large and continued withdrawals of money have caused such a scarcity of floating capital as to check the proper movement of legitimate business. It is not only that the amount in the Treasury is so much kept from the use of the community ; the fact becomes an incentive and an aid to men who for their own ends conspire to keep from that use other large sums. We have believed that the laws of the state against primogeniture, the entail of estates and the accumulation of personal property, stood in the way of heaping up wealth in single hands, and gathering in single hands the power over others that great wealth gives. But so it is, that to-day there are men so rich that by conspiring together they can at will put and hold hand on near as much money as Government can lay hand to, save by the use of its credit. The power thus had is used from time to time. It results that violent and sudden contractions and expansions afflict the business community, and the Government is an unwilling aider and abettor therein. It has come about that the Treasury Department is looked to as a great, if not chief, cause of recurring stringencies, and the Treasury is called to for relief. Every Secretary of the Treasury for years past has had it brought clearly to his mind, and official expedients have been used to remedy the evil.”



He discussed the remedies within the power of a Secretary of the Treasury ; pointing out that bond purchases would only temporarily avail, because the price would be so enhanced as to render further purchases “ impracticable within reasonable bounds.” He suggested a larger use of depository banks, but urged as the permanent remedy a reduction of taxation.

Secretary Fairchild in his report for 1887 discussed the surplus revenues which then confronted the Treasury. He stated :

“ If we take into the Treasury large amounts of these circulating media in excess of what we pay out, there will soon not be enough in the hands of the people for the purposes of business ; serious derangement and disaster must follow, and a portion of labor must cease until the very evils which this wrong condition creates shall have worked a temporary cure by so diminishing the consumption of food, clothing, fuel, and luxuries, by the taxation of which the revenues of the Government are raised, that taxes do not exceed the expenditures of Government.”

He largely increased the deposits in banks ; and the administration was sharply criticised by the Republican opposition for “ favors ” to the banks.

Following Fairchild, and aware of the attacks by his own party upon the previous administration, Secretary Windom adopted the policy of buying bonds more freely, while Congress proceeded by liberal appropriations and tariff revision to relieve the Treasury from the embarrassment of a surplus. The troubles of the last administration were of another kind. A surplus in the ordinary Treasury operations did not appear again until within the present fiscal year.

Under this administration many things have occurred, which, under unskilful management, might have caused the Treasury to become a disturbing factor in business circles. Among these may be mentioned, first, the settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness, amounting to \$58,448,223.75—all received between November 26, 1897, and January 6, 1898 ; next, the Spanish War loan of \$200,000,000 ; and, finally, under the stimulus of good times, the ordinary revenues began largely to exceed the current disbursements.

Secretary Gage is fully justified in commenting upon the financing of the war loan, in his recent letter to Congress, as follows :

“ It will be readily recognized by every one that the absorption by the Government of a sum so large as \$200,000,000 within the space of a few weeks could not fail to disturb most seriously the general business of the country. In fact, it is not saying too much to allege, that were the Government to draw into the Treasury \$200,000,000 within a brief period of time, the financial disaster and ruin which would ensue would

be appalling. The obligation to avoid such unhappy conditions is one of which the Secretary of the Treasury is deeply sensible, and he feels with some measure of just pride that the financing of the war loan of 1898 was accomplished without the slightest interruption to that revival of commerce and the industries of the country which has made the present a period of unexampled prosperity."

Since June 1, 1898, the receipts of the Treasury, including proceeds of bonds, have amounted to about \$1,100,000,000. By the use of the depositories the Secretary has so disposed of this enormous sum as to receive and disburse it with very slight variations in the amount actually in the Treasury vaults, and with imperceptible effect upon the money markets of the country. The actual cash in the Treasury vaults has been as follows :

1898.	
July .....	\$232,601,739 13
October.....	304,550,685 89
1899.	
January.....	282,086,984 43
April.....	275,986,434 22
July.....	273,859,780 70
October .....	283,497,897 49
1900.	
January.....	273,159,422 86

Beginning with the month of August last the ordinary revenues have constantly exceeded the disbursements ; the surplus for the month of December, 1899, being \$7,603,544.91, and for January, 1900, nearly \$9,000,000. As there is every probability of a continued surplus for an indefinite period, it is apparent that the condition would threaten serious derangement in financial circles, if no method of diverting this surplus from the Treasury vaults existed. Particularly has this been true of recent months, when the war in South Africa—by cutting off a supply of gold which the business world had adjusted itself to receive, at the same time causing heavy expenditures by the British Government in Africa, all occurring when business undertakings throughout the world have been much extended—has led to a situation of unusual stringency in all money centres of Europe, and forced a gold movement from New York.

Secretary Gage first treated the situation with offers to prepay interest, next with offers to buy bonds, and then by diverting the internal revenue receipts into new depositories. Formal announcement was made of his purpose to take the latter step, and all national banks



were invited to participate by giving the required security. The responding banks were supplied in the order of application, and the applicants for smaller amounts first.

The length of this review forbids the use of space to discuss a revision of the laws governing the Treasury. Obviously, it would be desirable to secure such change of methods as would certainly prevent the Treasury from being, as Webster called it, a "bungling, annoying" factor in the business community, or "an instrument of torture and distress," and at the same time provide such definite rules for its management as would relieve the Secretary of the Treasury from the necessity of doing something that experience has shown cannot be done without subjecting him to unmerited criticism.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

## OUR MOHAMMEDAN WARDS.

SHORTLY after the recent unpleasantness between the Turkish Government and its Armenian subjects an Armenian gentleman wished to do something or go somewhere, but the police objected. Action of any kind is apt to confuse the police in critical times, and they much prefer that people should do nothing and go nowhere. Feeling the decision to be unreasonable in this case, the Armenian gentleman appealed for help to a Turkish friend in high official position. The Pasha, laughing, replied :

“I must tell you a little story. A certain man once asked an alchemist to give him a means of turning lead into gold. The alchemist named his price, which was paid. Then he gave the man a curious-looking powder, of which he was to sprinkle a little upon the melted lead in the crucible, while reciting a prescribed formula of words. ‘But,’ said the alchemist, ‘when you recite the charm be sure you do not think of the tail of a fox, for that will spoil everything.’

“The man thought this caution rather strange, but he went home with his philter, and set himself to make some gold without delay. When the lead was melted he began to add the powder and to recite the charm. But just then he happened to think, ‘What made that fellow imagine that I would ever think of the tail of a fox?’ And then he cursed himself for an ass ; for the result was what the alchemist had said ; his lead was still lead ! Again and again the man tried the recipe ; but when all was ready, and he began to recite the charm, the question of the fox’s tail always came into his mind, to spoil the transmutation into gold. I, myself, have no doubt that your request is quite reasonable. But the Armenian revolutionists have once suggested to us an idea which is like the idea suggested by the alchemist to the poor fellow who wished to declare a dividend on his lead. It is useless for me to try to help you with the police. They cannot forget the fox’s tail.”

Two years ago if a prophet had foretold that the peculiarities of the people of the Philippine Islands, of all people in the world, would influence the history and the policy of the United States, and even in some degree the qualities of our people, our answer would have been like that of the captain at the elbow of the King at Samaria : “If the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be?” Yet when Admiral Dewey surprised the world and poor Montojo by daring to sail into Manila Bay, without delay, upon a certain May morning, his decision to perform a perfectly clear and simple duty set in



motion a current of destiny which is sweeping us into novel experiences, new questions of policy, and unexpected duties.

We are a straightforward, plain-speaking people. We believe that we are of practical tendency, and not without a certain keenness of intellect. We hope that we are honest, and we know that we mean well. We expect other people to take us at this valuation, and hitherto we have not been seriously disappointed. But when the thrilling act of our Admiral flung the people of the Philippines under our tutelage, and when we supposed that the people of those islands would quickly find our instruction changing their lead into gold, we met disappointment. The Filipinos are going to force us to prove our qualities before they will accept them at a just valuation. Their minds are preoccupied by something beyond control.

This is particularly true of the Mohammedans who have so unexpectedly come into relations with America. The difficulty of dealing with these people is everywhere admitted. But the aim of this article is to aid in making that difficulty yet more clear. The Sultan of Sulu and his retainers in the various islands are going to require of us administrative abilities whose elements we must measure in advance, if we would not have bloody catastrophe lurk in each chapter of the future history of the occupation of Jolo.

The political history of the Spanish occupation of the Philippine Islands during 300 years is hardly more than a record of the incidents and consequences of continuous war with these Mohammedan islanders. Only within a decade or so have tolerably peaceful relations with them been established. We inherit from Spain sovereignty over the Sulu Islands, and over Mohammedan tribes in several other islands. But let us not forget that, for reasons which will later appear, we also inherit in the minds of these Mohammedans the place which the Spaniards have made for themselves as representative Christians through 300 years of almost uninterrupted fighting. Any preoccupation of mind of this nature must sway the acts of these people, notwithstanding our expectation of being taken by them for what we really are.

But there is a separate obstacle to easy relations of mutual confidence with these people. Mohammedans differ from the rest of mankind even in regions inhabited by wild tribes alone. A long and somewhat intimate acquaintance has given me admiration and respect for many Mohammedans as friends. Many of their finest qualities may be traced to the teachings of their religion. But dealings with

Mohammedans sooner or later bring one into contact with their essential peculiarity. They cannot avoid regarding others from a religious standpoint ; and they cannot set aside permanently the fact that God has commanded them to subjugate or exterminate all who refuse to believe in Mohammed. This Divine command shapes their conduct toward aliens, even when they themselves would like to forget it. It classes all of alien faith as Blasphemers ; and this fact once being fixed, inquiry as to minor detail is needless in their eyes. A Blasphemer (*kiafir* or *giaour*) is a Blasphemer. Wherefore ask whether he be American or Spaniard ?<sup>1</sup> It leads also to endless confusion in the use of words of ethical importance. Not only does "peace" mean something different to the Mussulman from what it means to the other party to a reconciliation, as will be seen below, but such words as "honesty," "kindness," "pity," and "piety," do not, in the mind of the Mohammedan, have the sense which the Christian gives them.

Sultan Haroun al Rashid of Sulu seems to have liberal views. Apparently he likes the Americans with whom he has had dealings. Perhaps he is as honest and magnanimous as his great namesake of Bagdad. Yet we cannot forget that for purely selfish reasons Haroun of Bagdad killed his best friend, the Vezir Jaffer. And the crime neither disturbed his own conscience nor stained his reputation with the people for justice and piety. The Moro Sultan has the same standards of right and wrong, if not the same vast power, as the Caliph of the eighth century. For moral conduct has small room for change among Mohammedans, because the "Thus saith the Lord" of their law-book applies to acts so much more frequently than to principles. A better understanding of doctrine is contrary to the whole spirit of the system. And so, whatever their personal geniality or amiability of disposition in dealings with aliens, the Divine command comes into the minds of Mohammedans, at the very moment of fruition, like the alchemist's suggestion of the fox's tail, to spoil the charm which promised to bring forth a shining virtue.

The full importance of this curious trait can only be gauged by gaining the Mohammedan point of view, as found in any compend of the Holy Law now in use in Mohammedan countries. Only by actual study of the books can one get an idea of the deadly earnestness of such expositions of the Divine Will. Yet these books to-day form the

<sup>1</sup> A proverbial expression of Mohammedans is, "Filth is filth ; ask no farther." "And as to the infidels, let them be deemed of kin the one to the other." Koran, chapt. 8.



foundation of theological and legal education as well as of aspiration in the hearts of the common people in all of those countries.<sup>1</sup> Space will not permit the quotation of more than a few essentials from the chapter on the treatment of aliens in the *Multeka*.<sup>2</sup> This chapter begins with a definition of the Holy War, or Jihad, as follows :

“The invitation to accept the true faith, and the making of war to the death upon all who refuse to accept it, is called Jihad. This is a permanent duty, which rests upon all Mussulmans. It is performed for all, however, if a sufficient number engage in it. First the Holy Prophet was instructed by the Most High to persuade men by promise of forgiveness to turn from their ways. He was next ordered to use any suitable means of controversy and persuasion. Finally he was directed to begin to fight before the Blasphemers (*kiafirs*) should do so, and thus the direction to fight against Blasphemers at all times and in all places descended to him. While some are engaged in the Jihad all others are freed from responsibility to do so. But if all abandon it, then all alike are sinners through such neglect. At the same time it is not an absolute and unconditional duty, for being war it means the destruction of that which God has built up ; and the Holy Prophet has said, cursed be he who destroys what the Lord has built and man is the building of the Lord. The duty rests upon the condition that the war be undertaken for the exaltation of the word of God, for the glorifying of religion, and for the suppression of depravity and sedition. The Jihad is not a duty to minor children nor to women, nor to slaves. But if the enemy attack, it becomes a duty to all, without conditions. If the enemy is winning the day, women, without permission of their husbands, and servants, without permission of their masters, take part in the battle.

“When the Blasphemers have been brought under siege we first invite them to accept the faith ; for the Holy Prophet did not begin to fight and kill before he had invited the enemy to accept the faith. If they accept and become Mussulmans, then all is well. If they will not accept the faith, we next invite them to become tribute-payers, if they are of a class that may be admitted under tribute. And it is forbidden to kill any person whom the invitation has not reached, without first renewing the invitation to accept the faith. To repeat the invitation to those who have certainly heard it already is merely an excess of precaution, for there is no obligation to repeat the invitation to any. If they refuse to accept the faith, and also refuse to become tribute-payers, then, asking the aid of the Most High God, we direct our missiles upon them. For thus the Holy Prophet directed his missiles upon Taif. We also burn and flood and destroy their fields, because the Holy Prophet used fire to burn a certain place, and turned the waters upon it, and cut down its trees, and spoiled its wheat fields.

<sup>1</sup> Abridged compends of the holy law, as used in the courts of India, exist in English. D’Ohsson, in his “*Tableau de l’Empire Ottoman*,” gives a translation into French of a large part of the *Multeka ul Ibhar* (the Junction of the Seas of Wisdom). This is the standard compend of the Hanefi school of the Sunnite branch of Islam. It notes points of divergence of other schools on details, and is accepted in principle by all orthodox Mohammedans.

<sup>2</sup> The translation is from the Turkish version (Government Printing Office, Constantinople, 1874). The passages quoted are in the words of the text, although much detail is omitted.

“Every city or land in the territory of the Blasphemers, which the Imam (leader or ruler) takes by force of arms, is divided among the Mussulmans, after the fifth has been taken out. For after the conquest of Khayber the Holy Prophet divided it among the Mussulmans. Or, if the Imam choose, he retains the population in their place, and lays tribute upon them and a tribute-tax upon their lands. For so the Caliph Omer, on whom be peace, when Sawad had conquered Irak, left the people in their lands and houses, and imposed tribute upon them and tribute-tax upon their houses and lands. If the Imam so orders, prisoners taken before the conquest was completed are killed. For thus the Holy Prophet killed the Beni Kariza. If the Imam prefer, such prisoners are made slaves ; or, if he choose, they may be left free as tribute-payers to the Mussulmans. Their becoming Mussulmans does not hinder their being slaves, since they did not become Mussulmans before they were taken.

“Any Blasphemer who becomes a Mussulman before he is taken saves his own life, and his young children, and all property which he has in his hand, and any property which he has committed in trust to a Mussulman. But his grown sons, and his wife, and his unborn child, and his servant, and his property in the hands of a Blasphemer, whether in trust or stolen from him, all these are booty for division. The enemy becomes booty for division as soon as taken. And whatever is in the hand of the enemy is booty for division, for the hand of the enemy is not a hand to be respected. Beasts which cannot easily be taken back to Mussulman territory are killed, and their carcasses burned with fire. Arms which cannot be carried into Mussulman territory are burned with fire, and those which cannot be burned with fire are buried, so that the enemy may not be able to find them.

“As to the method of division, the Imam, obeying the command of the Most High God, takes out one-fifth of the booty, and then he divides the rest among the warriors. A footman gets one share and a horse two shares ; but no man has a right to claim a share for more than one horse. There is no share for a slave or a child or a woman, for these are not warriors. There is no share for the tribute-paying subject ; for war against Blasphemers is worship of God, and the tribute-payer who is a Blasphemer cannot worship God. But, if the Imam sees fit some small thing from the booty may be given to the woman or the tribute-paying subject who has rendered important aid in the fight.”

The obligation is clear which compels every Mohammedan to regard and treat non-Mohammedans as enemies. Yet absolute power is confided to the Imam to decide when policy requires war to cease. This liberty given to the Ruler to suspend for a time the prosecution of war, and to make peace for the advantage of the Mohammedan state, is of great importance. It saves the dignity of the law during the present period of commercial relations between Muslim countries and the Christian nations. The section of this law which relates to the purchase of peace is of special interest in the present discussion, because the subsidy paid to the Sultan of Sulu is regarded by Mohammedan casuists as of this nature.

The phrases of the law are as follows upon this point :

“If there is need of money upon our side, it is lawful to accept money paid for the sake of having peace. The money so received is like a tribute, and the fifth is to



be taken out and the rest divided ; for it has been obtained in war by the power of the army. It is not lawful to pay money to the Blasphemers for the sake of peace, unless there is danger of extermination. For Mussulmans to be deprived by the hands of Blasphemers of that which belongs to them brings dishonor upon religion ; and that is forbidden by the Divine word.

“Horses, swords, or other arms must not be sold to Blasphemers, even after the conclusion of peace ; because the treaty is always subject to abrogation, and war is predetermined to begin on the abrogation of the treaty.

“If one person among the Blasphemers is guilty of perfidy in violation of treaty slaughter smites him alone. But if all agree to the act of perfidy, or if their king has authorized it, there is no reason to send warning before beginning to slaughter them, for the violation of treaty was from their side.”

It should be noted that wild tribes, like our Moro friends, may easily regard the act of a single man as an act of perfidy, which his friends may defend as being no such thing. In that case slaughter may be the response. This is the history of many of the English border troubles in India. But in all this grim exposition of the will of God toward those who do not accept Mohammedanism, a humanity appears which adds to the force of the impression of conscientiousness produced by reading it. It also convinces the adherents of the law that Divine mercy shaped its provisions. In view of the method and the logic of their law, it is not fair to stigmatize Mohammedans as merely bloodthirsty wretches when they put the law into execution. The demands of the law for humanity and justice are illustrated by the following paragraph :

“In dealing with Blasphemers, treachery, the breaking of covenant, robbery, and the cutting off of noses and ears and other members are forbidden. The killing of the women and the incapable is also forbidden. But if any of this incapable class are able to aid in war by giving advice or by giving of their wealth, or if one of this class is a king, all such are to be killed. The Holy Prophet once killed a man who was 120 years old, because he was still capable as an adviser.”

The law continues through page after page of minute detail in regard to the regulation of all possible relations of Mohammedans to aliens at home, or residing by permission in Muslim lands, or subject as tribute-payers to Mussulman authority. Throughout its cold logical reasoning or its illustrative digressions, it fortifies every conclusion by quoting the word of God in the Koran, or the comments or practices of the Prophet, and the consensus of expert commentators of old. The principle that the non-Mohammedan is an enemy, to be subjugated or killed for the glory of God at the earliest convenient moment, is the axiom of faith which underlies the whole chapter. This

axiom is held in abeyance wherever policy requires it, as at present in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, Morocco, Algiers, and Afghanistan. But it must not be forgotten that, whereas in a Christian country a long-continued peace gives grounds for the fostering of sincere friendship, in the Mohammedan nation which is party to such a peace the fact that the non-Mohammedan is an enemy is never suffered to drop out of mind.

Hence, in such a country there are always some ardent zealots for the glory of God earnestly longing to see the law put into active operation. Policy is the only reason for delaying the consummation, and zealots are not always far-sighted enough to understand policy. So we have many examples of the execution of the holy law on the appeal of some "mad Mullah," like him of the Pathan rising of 1897, on the frontiers of India, or like the Tuareg disturbers of the comfort of the French in Algeria, or as in the Indian mutiny of 1857, or in the Turkish massacres of 1895, or in the wild extravagances of the dervishes of the Sudan, whose last pitiful group of leaders but recently died in the name of the Almighty and All-compassionate One rather than dishonor religion by submission to Lord Kitchener. Where the active execution of the law is officially ordered, as in the formal declaration of war upon a Christian nation, it is used at its full value to fire the ardor of the troops. This was done by Turkish officials during the war against Greece over the Cretan question.

This law explains the wide difference between the accounts of travellers respecting the character of Mohammedan peoples. One will describe them as fierce and bloody bandits. Another visiting the same place says they are lamb-like in the innocence of their good will. When the first visited the place circumstances made the practice of the law proper ; but when the second went there some change of circumstances made suspension of the operation of the law more favorable to the Mohammedan interest. The law also emphasizes the reasons of the marvellous success of Mohammedan arms in past history. The reserve of a purpose of renewed war in signing a peace gives immense advantage over any nation which cannot maintain for years friendly relations with deliberate purpose to find thereby a suitable opportunity to attack and exterminate at a few hours' notice.

Furthermore, the rock-like unchangeableness of a law of God, the hazy notions which exist in Christian lands as to the details of this law, the suddenness of the change from seeming intimacy of friendship to uncompromising hostility, the insatiable thirst for booty, the classing



of the wives and daughters of an enemy as mere booty for division, and the rigid principle of destroying what cannot be used or taken away are all mighty instruments for crushing resistance. The most inhuman of non-Mohammedan Governments, lacking the stimulus of such a law, would hardly remember, in the hour of victory, to retaliate upon conquered Muslims literally in kind ; and so the blow of the Muslim would always be more telling than that of his enemy. The root and basis of the old Mussulman success in war has thus been, in the widest sense, his Divine commission to add land to land, that he may be alone in the earth.

The object of thus insisting on the peculiarities of the Muslim beliefs and practices respecting aliens is simply to urge the necessity of bearing them in mind in dealing with the Moros. Otherwise, we shall be greatly surprised when our officers first come in contact—as they surely will if they rely on their own good intentions—with the obstacles which this law offers to permanent peace in the Sulu Islands. Nevertheless, much can be said, and is said, in the direction of quieting distrust by assurances that this old law is practically a dead letter. To value such assurances rightly we have only to mingle with the people of any Mohammedan country. The holy law acts in two ways upon such people in a time of general peace :

First, it prevents, as has already been hinted, any amalgamation of interests between Muslim and non-Muslim ; keeping the Muslim populace in such a condition of feeling toward unbelievers that they are always cordially ready to respond to appeals for the execution of the holy law. The principle of perpetual hostility to unbelievers permeates the whole population of a Mohammedan country. Babies, almost before they are weaned, lisp the word “ Blasphemer ” on sight of a foreigner. Children cry it after the traveller in the street. Women drop it from their lattices in their cross-street comments on the dress fashions of the passing crowd. In private conversation between Mussulmans it is the usual term by which Christians are designated ; and one constantly meets illustrations of the effect of this habit in dealings with Mohammedans.

At a post-office in Turkey, shortly after the establishment of the international Postal Union, I presented a “ Century Magazine ” to be sent to another point in the Turkish Empire. The clerk demanded seventy-five cents instead of the eight cents which the law allowed. Appeal was made to the postmaster in his private office. He was a pleasant old man, but was dominated by the legal idea of the treat-

ment due a misbeliever. He said, " You are quite right in saying that periodicals go at newspaper rates, and that under that rule you may pay only eight cents for that magazine. But that rule was not made for this country. If one of our people wants to send such a big thing through the mails he has to get a book and send it, for we have no periodicals of that size ; and the postage on a book of that weight is seventy-five cents. That is what you must pay, for it is not meet that you should send printed matter of that weight for eight cents when good Mussulmans have to pay seventy-five." This seemed to be final. And the force of this illustration of the scope of inborn religious hostility was not at all weakened when, just outside the door, another clerk said to me, " Don't mind him ; he is an ass. Give me your paper, and I will send it off when he is not looking ! "

The second way in which this law acts in time of peace is in limiting national aims and policies. A passing glance at the administrative system of a Mohammedan country is often misleading, because Christians are employed in official position ; sometimes being given titles and rank and decorations, and, what is more to the purpose, salaries of considerable importance. But on closer inspection it will be found that such non-Mohammedans are still treated as a class apart. They are treated with scant respect. They are not admitted to responsibility ; because that would tend to overcome the principle of the holy law. They are assistants and counsellors, but not administrators ; inspectors or general staff officers, but never commanders of troops. It may not be fair to say that mediæval ideas such as we find crystallized in this law really represent the point of view of the modern, educated Mohammedan statesman. But there are none such at present in the Sulu Islands. And where there are men of this liberal class in positions of power in Mohammedan countries nearer to European civilization, their impotence in great crises is a matter of history. They cannot punish crimes which are justified by the holy law, and they are often hurled from power solely for lack of enthusiasm for this law.

In 1876, a riot of Mohammedans occurred at Salonica, in Turkey. The Mohammedan populace imagined that their sacred rights over a woman had been trampled upon by a consul ; and two or three consuls who had nothing to do with the case were killed by the mob. Under threats the Turkish Government arrested and executed, after enormous difficulties, the murderers of the consuls. But the minister who agreed to the execution was never forgiven, and the criminals were styled " martyrs " by all Mohammedan papers. To the Muslim their



punishment was a crime. Current history offers abundant proof that in Mohammedan countries it is not the liberal and enlightened statesman, but the religious doctors of divinity—who have never read a book outside of the dreary wastes of their religious literature—that control, by preëminence of knowledge of the holy law, the ultimate policy of the Government. This law exalts that self-seeking which is common to all humanity as a bar to the highest development ; it forms an essential portion of every course of Mohammedan education ; it is inseparable from the mass of doctrine of which it forms a part, so that religious revival in Mohammedan countries is always synonymous with reassertion of these time-worn principles. Hence we must bear in mind, without malice or harsh language, but with ceaseless vigilance of prudence, that the Mohammedan who has to deal with aliens to-day cannot escape the control of this law, unless he has first escaped the domination of those ideals of the religious man which his ancestors built out of their hopes and ambitions.

This law then offers us a useful measure for our treaty with the Sulu Sultan and the friendliness of his chiefs toward our officers. The experience of the Spaniards in the Philippines is instructive. At the outset the Spaniards won the favor of the Sultan by aiding him to put down a rival. They thus obtained a treaty which gave them security, and, as they claim, some degree of sovereignty. But after the lapse of years a Spaniard in Mindanao made aggression upon a Mohammedan, and suffered the terrible reprisals which the holy law prescribes on violation of a treaty by a single man among the misbelievers. Spain deemed these reprisals the lawless acts of brigands, and sent a force to punish the guilty as outlaws. But to the Moros the resentment of Spain was wilful association in the unlawful act of the first aggressor. Then came the solemn application, on the part of the Mohammedans everywhere, of that section of the holy law which requires the slaughter, without warning, of misbelievers whose king authorizes infraction of a treaty of peace.

During 250 years after that incident at Mindanao a state of war existed between all the Moro tribes in the islands and the non-Mussulman Filipinos and their Spanish masters. We note that during this period the Moros proved themselves to be incorrigible pirates, and then we pass on to other matters. But the Moros were not pirates. Piracy implies lawlessness. The Mussulmans of Sulu, of Mindanao, of Palawan, and of Tawi Tawi were merely executing a carefully worded law of Divine origin. Their action might have been changed at any

time by any who had knowledge of the terms of their law ; for there are many ways of making self-interest weigh on the side of peace. Possibly at the beginning a mere explanation of the misunderstanding respecting the legal quality of the origin of the turmoil might have sufficed. But it is probable that the Spaniards of the sixteenth century, who had carried the Holy Inquisition to the Philippines, followed principles of action toward Mohammedans which were not materially different from those obligatory upon Mohammedans ; for the Mohammedan law is, after all, a mere survival from the same Dark Ages that furnished the logical basis for the theory of the Inquisition.

Strong in the sense of right and duty the Moro tribes ravaged the coasts, and made the sailor's life in those waters a ceaseless terror. They killed or held for ransom hundreds of priests and officials, and carried off into slavery thousands of Filipinos, both men and women. They landed forces on various of the richer islands, and made the regulation offer : the acceptance of Islam, with participation in profits, or the payment of tribute, with protection from foray, or, as the alternative of these two, the death penalty. In the southern islands many became Mohammedans. Negros, Cebu, and a part of Panay submitted to tribute and received protection. Those who refused the two alternatives were killed ; and their wives, children, and other movable property were carried off for division according to the Divine rule : four-fifths to the soldiers and one-fifth to the Chief, with the understanding that two-thirds of the latter's portion would be assigned to permanent works of Godly benevolence. It can readily be seen that any who thought to dissuade the Sultan from such conduct, by appealing to his sense of equity or by pointing out the turpitude of these proceedings, wasted breath. Turpitude is not exhibited nor can equity be violated in actions which conform to an explicit command of the Most High.

At last, England began to thrash the Sulu Sea with round shot, and Spain also decided to put a sufficient naval force into those waters. Then the aspect of affairs changed. It was more advantageous for Islam that peace be arranged. The offer of Spain to subsidize the Sultan of Sulu, as England does her Indian tributaries, clinched the business. The holy law says that money given for the sake of peace may be accepted, for it is of the same nature as tribute. But it must be borne in mind that, although Spain called England and Germany to witness that the Sultan of Sulu acknowledged the sovereignty of Spain, the Sultan himself was in no position to bind his people by such



an admission. The right of private judgment in matters of religion is not recognized among Mohammedans, except in the line of obedience to the written law. For obeying the law a man cannot be punished. So to this day individuals who feel their hearts oppressed by the immunity enjoyed by misbelievers in those regions every now and then take up the waging of holy war as a private duty ; and Spain has had to do a good deal of bombarding of coasts, and of driving inhabitants back into the mountains, notwithstanding her treaties.

A few years ago, in a time of profound peace, Sultan Haroun al Rashid killed the Spanish Governor of Jolo with his own hand. We call it an act of perfidy. But it was not perfidy. Spain had promised to pay the Sultan so much a year, but had reserved no right to demand money from the Mussulman state. Yet the Spanish Governor, seeing the quietness of the Moros, and feeling strong in the Spanish right of sovereignty, issued orders for the payment of regular taxes by the Moros. The holy law says that only in danger of imminent extermination may Mussulmans pay money to the " enemy " for the sake of peace. Moreover, to the Moros the Governor seemed to have violated the treaty by demanding payment of the tax. And the law says that if the Blasphemers violate a treaty they may be slaughtered without warning. Accordingly the Sultan without warning walked up to the Spaniard and cut him down, while his retainers did the same by the astounded soldiers of the garrison. Then they pillaged and burnt the place, in accord with the law, and went home with a clear conscience.

Such illustrations of the bearing of the Mohammedan law upon past history compel us to be circumspect in our relations with the Moros. We are accustomed to deal with men in whom conscience at least is on the side of what we deem good government. But in this case conscience, from our point of view, is all the other way, and moreover cannot be weaned from its source of nourishment without violence to our rule of respect for the religious liberty of all men. Moros may be ignorant and imperfect Mohammedans. But, the more ignorant, the more certainly will they be under the control of their Panditas or doctors of the holy law. Such men cannot fail to do as they have done in the past in urging the people to live up to the privileges of their religious belief. Furthermore, the attention called to these people by the fact of the transfer of their destinies to the care of the United States will insure to them the advice of more devoted Mohammedans elsewhere. For this is the age of Pan-Islamic revival ; and already lineal descendants of the Prophet Mohammed have cast

their lot among the people of these islands, being honored by the people under the name of "the holy" (sherifs).

One of the strangest features of the growth of the "Question of the Philippines" since the battle of Manila Bay is the persistence of the appeal to the sense of duty. If Moros lived in the Sulu Islands alone they might be cast off to shift for themselves; a strong naval force being assigned to the work of preventing their forays, as the Spaniards finally did, by sinking at sight every unauthorized Moro boat which leaves the shore. But the scattered Moro tribes claimed as subjects by the Sultan of Sulu live in Mindanao and other islands by the side of non-Mohammedan tribes, some of which are Christian. If our forces were now to be withdrawn from the Philippines, Mohammedans would be at work devastating the fairest of the islands, in the name of the Lord, just so soon as they could find arms and ammunition for the purpose. To defend themselves the Christian Filipinos would vainly seek power, except in stooping to precise imitation of Mohammedan methods of war. This fact fixes the duty of the United States to control the Moros. We may not cause, much less may we invite, the outbreak of a war so beastly and so ruinous to all concerned. We cannot escape responsibility for the control of these people.

An understanding of the elements of this problem forces upon our notice two or three conclusions:

1. It must be decided at once, before the Moros have had time to feel that they have taken our measure, whether the policy of the United States toward them is to be war or peace. If a policy of war is to be followed, war must be made in a way that the Moros can understand. Gen. Weyler's experience in this line proves this. He prepared a great campaign against the Moro tribes in Mindanao. The force which he took with him was so large that peace was clearly in the interest of the Mohammedans. Hence Gen. Weyler could find no one to fight; and even he was too tender-hearted to devastate peaceful villages. But his army was decimated by disease, and he withdrew it. Then the Mohammedan interest lay in the direction of war; and the raiding and pillaging went on almost as before. The model of a policy of war is offered by the Moros themselves, or by the Russians who had to deal with the Mohammedan tribes of Central Asia. It is to look at your enemy as untamable, to seize any trifling opportunity for the end in view, to have an overwhelming force, and then to strike without conscience; literally killing every living thing when the battle occurs, and destroying everything that cannot be carried away



after the victory is won. The expense of such a policy will be great, the bloodshed terrible ; but a few successful encounters conducted on this principle will secure abject submission and peace for a generation.

2. If war of this class seems too dreadful for Christians to plan in cold blood, the policy of peace, too, should be made intelligible to the Moros. Peace can be had by following in the main the English model of policy toward Muslim tribes. The theory is clearly to show that peace is the interest of the Mohammedans, but to do this in milder ways than above suggested. The officers in contact with the Moros should study the Mohammedan law of conduct toward aliens ; so that they may know the meaning of, and the remedy for, difficulties which arise. Following the precept of the holy law itself they should see to it that modern arms and ammunition are not sold to the Moros. The Sultan should be warned that raids by any tribe will be punished by pitiless reprisals upon the district of their origin, but without detriment to friendly relations with himself, and without harm to Mohammedans of other districts. The threat should be made good by irresistible punitive expeditions swiftly following the offence.

The subsidy to the Sultan and his officers should be maintained. It may be unpleasant to learn that his ignorant people regard the subsidy as tribute paid to Islam by the Blasphemers of America. But a few thousand dollars paid to leading Moros is the cheapest means of insuring correct judgment on their part of the true direction of Mohammedan interests. Our own naval and military forces should be much larger than would suffice elsewhere ; and, at all points selected for permanent posts in Moro districts, they should be very much in evidence, and very wide awake to methods of defence against sudden attack. In a word, the success of this policy depends largely upon following the principle of a quaint Mohammedan proverb : " See that the post is strong to which your donkey is tied, and then go in peace, trusting in God for his safety."

3. Whichever policy is determined upon, it should be an axiom that our control of the Moros, at present, shall extend no farther than control of their relations with others. This includes, of course, the ending of slave-raids. Such raids belong to a state of war alone, according to the Mohammedan law ; and the capture of slaves is understood by themselves to be incompatible with peace. Mohammedan laws governing relations of believers with believers are carefully elaborated and fairly equitable. They are based on the principle of the brotherhood of all believers, upon consideration for the poor and the

feeble, and upon retaliation in kind for offences. The Moro "sherifs," or judges, probably administer these laws with reasonable fairness. In any case, our undertaking is large enough if limited to controlling Moro relations with their non-Mohammedan neighbors. Until that is accomplished it would be unwise to attempt to reform what is unpleasing in their theories of life within their own tribes.

These three points roughly outline plain conditions of safe dealings with our Mohammedan wards, the Sultan of Sulu and his lively co-religionists. But another element of the question must be hastily indicated before closing this paper. My intercourse with believers in the Koran has convinced me that the Mohammedan is a reasonable being, notwithstanding his holy law of hostility to aliens. He is not psychologically different from other men. He is of like capacity with other men for the finer feelings. The Mohammedan holy law is perhaps most obnoxious to our interests in the barrier which it has raised, with deliberate purpose and forethought, against the possibility of acquaintance by Mohammedans with the ideas of the rest of the world's inhabitants. For the holy law carefully insures that non-Mohammedans shall present to the Mohammedan that side of character only which the heat of conflict evokes in the best of men. The ordinary Muslim, and especially so ignorant an ordinary Muslim as the Moro tribesman, really believes that the non-Muslim world thirsts for his blood ; knowing neither righteousness, justice, nor mercy.

Therefore, the line of defence against dangers caused by the teachings of this law is the line of educating Mohammedans into that acquaintance with the sterling qualities of other men which the law dreads. This is not a theory, but a well-tested result of experience. Leaving out of the question the constitutionally predatory class whose representatives are found in every nation, and without detailing illustrations which prove the fact, it may be asserted that when a Mohammedan discovers in a non-Mohammedan friend a true man, sober, temperate, pure in morality, and just and chivalrous in the treatment of others, he is astounded beyond measure. But he at once concludes that his holy law is not intended to govern his relations with men of such angelic temperament. He, therefore, tends to become a sincere and trusty friend.

The fact that Mohammedans can be moved in any degree by contact with high, manly qualities is the one fact which relieves the dismal prospect opened up by a study of the existing ground-work for our future dealings with the Moros. It should be utilized to the ut-



most. Officials who are to come in contact with these people should be carefully selected men, with definite instructions to study Mohammedan prejudices. All their acts should aim to conquer aversion deeply rooted in such prejudices. They should be scrupulous in personal habits, and careful in consideration for the rights of the Moros as men. Such small things should be borne in mind as the religious duty of Mohammedans to resent the most trivial attentions to their women, their religious hatred for hogs and those who have to do with swine, and their religious admiration for men who do not drink liquor. Scope should be prepared for such potent influence as could be exerted by the surgeon of a military post who would treat on certain fixed days patients from outside the lines. For there is hardly a limit to the gratitude of a Mohammedan who has been healed, or has seen his children healed, by the skill of a first-class physician.

Grant that the Moros are savages besides being Mohammedans. The process of educating them into friendliness by a thoroughly wise and peaceful policy will necessarily be long. But it will succeed, if at the same time we are careful to let the Moros see the mailed fist, because we never forget the "tail of the fox." HENRY O. DWIGHT.

## RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE whole civilized world is watching the position of affairs in South Africa, and anxiously awaiting the course of events, which cannot fail to be of international importance ; affecting all classes of every community, especially in these United States of America. While the combatants are preparing for fresh efforts, it may be well for those who are precluded from partaking even in the preparations for the approaching struggle briefly to review the situation and the circumstances which have led up to it. It is surely due to each of the combatants that the American public should do deliberate justice to its cause ; and, on our part, self-respect demands no less.

My information as to affairs in South Africa is not wholly derived from books or periodicals. In 1896 I spent several months in the Transvaal. Uitlander and Boer alike were kind to me. I studied grievances as an eyewitness, and saw how my friends fared in Pretoria gaol. I repeatedly heard the Boer side of disputed questions, as well as the other ; and I discussed at length with President Krüger the franchise and other matters. For a specific purpose, I acquainted myself as far as I could with the conditions then prevailing and their causes, and have since kept myself fairly well informed of the course of events.

The history of the Boers during the past seventy years is one of the most romantic episodes among the chronicles of the past. The story has often been told, best of all by Mr. George McCall Theal, the authoritative and impartial historian of South Africa.

No one acquainted with South African affairs would now deny that between 1814 and 1836 the treatment which the colonists of Dutch descent at the Cape received at the hands of the British authorities was harsh and inexpedient. This was not the result of any deliberate intention to oppress the Boers, but arose from lack of due inquiry and consideration. The modern colonial policy of Great Britain had not then been developed, nor did the colonies of other nations afford her examples of greater liberality. Results, however, do not wait on motives. As a consequence of these conditions a large number of the Boers "trekked," or migrated, northward from the Cape



of Good Hope into the wilderness, where they faced with admirable nerve the difficulties of existence in a region swarming with savage beasts "and savage men more murderous still than they." The advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon colonization repeatedly overtook the Cape Dutch in their retreat from the sphere of British influence, and brought about renewed treks, until the outposts of the Boers beyond the Vaal River were nearly exhausted by their efforts, their resources almost gone, and their coherence weakened by suffering. Confronted by an empty treasury and the hostility of powerful native tribes, a part of the Transvaal Boers inclined to abandon the struggle in 1877, and to seek protection under the British flag. The country was annexed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, partly at the desire of some Boers, and partly on the plea that the weakness of the Transvaal Republic was a menace to British interests. Many of the Boers, however, and, as it turned out, a majority of them, were opposed to annexation. War, and the battle of Majuba Hill, followed. Peace was made in 1881 by British statesmen acting, as men usually do, from mixed motives, which, of late, have been much discussed. To me the central fact appears to have been that the Transvaal was supposed to be an absolutely worthless region, incapable of supporting a large population or a powerful community. To do much fighting for such a possession seemed to be a purposeless sacrifice of life ; and, in this sense, Mr. Gladstone's cabinet was very properly "afraid" to continue the struggle. Had the Transvaal, in fact, been able to support only a sparse and needy pastoral population, few regrets would now be heard that Majuba remained unavenged. After all, vengeance for its own sake is neither a Christian policy nor an expedient one.

The Transvaal was reëstablished as a state by the Conventions of Pretoria and London, made respectively in 1881 and 1884. These documents have been reprinted in many works of late years, and are, therefore, readily accessible to the public. In 1885 gold was discovered at Johannesburg, and in 1887 production began ; drawing to the country a large number of foreigners or Uitlanders, chiefly British. In 1896 the number of adult men among the Uitlanders considerably exceeded the adult male Boer population ; but, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the total Boer population of the Transvaal has always greatly exceeded the total Uitlander population, which included relatively few women or children. At the beginning of 1896 the Uitlanders appear to have numbered about 75,000, and the Transvaal burghers, including their families, about 125,000.

The Boers witnessed the growth of the foreign population with alarm and chagrin. They had made portentous sacrifices to escape from British rule, and now looked upon the immigration of gold-miners as no better than a peaceful invasion. The only way open to them to check the influx was to make residence in the Transvaal for a British subject as uncomfortable as possible ; the only way to retain control of the government of the republic was to make the conditions of obtaining the franchise so onerous that few foreigners would submit to them ; the only mitigating feature to the Boer mind of the presence of the miners was that they could be compelled to contribute to the state a vast revenue.

A man must be very hard of heart who does not sympathize in some measure with the Boers. Appreciation of their struggles is shown even by those who have most keenly felt the hardships to which the mining population has been subjected. Thus, Mr. Fitzpatrick, secretary and mouthpiece of the Reform Committee, wrote :

“The story of the trekkers is one of surpassing interest, and must enlist for them the sympathy and the unbounded admiration of all. . . They fought, and worked, and starved, and died for their land of promise, where they might hope to be alone, like the simple people of their one Book ; where they might never know the hated British rule ; where they might never experience the forms and trammels, the restlessness and changes, the worries, the necessities or benefits, of progressing civilization.”

Sympathy, however, is a very different matter from approval ; and particularly in this case is it needful to examine both sides of the question, lest sentimentalism should supersede even-handed justice.

When Great Britain consented to the restoration of the internal independence of the Transvaal state, and later to the establishment of the South Africa Republic, conventions were drawn up which are hardly model state papers, and are not so specific as they should be concerning the rights of British subjects. It is there stipulated, however, that all persons who remained loyal to her Majesty during the late hostilities “will have full liberty to reside in the country, with the enjoyment of all civil rights, and protection for their persons and property.” It is also stipulated that all persons conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic shall have full liberty to enter or reside in any part of the republic, to own property, carry on commerce, and be exempt from taxes other than those which are or may be imposed on citizens of the said republic. The spirit of the conventions was, clearly, that *bona fide*, white, permanent immigrants should have the same rights as the Boers.



At one of the conferences preliminary to the signing of the Convention of 1881, Mr. Krüger emphatically stated, that there would be equal protection for everybody, British or Boer, and no difference in privileges so far as burgher rights were concerned, adding : " There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country." Very possibly Mr. Krüger may have meant what he said four years before the discovery of gold on the Rand, and when he foresaw but little immigration, limited chiefly to cattle-breeders. It is certain, however, that the spirit of the Convention, as understood by the British, and as interpreted by himself, was not observed, and that every obstacle which the most pettifogging interpretation of the letter of the Convention of 1884 would excuse was thrown in the way of the Uitlanders. The picture was not all black, indeed, as has sometimes been alleged ; for, in spite of oppressive exactions, the best mines made enormous profits. And while the Uitlanders suffered much, many of them also grew very rich. The grievances of the Uitlanders have been dwelt upon at such length, and so many times, during the last few years, that it is needless to enumerate them here. Extremely heavy taxes were laid on such articles as the Boers did not consume ; oppressive monopolies were granted to favorites of the state ; public meetings were forbidden ; freedom of the press was denied ; education in English was substantially refused ; the attainment of the franchise was made impracticable ; and there were several other matters of complaint.

An Anglo-Saxon community could not be expected patiently to endure such conditions, least of all a community with the adventurous spirit of an Anglo-Saxon mining camp, where the proverbial *suaviter in modo* is held in no great estimation. The grievances were very real and very trying ; their most irritating feature being that they were clearly needless, if not intentionally designed to be oppressive. Mining men do not shrink from hardships when they recognize them as unavoidable ; but deliberate imposition is quite another matter. In North America, or Australia, or British South Africa, industry and citizenship are open to all white men, without any restriction as to nationality ; and such a thing as discrimination against any white race is unknown. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg regarded themselves not as a necessary evil, but as the benefactors of the country, and the only people in it worthy of much consideration. From the point of view of industrial civilization they were entirely right, though the Boer, of course, thought differently. The Uitlanders endeavored to

obtain reforms by argument and petitions, but in vain. Looking back to that time it would seem that the most politic course would have been to transfer the agitation from Pretoria to London. It is true that representations were fruitlessly made in London ; but persistent efforts must eventually have induced the Government to enforce equitable treatment of the Queen's subjects by the Transvaal. The right at that time was all on the side of the Uitlanders. These, however, were impatient of delay.

Then came the reform movement of the National Committee ; the arming of the Uitlanders ; and, in too close association with it, that monumental piece of folly and ridiculous fiasco, the Jameson Raid. The advantages of a just cause were for the time being thrown away. Great Britain and the Uitlanders were put upon the defensive ; race animosities were stimulated ; and the 125,000 Transvaal Boers, the 75,000 Orange Free State Boers, and the Cape Dutch, rather more numerous than those of the two Boer states, were drawn closer together. The Afrikaner Bond, an association with the motto " Africa for the Afrikaners," *i.e.*, practically, for the Boers, had new life infused into it ; and the astuteness and determination displayed by President Krüger made him the natural leader of his race. The Transvaal, which had already been fairly well supplied with weapons, began arming to the teeth—a procedure for which the Raid gave an excuse ; the national idea grew apace ; and Mr. Krüger, if not more resolved, became more hopeful of forever excluding men of British blood from political rights or wider industrial privileges.

The British Government, at last thoroughly awakened, pressed for reforms, though negotiations were sadly hampered by the shadow of the Raid. For some time it was hoped that the Transvaal would listen to reason. A year after the Raid she would probably have been allowed to restrict the franchise closely to those who made evident their intention of casting in their lot permanently with the republic, and she might have assuaged the demand for the franchise by genuine reforms. But no. President Krüger was determined against compromise, or any measure which might stimulate immigration. He also seems to have convinced himself of the possibility of turning back the tide of Anglo-Saxon colonization. Three years ago such an idea appeared to be confined to a few Boers, if indeed it existed at all. On a number of occasions, in 1896, Boers confided to me that a war with England must end in the destruction of the republic, but that if the attempt were made to annex the Transvaal, they intended to sell their



lives as dearly as they could. With the accumulation of munitions of war, and the increase of race feeling in South Africa, Mr. Krüger's ambition grew, or, at least, came to seem more feasible, until he fairly challenged the British Government to enforce its demands for equitable treatment of its subjects. In October last it became evident that Great Britain had made up her mind to obtain justice for the Uitlanders, even at the cost of war. Thereupon, Mr. Krüger, acting wisely from a military point of view, seized the initiative, declared war himself, and selected his own positions with great judgment.

It never seemed to me doubtful that the Boers would be good men at reconnaissance work, good judges of positions, and stubborn fighters ; but they have also displayed tactical ability and generalship which have astonished most observers. They have shown qualities so admirable as to prove that their destruction would involve the loss to the world of a valuable strain.

The foregoing sketch of the conditions which have led up to the South African war is intended to be impartial, and as just to each side as a mere summary can be made. It remains to be considered which of the combatants is in the right and deserves American sympathy.

The Boers are fighting for race domination, for the enthrallment of industry, for the maintenance of a social condition which is mere semi-civilization. The English are fighting to obtain for British subjects in the Transvaal no greater rights than all white foreigners enjoy in every portion of the British Empire and in the United States : the right of franchise on reasonable terms, reasonable industrial conditions, and liberty to be civilized after the manner of Anglo-Saxons.

There are some who think that the Boer community has a right to complete control of its own territory, and to be as uncivilized or as tyrannical as it may choose. But this is an error. There is an international right corresponding to the right of eminent domain. All rights are enjoyed either by nations or by individuals on the tacit understanding that they be exercised with due consideration for the rights of neighbors and of the greater public. The Boers are attempting to arrest the march of civilization, to hamper industry, and to retard education. England is fighting the battle of civilization. A state may not oppress the subjects of other powers, nor commit injustices under the shelter of pettifogging interpretations of treaties or conventions. This it may not do because there is no international police court which will uphold legal quibbles and evasions. England

is fighting for an honest interpretation of the Convention which established the South African Republic.

No one on earth values freedom more than the Boers ; but, much like the early New England Puritans, they regard it as a treasure to be protected jealously lest some one else should share it. They want a monopoly of the rights of free men. They are fighting for freedom to deny freedom to others, to establish a corruption of blood which shall exclude the Anglo-Saxon race from what the Boers consider their heritage.

In spite of their picturesque mediævalism, and the gallantry of their attack on a vast empire, the Boers are wrong. The British are fighting for ideas most dear to the American heart—ideas for which under analogous conditions the United States would fly to arms. They deserve our moral support and cordial good wishes. At present they wish nothing more. It is, however, in my opinion, a great mistake to suppose that they will, or should, make peace with the Boers until they can dictate terms from Pretoria. Before that time comes we may have an opportunity of reciprocating the service the British Government rendered us not long ago. The end of it all is certain. The Boers will have greater freedom and better government than their own oligarchy has ever given them ; the rights of all men, white or black, will be better respected in South Africa than they have been heretofore ; the British Empire will be knit closer by the participation of the colonies in imperial affairs ; and the army will have undergone a valuable, though bitter and bloody, experience.

In my opinion Americans should desire, and a great proportion of Americans do desire, that this consummation should be reached speedily, with as little loss of life as practicable.      GEORGE F. BECKER.



## ENGLISHMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

LOYALTY TO THE OLD COUNTRY DEVELOPED RATHER THAN  
DIMINISHED BY ABSENCE FROM ITS SHORES.

LOYALTY on the part of Great Britain's sons in distant lands has played so remarkable a rôle in the war now in progress in South Africa that it may not be amiss to offer a few words of explanation concerning the position of the very large number of English people who make their home in the United States. Of all the foreign-born inhabitants of this country, they furnish in proportion the smallest number of applications to the courts for letters of naturalization. The Englishman, especially the Englishman of the better class, when he crosses the Atlantic, and settles in America, manifests an extraordinary reluctance to abjure his allegiance to the British Crown, and as a general rule refrains from taking any steps to become a citizen of the United States. In fact, he lives and dies in this country as a full-fledged Englishman; and it is only his children, born and educated on American soil, who grow up as citizens of the United States, and as champions of the Stars and Stripes.

At first sight it may appear ungracious, as well as ungrateful, that a foreigner should make his home in this country, enjoying its advantages, without applying for naturalization; and still an Englishman myself, although resident for some ten years in the United States, I have sometimes been called to account about the matter in a kindly and good-natured fashion by my many friends here. But I have noticed that Americans who take up their quarters in England are very chary about surrendering their rights of citizenship of the United States; and there is no doubt that the few who have done so have seriously lost rather than gained thereby in the eyes of the English people. The latter will always prefer a true blue American to one who turns his back, metaphorically speaking, upon Old Glory, and who spurns the inestimable privileges and prerogatives that are the birth-right of every citizen of the United States. I cannot help thinking that people here must, on reflection, entertain much the same ideas with regard to those of my countrymen who are fortunate enough to

make their homes in the United States, and that at heart they do not think the worse of us for declining to abandon our loyalty to our Queen and our allegiance to the Union Jack.

The majority of Americans in England are perfectly satisfied to be governed by English laws, and by English authorities, without any wish to interfere in their administration. It is the same with the English here in the United States. If we do not seek naturalization, if we remain true to the Old Flag, it is because we feel that we can do so without giving offence to our American friends, and, above all, without any conflict with the obligations which are imposed upon us by the hospitality which we enjoy here. We are not treated like *Uitlanders*, but with the same degree of cordiality and friendship that Americans invariably meet with in England.

There is so much sympathy between our two countries, so great an analogy between their institutions, the system of law and justice being almost identical, that it is possible for us Englishmen in America to remain loyal to our Queen, and to fulfil our duties of—well, let me call it—honorary citizens of the United States, at one and the same time. If we do not apply for naturalization, it is because we do not feel the need of franchise, and if we do not want the franchise, it is because we do not experience the necessity of having any voice in the government. The English in the Transvaal only asked to be allowed to participate in the administration of the republic by means of a parliamentary vote, because they considered that they were badly governed, and were consequently dissatisfied both with their own condition and with the authorities to whose rule they were subject. We Englishmen in America are perfectly satisfied with the system of government that we find in the United States, and are content to comply with all the laws and usages of the land, without desiring to modify them in any way. In fact, there is no reason why we should wish for any change. We have not the slightest objection to being governed by native-born American citizens; and as for those eminent American statesmen, legislators, judges, and bosses in general who are of Irish birth—well, we English have long been accustomed to be ruled by the Irish.

Many of England's greatest ministers, and certainly a number of her most famous soldiers and sailors, have been Irishmen. Our most persuasive and successful diplomats hail from the Emerald Isle; while in every British colony that I have visited, there has always been one or another of my Irish friends filling the position of governor, of colo-



nial secretary—in one word, of boss of the place. From this it will be seen that there is everything to make Englishmen feel quite at home here, and delighted with their surroundings ; and if our countrymen had only been one-hundredth part as kindly and, above all, as justly, treated in the Transvaal as we Englishmen are in the United States, there never would have been any war in South Africa.

By refraining from abjuring their allegiance to the British flag, and their loyalty to the Queen, the English people in the United States cannot be said to shirk or evade any obligations. We pay the same taxes and the same rates as if we were full-fledged citizens, and are content to forego any voice with regard to the expenditure of the revenue thus contributed. Perhaps this circumstance may be taken as an offset for our exemption from jury duty, which is about the only immunity that we enjoy. Nor can this even be regarded in the light of a privilege. In all civilized countries trial by jury, that is to say by one's peers, is looked upon as a highly prized prerogative of inestimable value. Does not the very fact, therefore, that we Englishmen here should ask for no representation in the jury box, and be perfectly satisfied to rely upon the spirit of justice and equity of our American fellow-citizens, constitute a token of confidence, and a tribute to their sense of honor, rather than any disposition on our part to shirk civic obligations ?

It is easy to understand why immigrants hailing from other parts of the Old World should hasten to cut themselves adrift from the land of their birth, and seek to acquire American citizenship as soon as possible after landing on these shores. The difference is so vast between the institutions of the country which they have left behind and those in this Western Hemisphere, that they cannot but hail with delight the altered conditions of their existence, and be anxious to turn their back forever on the thralldom to which they had been subjected until the moment of their expatriation. For even in republican states, such as France and Switzerland, the freedom of the individual bears an entirely different interpretation from what it does here. There, liberty is more a figure of speech than anything else, and in every direction intellectual and material activity and enterprise are hampered by restrictions imposed by governments that are liberal only in name. For everything that one does it is necessary to obtain the permission of the authorities ; while it is hardly possible to take a solitary step without finding that one has been guilty of infringing, if not some law, at any rate, a police regulation. It is easy to understand, therefore, that when

an emigrant from Continental Europe lands in America he should become positively intoxicated by the new-fledged sense of freedom and absence from restriction which he for the first time experiences, and should lose no time in forswearing all allegiance to the land that he has left behind him.

With Englishmen it is different. As I have stated above, our institutions are almost identical with those of the United States. True, the American executive is a President, whereas the head of our government is a Queen. But it may be questioned whether the former does not possess a greater degree of personal authority, whether the sway that he administers is not more imperial in its character, than that of our Queen. Save for the fact that our executive is hereditary, and that of the United States electoral, I can see no difference. Things here are, in one word, so very much like those in England, that we Englishmen in the United States experience no necessity or wish to change our condition.

If anything could tend to make us feel more at home in America than is the case, thanks to this analogy of institutions, and to the spirit of kinsmanship, it is the universal respect, one might almost say veneration, with which our good old Queen is regarded throughout the length and breadth of the United States. We are thoroughly made to understand that nowhere out of England are Victoria's virtues as a woman and as a wise and sagacious administrator more keenly appreciated than among the English-speaking people in the Western Hemisphere. This is very grateful to the Englishman resident here, and tends still further to strengthen the ties that draw him toward his American fellow-citizens. For, while at home John Bull may occasionally grumble about this or that member of his reigning family, sometimes even about his Sovereign—it is a birthright of the Englishman to grumble—he ceases to do so the moment that the white cliffs of old England fade from his sight. I will not say that distance lends enchantment to the view. But there is no doubt that there is nothing which develops the loyalty of an Englishman to his Sovereign to such an extent as expatriation, and that there are no hearts that beat with more whole-souled and enthusiastic loyalty for their aged Queen than those of Englishmen across the seas, and who gaze at her, so to speak, from afar.

It is to this peculiarity that must be ascribed the manifestations of loyalty to the Queen which have taken place in Canada, in Australia, and even in South Africa, in connection with the Transvaal war.



The Dominion of North America and the Australasian colonies are now represented on the scene of hostilities at the southern extremity of the Dark Continent by several thousand volunteers, mostly belonging to the well-to-do classes, and who have resigned comfortable positions in order to run the risk of war. It must be thoroughly understood that the Colonial Contingent is not recruited from men pressed by poverty or from the dregs of society. The men are in every case of good character and of settled circumstances. They offered themselves for service in South Africa, fully aware that the expedition would be no military picnic. The stubbornness and the marksmanship of the Boers are household words in Canada and in Australasia; and in order to understand the emotions which have roused radical and conservative governments in the colonies to offer contingents, and some of the finest manhood in England's trans-pontine dependencies to volunteer to face the Boer Mausers, it is necessary to appreciate that feeling of the true blue Englishman for the Old Country, and for his Queen, which can be expressed by no less a word than love. This is the sole sentiment which has actuated Victoria's subjects across the seas in the matter. Their action does not constitute any indorsement of the diplomacy which led to the war.

Englishmen abroad, no matter whether in British colonies or in the United States, have no voice in England's foreign policy. They do not enter into the question as to the rights and wrongs of the quarrels in which the Mother Country has become involved. The only feeling that prompts them to offer their services and their lives is loyalty to the Old Country and love for their aged Queen. So much for the Englishman in the Western Hemisphere and in the Antipodes.

Still more admirable is the loyalty of those Englishmen who, during the past quarter of a century or more, have taken up their residence in Natal. They, too, have had no share in bringing about the Transvaal war, and no say whatsoever in the negotiations which brought matters between the Boer Republics and the English Government to a climax. Moreover, they had a right to look to the Mother Country for adequate protection from the enemy in the event of the quarrel, which was none of theirs, developing into a full-fledged war. Blue books and other official data published since the inauguration of hostilities show clearly that the authorities in London had realized months and even years beforehand that war was inevitable, and that the policy which was being pursued, alike by the English and the Transvaal Governments, could have but one termination. Yet no step whatsoever

was taken by the British authorities at home to prepare for the conflict, or to provide proper and adequate protection for the English residents of Natal, who, relying upon the English flag, had invested their labor and their capital under the shadow of its folds.

None of the strategic points on the frontier was put in a state of defence; and the consequence was, that on the declaration of war the home government found it necessary to withdraw, not merely troops, but even the very constabulary from the various towns and settlements in the northern portion of this up to that time thriving and prosperous colony. The English people of Natal were left entirely defenceless. It is on them that has fallen the first fury of the storm. They have had to face all the horrors of invasion. Their cattle and their possessions have been seized by the Boers, their farms have been looted, their families in many cases ill-treated, their towns shelled and stormed; and the possibility of the entire colony being overrun stares them in the face. Yet not a word of abuse against the Mother Country is heard. The people are calm and orderly, the press throughout the colony is dignified and sober, and the men capable of bearing arms have all responded nobly to the call—boys of sixteen marching with men of fifty to war, all alike eager to serve their Queen and the Old Country, without a single complaint for the ruin to which they have been subjected through the failure of the protection solemnly promised to them.

The loyalty of the English people in Natal to their native land and to their Sovereign, and their patient, trustful, unrecriminating attitude, are entirely in keeping with the feelings of every good Englishman parted by the ocean from the fatherland; and that this sentiment should be so strong and so steadfast in every English breast will certainly, when explained, as I have endeavored to explain it here, excites sympathy rather than ill-will on the part of our American cousins.

F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.



## THE TRUE RELATION OF SCULPTURE TO ARCHITECTURE.

IN the last quarter of a century there has been a remarkable and wonder-working development in the art of sculpture, and in its relation to civic and domestic architecture. This development showed itself first at the Centennial, and scored another tide-water mark at the World's Fair, which was a miracle, if ever a miracle was wrought on this earth. But we must remember the words of Lowell : miracles cannot be "encored." Never could we produce, even with the same incomparable enthusiasm, another "White City." Our next effort of this kind will have to be along different lines, and corresponding to new problems and aspirations. The World's Fair was the flower of its period ; and though only a short time has elapsed since its close, we have already outlived it, and are now standing on more original ground, laying the foundation for a more truly national and representative school of Architecture and Sculpture. From that achievement we learned, above all else, of what can be accomplished when the sculptor and the architect walk hand in hand, in true sympathy.

In most of our attempts to relate sculpture to architecture, we find the connection between sculptor and architect cold and formal, if not positively distrustful. I can imagine some practical person asking how we are to develop an ideal relationship. It is coming about in the most natural way by means of gatherings, which give us a better understanding of the province of architect and sculptor—gatherings planned with care by the disinterested minds of thoughtful artists—and, more than all else, by means of the splendid system of art instruction in our public schools, and the decoration of the schoolroom with photographs of the great buildings of the world, which lead the child to learn unconsciously how beautiful a building is made by the addition of happily placed sculpture. It is coming about, too, strange as it may seem, by the larger knowledge and appreciation of nature and natural forms made possible by such men as Hamilton Gibson and George Inness, who died all too soon. We cannot be too thankful for such men as Gibson, Hunt, and Richardson, who have

brought art from the chilly regions of Olympus to the warm cheerfulness of our hearthstones.

How strange is the transformation wrought by art ! Give a man a small Tanagra figurine, or a relief by Donatello, and his room looks not large or fine enough to hold it. He begins to think of a more beautiful home, better ordered and more fit to contain such treasure. So he rebuilds his Parthenon, the better to hold and enshrine his Minerva. As this is true of the individual, so is it true of a city or a nation. When a patron buys a noble painting or statue in Europe, and brings it to his native town, preparations are at once made to build a suitable temple to contain it. When a great man dies, we honor his memory with a mausoleum or a statue. The signs of the times are hopeful. Never before in the history of the world did men give to art and education as they give to-day. You may remind me of Greece, but we learn that the rich men of Athens were compelled to give ; otherwise, we might never have seen the delicate and beautiful choragic monument to Lysicrates. Let us all take hope for the future of American art in the opportunities before us for the union of beautiful sculpture with stately and enduring architecture.

Now for the kind of sculpture we are to create. What must it be to harmonize with the architecture of to-day ? Let me say at once that unless the sculpture, the wall-spaces, and the niches or pedestals are in the architect's mind when he conceives and makes his original plans and sketches, it will be very difficult to find appropriate settings afterward, and the sculpture will appear as a patch on an old garment. For this reason our architects should study something of sculpture and the great monumental works, that sculpture may find a natural setting and place in the first concept or plan. Architecture without sculpture is like a library or a life that is all prose. Sculpture adds the necessary poetic element or note without which no building can endure as a work of fine art. No weight, or mass, or engineering skill and daring will atone for the lack of it. The sculpture then, first of all, must be structural—an integral part of the whole building, and so related to the whole that it cannot be omitted. Having decided upon or conceived the relation of the poetic note of the sculpture to the severe prose of the architecture, we must now decide what kind of sculpture will best express our ideas and embody our ideals.

To that end let us consider sculpture from the point of view of expression. If the building is a national one, we can readily appreciate that the sculpture must have a national character—such as the Dewey



or Naval Arch, for instance, to name a memorial in which we are at present interested. Here any local hero with a sectional interest would be out of place : we must have our great naval heroes, and the reliefs and the groups must be of supreme importance. Absurd as it may seem, mistakes are often made at this very juncture, owing to a lack of culture and to the influence of the money-seeking politician. True sculptors often hesitate to bring their work into competition with the offerings of marble yards and granite quarries ; neither do they desire to have their work passed upon by those who are often wholly incapable of judging of sculpture. The admirable scheme of an art commission in Boston will, fortunately, in the future, save that city from more of such horrors as we have seen and yet see to our grief. Would that the commission might be able to extend its powers, and remove some of these blemishes ! Let us hope that the good example of Boston will be speedily followed by other cities, until to have the erection of public monuments uncontrolled by competent hands will be regarded as a mark of a lower civilization. We must have trained critics for our judges as well as trained sculptors to execute.

Having found subjects and themes adequate to express completely the idea to be conveyed so that he who runs may read, we must next consider the color element introduced by the material used, whether bronze or stone. Let us call this third consideration tonal. This consideration is worthy of our most careful thought. For instance, a dark relief on a light background acts like a spot or cavity ; weakening the effect of the mass, and destroying the balance and harmony of the whole. If one should lay down a law or a rule, it would be safe to say that dark colors should always be used underneath, and light colors above. A dark bronze statue on a light pedestal can never look well ; and for the reason we may look to nature, who invariably uses her dark tones close to the ground, grading her color until she reaches the white clouds, and sky. For the same reason, a dark relief should never be placed on the face of a pedestal. The dark effects can often be produced by polishing, if the stone is too light ; as, for instance, in Quincy granite. If an arch or a memorial is to be of marble, the bronze should have a green or golden tone ; but better still is it to carve the relief or group from the marble itself.

We have considered sculpture from the structural, the expressional, and the tonal points of view, but chiefly in connection with the architect's plan or conception. Let us now look at the sculptor's point of departure. The first question that the sculptor should consider is his

background or pedestal, or both, and the space he has to fill, then the wall-space about his statue, the foil or background, which is to set forth and tell the plastic story. Especially must the height and perspective be considered; and this is the hour when sculptor and architect should be closeted together, to work out in peace the problem or plan. How many a good statue is ruined by a tasteless or an incongruous pedestal! A building may be belittled by a statue that is out of scale, having been studied merely in the flattering light of a studio. Let me say here a word about architectural sculpture, out-of-doors, and the advantage, which cannot be overestimated, of making preparatory models in staff, such as in the Dewey Arch, of all memorial work to be placed in the open.

A dangerous element is creeping into our memorial works. I refer to the tendency to isolate a relief, by placing it, as in the Shaw memorial at Boston, in a stone frame or setting, where one may walk about it. There are traditions in art which must be respected, and we cannot be satisfied with façades of men and women—for such is the impression created by relief-work when we walk about it and feel its thinness. A relief is a part of the whole, an illustration of the noble deeds of some hero or heroine, as much to-day as it was in Egypt or Greece.

So much for the practical relation of sculpture to architecture. Now for the ideal relationship; for sculpture will survive in our architecture in such measure only as poetry survives in our lives and hearts, and so far as the conditions of life produce heroes and poets. That is, we must consider the order of men who produce great art. What is great art? Let Ruskin answer you. "Good art," he says, "always consists of two things: first the observance of facts; secondly, the manifesting of human design and authority in the way that fact is told. Great and good art must unite the two; it cannot exist for a moment but in their unity. It consists of the two as essentially as water consists of oxygen and hydrogen, or marble of lime and carbonic acid." And this idea of great art implies, of course, the statement which he has elsewhere made, "that art is valuable only as it expresses the personality, activity, and living perception of a great human soul." And one must feel that this order of art, which scorns mere imitation and interprets nature, inspires and uplifts mankind.

I wish there were space to dwell upon the respective provinces of the sculptor and the architect, and to show their vital relationship and interdependence. Their relation in the great art epochs might be



pointed out. For instance, it might be shown how, in the Gothic, these two arts are so wedded that it is difficult to tell where the one leaves off and the other begins, and, after the Gothic, in the period of the Renaissance, how sculpture became a mere result, and less dependent upon architecture. It is not difficult to establish the fact that sculpture has always been related in some way to architecture. Even familiar sculpture in the household should be considered in relation to the architecture and decoration of the room. It may be the white note in the scheme of color, or a lustrous note of bronze, effective, if properly used. One might also show how a picturesque element introduced into sculpture often confuses our appreciation of pure form, seriously interfering with the proper understanding of the relation of sculpture to architecture.

Let me go back of all this and show the relation of sculpture to the time. With us, curiously enough, it has outstripped the art of architecture, of which it is really the handmaiden. Let us discuss the two arts in their more comprehensive relation to life. And here I hope to make some vital suggestions; for without a knowledge of the present crisis, its problems and their great import, no man can build successfully or carve any statue of enduring worth. We come now to the order of life in the past which produced great art; and we shall see that, while we are dependent upon the great schools for our place in the history of art, there are certain laws which we must not violate, but which, alas, are violated every day, in this country. We must understand and interpret this epoch, which has no precedent in history, because the conditions of life have never been those which confront us to-day. I hope to show that we must think and live well before we can build or carve art products that will outlast ourselves. I might dwell upon the importance of exclusion, and upon the value of repetition of a sculptural note in the architectural plan, and I might show how much of our sculpture of to-day is out of tune with the architecture, and positively harmful to it. A stand must be made for style and for what it means in fine art.

Having dwelt on the interrelation of sculpture and architecture, I hope to show how in modern times architecture has become to a certain extent a foil to sculpture. One sometimes wonders if the sculptors and architects of to-day follow their calling for the glory of it, as Michelangelo did, or for the more material desire of gain. When we consider the history of the Renaissance, which Leighton well says begins with Petrarch and ends with Dante, we hear first of humanized

art, when Science began to walk hand in hand with Nature, and men began to study the classic spirit. These men were great, first of all as men ; for they were men and they truly lived. They did not dally in the mere show of things—forms, and dress suits, and dinners, and clubs, and everything ruinous to that nobler life which is lived in peace and contemplation. There is a grave danger which threatens our art, and that is what Leighton calls “the arts of luxury more deadly than the arts of war,” which, if I may be pardoned for saying it, killed him. We see it in the tendency to overload buildings with decorative sculpture or with mere decorative carving which has no especial meaning, and shows rather a desire to take the place of substantial construction, as a piece of bright or gaudy wall-paper will cover a defect in the wall.

We think of Babylon as the centre of that vast empire in that most fertile portion of the globe, a capital which eclipsed all others in brilliancy, with hanging gardens which were the wonder of the world. Babylon fell into oblivion so absolute that she did not even produce one artist or one architect to record and perpetuate her magnificent, mechanical art. Over it, as some poet writes, have fallen the silence of the desert and the glamour of eternal night. And this brings the thought particularly home to us, that our art is not sufficiently inevitable ; that is, we have not the great order of living which begets a great art, as naturally as the bud flowers into the rose. When Greece, after the age of Pericles, began to think more of results than of the desire to produce men, she lost her power not only to produce great men, but to appreciate the wonderful results that had been attained by them.

Therefore, it behooves us to remember, always, that life is greater than art. It was Thermopylæ that made Phidias ; and it is that order of independent living, the doing of one’s whole duty with *naïve* simplicity, that must produce an art that will make us the rivals of Greece and Florence. The conditions of modern life seem to drive one into an order of living which keeps us always at hack work. We may, however, by uncompromising effort, change existing conditions, and raise life to that ideal plane which alone makes it worth the living. We must compel our world to accept our best. As soon as we begin to compromise with life we compromise with art. Is it not well, then, to consider the great ideas that underlie all great art ? The artist is apt to condemn his public, because they will not take his art products, when he, himself, is at fault. We must not only cherish high



ideals in the studio and the study ; but we must stand by these ideals in the street and at the club.

What, then, must a sculptor himself be, in his life and training, in order to do great and enduring work? Let us glance for a moment at the only people of the world who have done really great work in monumental sculpture—the Greeks. The French, even, are not accepted ; for, when all is known, they are, at their best, only clever, rarely great. The Athenian republic was not unlike our own in point of civilization and literary ability. But it was unlike our own in one vital respect. The artist was a rounded man, and not a one-sided creature. Why was Phidias great? Because of Pericles. Why was the age of Pericles great? Because of Phidias. The weakness is thus traced from the art to the artist, and, next, from the artist to his world, which will not recognize that essentially artistic work can only be done by a man so educated, environed, and manually trained as to conceive great thoughts and execute them. The artist should be able to compare notes with educated men in the different professions and arts, in order to obtain that friction necessary to a proper rounding of thought. Says Prof. Waldstein, in his Phidian essays :

“ This grandeur of character in the work of Phidias is heightened and partly produced through the absence of all conscious striving and straining after effect, by means of the small tricks and byways of technical skill. It is their simplicity which makes or adds to their power ; yet all these qualities in the work cannot be immediately produced by one act of the will of an artist ; they are to be traced back to the same characteristics in the man, and such a man was Phidias, the offspring and typical representative of the age of Greek history most characterized by loftiness of feeling and directness of purpose.”

In this regard we may learn something also from Meissonier, that master of technique, who exclaimed that the utmost skill in technique did not make an artist, that the artist was great or commonplace as his ideals were great or commonplace. One may talk forever about the proper relationship of life to art. Meissonier declares that it lies, not in the boundless field of speculative thought, but dwells within the heart, whence it must be drawn. These few words sum up all art. If we have no faith, we must give up all idea of producing great art, and undertake some simple business which we may realize and accomplish. If we do not live simply enough to believe that we can add something to the glory of the world, there is scarcely any reason for architecture, and none whatever for sculpture. If the natural world furnished types

enough, and at hand, of special beauty and ideality, there would be no *raison d'être* for sculpture, and we could not accept Bacon's definition, that "art is man added to nature." Those who study this age with simplicity soon learn that there is an anxious desire to get at the truth of things, to know the character and count of a man, and his relations to all men.

This is one of the new problems we have to deal with in the world's history ; for at no other time has man had so much interest in, and so much sympathy for, his fellow men. The feudal system, a trace of which is still extant in Europe, has almost no meaning for us. Now, this humanitarian idea has introduced an entirely new note in art, and one that must show with great effect upon architecture and sculpture. We may call it, perhaps, a note of sympathy, a larger understanding of man's relation to his fellow, a realization that every one, poor or rich, has the right to enjoy this world's beauty and to express as much of it as he feels in his own heart. This is an order of socialism in which we may indulge without fear. The reason for so much bad art to-day is not the lack of training, but the lack of education. Men are better trained than they were in the days of Rembrandt and Velasquez ; but we have not yet an idea of what sympathetic education means. As Tennyson truly remarked in his last illness, "Education, as we understand it, would have ruined John Bright." We dally too much in the shade of the academy, and too little in the light of the man who created the institution. As we walk around these great cities of London and New York, we feel everywhere the desire on the part of the people for a higher order of living ; and we ought to concern ourselves, as architects and sculptors, with the thought of embodying certain ideals in form which will respond to this human need, and which will express the unexpressed.

Look at the meaningless Gothic structures about our city, built by contractors who are thinking only of how many dollars they can make, and of what poor material they can use within the law. Often, too, they are designed by men who, after a year or two abroad, have forgotten to think along their own lines, or the lines of their people, and reproduce the exact external form of some structure, without in any way understanding the reason which gave the original the right to exist. The fact is, that the humanities are crying abroad to-day ; and if we turn a deaf ear to them, we can no more create a great art than a Roman sculptor could have accomplished the work of Donatello or Buonarroti. There are, of course, theoretical conditions, scientific



reasons, climatic considerations, which must determine, to a certain degree, the order of architecture for this latitude and longitude. A studio may be built of staff in the south of France, and last twenty years ; whereas here it would go to pieces after exposure to one winter of storm and ice. Yet brick is as lasting with us as it was in Cuma 4,000 years ago ; and we are now beginning to use it with the delicacy and refinement with which Peruzzi used it in Central Italy.

An element of tenderness, then, must be taken into account in modern art. It is an element the Anglo-Saxon is inclined to disregard or suppress. He must tone down his natural inclination to boorishness and brusqueness. In this we may learn from the Latins ; but we should assimilate only what we need. We are apt to copy their vices and disregard their virtues. You will note this in the Anglo-Saxon in our own country. The Eastern man does not take proper cognizance of the great West ; consequently, the Western man is often led to despise what seems to him the affectation and cold culture of his Atlantic brother. This late war has made us realize, perhaps, that we are a united people, mutually depending on each other. I may have dwelt too long on this theme, that life is greater than art ; but it seems useless to create a fanciful structure upon an unstable base.

It may be well to consider for a moment the art of sculpture alone, independently of architecture, and then to return to their interdependence. It is interesting to note that Michelangelo declared, at the end of his long life, that if he had another life to live he would devote it to sculpture. Yet to him we owe the glories of St. Peter's ; he gave himself to the architecture of his time. What a contribution ! It is touching, and particularly interesting, when we consider this saying of the greatest spirit of the Renaissance, and remember that sculpture was the central art of Greece, and its chief glory. It is scarcely necessary to show the seriousness with which it was considered in relation to any art movement of the times. Without sculpture, architecture may have great dignity and impressiveness ; but the impression will be merely that made upon us by the great sights in physical nature, stupendous, but unsatisfying. The spirit of man demands the reproduction of high types, which, like beacon lights, lift the soul beyond the storm and stress of living. A beautiful face or a noble statue is potent, because it gives a more direct and greater response to human need than does a vast cathedral. We pass into the cathedral occasionally ; but with the former we live.

Nothing will ever satisfy man so much as the reproduction of the

highest types of men. We see in such the realization of ideals we may have failed to reach, and to which we still aspire. It was this thought that made Heine pass Nôtre Dame and drag himself through the courts of the Louvre to the feet of the Venus of Milo. Such satisfaction is not found so much in that order of sculpture where human passion and frailty are depicted as where the triumph over human failure and suffering is shown. The fervid, restless carving (we must not call it sculpture) of the decadent school is absolutely of no use to us, and will be relegated by posterity to certain oblivion. We are drifting constantly back to the thought that art is dependent upon a great and simple order of living.

In the tendency to immortalize many of our national heroes, we find architecture becoming the handmaiden to sculpture ; that is, the pedestal and the setting for the statue are becoming of supreme importance. But here the same harmony must be observed, or the one ruins the other. Now is the time in this country, if ever, to give this subject our most earnest attention. Theoretically, we have not the conservative spirit of our ancestors on the continent, who hesitated to pull down a poor structure or a bad monument, because of some historical association. No nation ever had a greater opportunity ; no nation ever had brighter ideals to embody ; and we may be sure that no nation ever gave birth in trials and tribulations to men who were more fitted and more ready to do noble work than the American people. It behooves us, then, to study this problem of the hour, and to consider not what the Greeks would do under the same circumstances, or what a Frenchman would do under circumstances akin to these ; but what *we* are to do *now*, under the present crisis, is to make a definite problem of the situation, and to resolve, as becomes men, to do our best, and to wait with patience upon the future.

Finally, we must lift art out of the hands of the mob and place it in the hands of the people, and such of the people who have their country's good at heart rather than their own personal aggrandizement. Let us erect what is fine or nothing ; and let us no more write " caricature " over the face of our fair land for coming generations to pull down or contemptuously ignore. WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.



## A CUSTOMS COURT.

THERE is an institution in New York City almost unknown to New Yorkers. It is clothed with extensive powers, and its acts are often of far-reaching importance to the importing trade, of which New York is so justly proud. This body is a tribunal for the settlement of all disputes arising under our tariff laws ; but it labors under the unfortunate misnomer of The Board of United States General Appraisers. Although sitting at New York as the chief importing centre, it is, nevertheless, a national tribunal, having jurisdiction over the entire union, and a membership representing all sections of the country. It is now in the tenth year of its official existence. The purpose of this article is to explain, briefly, the causes which led to its creation, and the object which Congress sought to attain thereby, and also to suggest what further steps are requisite for a complete accomplishment of that object.

Ten years ago the conditions surrounding the collection of our customs revenue were almost chaotic ; and the passage of the Customs Administrative Act, which called into existence the present Board of General Appraisers, was the corrective which Congress applied to an accumulation of abuses well-nigh intolerable. This act was so radical a change from all previous legislation, that, to appreciate thoroughly its significance, a glance is necessary at the old system which it swept away. Probably few persons outside the importing trade have any conception of the friction and irritation that constantly occur between the custom-house and the merchant. A tariff is far from being the simple intelligible instrument that many suppose it to be. The present Dingley Act covers sixty-three pages of the Statutes at Large, and contains 705 paragraphs. The so-called Wilson Act covered more than forty-three pages, and contained 690 paragraphs. It is not surprising, therefore, that disputes between collectors and importers are chronic and bitter, and that there annually arise from these litigations representing many hundreds of thousands of dollars.

When an importation of merchandise takes place, two questions of great importance may arise : (1) What is its value, if subject to

an *ad valorem* duty? And (2) under which of the multitudinous and complex paragraphs of the tariff act should it be classified for duty?

The value of taxable property must be a subject of prime importance, so long as the amount of the tax depends directly on it. The ascertainment of the value is fraught with peculiar difficulties, being largely a matter of opinion; for there is seldom any reliable and easily accessible standard by which to judge. Our statutes, however, have endeavored to supply such a standard; declaring it to be the "actual market value or wholesale price of such merchandise at the period of exportation to the United States, in the principal markets of the country from which the same has been imported;" and the merchant must, at his peril, set forth such value in his entry.

The merchant's figures, however, are not binding upon the Government; and, to prevent undervaluation, the appraiser of the port is at liberty to raise them to any amount he deems necessary to make market value as above defined. From such action the merchant may appeal in support of his own valuation; and the composition of the tribunal for hearing his appeal was the first important point pressed upon the attention of Congress in 1890, as a matter demanding reform. Under the old law such appeal was heard by a Reappraisement Board, composed of a "discreet and experienced merchant," chosen by the collector of the port, and an officer known as a General Appraiser, or of two reliable merchants. Their appraisement was final, and "deemed to be the true value." For any undervaluation, the merchant was, and still is, subject to a penalty.

Such an arrangement may once have worked well, when commercial operations were small and simple; but long before 1890 it had become a snare, and an offence to honest men. The causes were not far to seek. The most glaring was the facility afforded the merchant appraiser for an inspection of the invoices and private papers of his competitors. The temptation was strong either to squeeze an active rival unmercifully, by raising his valuation, or else to "see him safely through," at the cost of the Government's interests, and thus to make a friend of the mammon of unrighteousness against some future evil day when the positions of the two merchants might be reversed. "Scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours," became a rule of action. A second serious cause of trouble was found in the widely different valuations fixed for like articles at different ports, or even at the same port. Each Board was a law unto itself; so the constitutional provision that "all



duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States," was practically nullified.

The "General Appraisers" referred to were four persons, who, under the direction of the Treasury Department, travelled about the country to assist in reappraisements. Of course, the objections which existed to their colleagues, the merchant appraisers, did not extend to them. Questions of disputed classification were decided by the Secretary of the Treasury. The collector of the port decided in the first instance—as he still does—which provision of the tariff applied. The importer might then challenge the correctness of his decision by paying the duties under a written protest, setting forth the grounds of his dissatisfaction. This protest was then transmitted to the Secretary for his consideration. If he decided against the importer, the importer had another remedy, in the shape of a suit in the courts against the collector, to recover the excess of duties.

I have spoken of the Secretary as "deciding" the case. In point of fact, he seldom did more than sign his name to a decision prepared by law clerks in the Treasury Department. Except in rare instances, no Secretary found himself able to give anything like the necessary time and study to the thousands of cases involving intricate questions of law and fact. His clerks, too, labored under heavy disadvantages; being generally unable to obtain, in a city so little of a commercial centre as Washington, testimony concerning the character and uses of goods, the meaning of trade terms, and the like. They had usually to rely only upon the report of the collector, which was, naturally, in support of his own classification.

A second serious disadvantage arose from the fact that, if the Secretary's decision was in favor of the importer, and a refund was ordered, the Government's rights were forever cut off. Unlike the importer, the Government could not enter the courts to allege error in the decision of its chief Minister of Finance. Thus the Treasury officials usually felt bound to resolve all doubts in favor of the Government, leaving the importer to his remedy in the courts. The appeal to the Secretary having dwindled into a mere form, suits multiplied with alarming rapidity. In 1889 there were pending in the Circuit Court at New York 4,497 customs suits, of which 1,735 had been brought during the preceding fiscal year. In that time only 653 were disposed of by the court. Justice was becoming almost hopelessly delayed.

The Customs Administrative Act, of June 10, 1890, swept away

the old merchant appraisers and general appraisers, and abolished the appeal to the Secretary. It authorized the appointment by the President, with the consent of the Senate, of nine persons, still bearing the title of general appraisers, but with vastly different powers and duties. It enacted that appeals from appraisements by the local appraiser should be heard in the first instance by a single general appraiser, from whose decision a further appeal might be taken to a Board of three General Appraisers—to be designated by the Secretary out of the nine—whose decision was to be final. It further empowered the Secretary to designate one or more Boards of three General Appraisers, to consider all cases of classification arising upon protests sent up from any port in the union ; and from the decision of such Board, either the Government or the importer might appeal to the federal courts.

Although the nine General Appraisers were not to constitute a General Board or tribunal, but were to exercise their functions by means of Boards of three members each, yet these Boards, having always sat at New York City, within the same building, it has become customary, for convenience, to speak of the entire nine as The Board of General Appraisers. Their annual salary was fixed at \$7,000 each ; they were forbidden to engage in any other business ; and not more than five were to be of the same political party. The President might remove them for malfeasance or inefficiency. Congress was evidently seeking to erect a permanent, independent, and competent tribunal for the disposition of all tariff disputes, in the hope that by this means both appraisements and classifications might become uniform and consistent throughout the country, and that the work of the courts might be materially reduced.

In a great measure these desirable ends have been reached. Certainly, the new system has been a vast improvement upon the old. A consistency and harmony of action in appraisements have resulted, which, under the old *régime*, would have been thought impossible. And resort to the courts over disputes of classification, though still common enough, has become much less frequent than before. Probably, the best grounds for criticism of present reappraisement methods are two :

First, the absence of any one Reappraisement Board of last resort. The Secretary having constituted two or more of these boards, and each one being final as to its own cases, it has sometimes happened that like goods have been appraised at different values. The oppor-



tunity for consultation and discussion afforded to members seems insufficient to prevent, at times, wide divergence of opinion.

Secondly, the absence of any counsel to defend the Government's interests before the Boards of Appraisement. This omission thrusts upon the General Appraisers the inconsistent duties of both prosecutor and judge. The results are most unfortunate; it being beyond human wisdom to act in two such contrary capacities, and appear fair to all parties. The Interstate Commerce Commission knows this to its cost. The business of appraising is difficult and delicate enough at best. It should not be surrounded by a partisan atmosphere, calculated to breed resentment and suspicion.

For the last two years, the Secretary of the Treasury has endeavored to separate completely the classification and reappraisement jurisdictions of the Board, vesting the two powers in entirely different General Appraisers. He has worked on the principle that perfection is reached only through a division of labor. There is now only one Classification Board. Indeed, it must not be overlooked that the placing of classification and reappraisement work in the hands of the same set of officials was a novelty, introduced by the Customs Administrative Act. Nothing of the kind existed before; and the attempt was unfortunate thus to mingle two such wholly diverse jurisdictions. The skill, learning, and experience requisite for appraisement work differ as much from the qualities needed by members of the Classification Board as the work of a bureau of expert statisticians differs from that of a court of justice. It is difficult to see any good reason for such an admixture; and the first step Congress should take in the direction of tariff administrative reform should be the complete separation of the two jurisdictions, by conferring them on wholly distinct bodies.

The present Board of General Appraisers should be continued as a National Reappraisement tribunal, with all its existing powers in that behalf; but its classification jurisdiction, which is purely judicial, ought to be vested in some permanent and duly constituted court, a National Court of Customs. The judgments of such a court should be made final; and thus might be avoided the tedious and expensive appeals to the United States Courts, already too much pressed with business of their own.

In considering the need of a National Court of Customs, it is important to keep sharply in mind the fact that a customs suit differs in certain important particulars from an ordinary trial at law. It is really a proceeding *de re*, rather than *in personam* or *in rem*; for it

affects not merely the rights of the particular litigants, but all the merchants of the country who are engaged in importing the same class of goods. For such suits, two grand essentials must evidently be : first, a speedy procedure ; secondly, the fixedness and binding force of a judgment when rendered, so as to form a precedent and guide for the future. A clause of the tariff having once been judicially construed, it ought to be possible for every one to rely upon that construction as a true exposition of the law. Nothing is so disastrous to true business interests as doubt and uncertainty upon the question of the extent of taxation an article must bear.

Under present procedure that question is often most difficult to determine, for no less than three appeals may be taken beyond the Classification Board's decision : first to the United States Circuit Court ; then to the Circuit Court of Appeals ; and finally to the Supreme Court. It has sometimes proved impossible to learn the meaning of a tariff act until after the repeal of the act. Several years must usually elapse before the opinion of the Supreme Court is obtained ; and by the time that august tribunal has delivered its final judgment, the act under which the question arose is dead and gone, and a new one, bristling with fresh perplexities of its own, reigns in its stead. Customs suits illustrate with immense force the saying of Lord Eldon, that " it is better that the law should be certain than that every judge should speculate upon improvement in it ; " and the further remark of Judge Somerville, that " it is often more important that a rule of law should be fixed, even though with less of reason in it, than that it should be vague and uncertain, but with a better show of reason. " A further difficulty exists in the fact that the courts in the various circuits sometimes reach irreconcilably different conclusions upon the same point of law ; thus leaving the Classification Board and the customs officials in doubt as to which to follow, and rendering an appeal to the Supreme Court almost indispensable.

As New York is the greatest importing centre of the country, by far the greatest number of customs suits occur in the court for that district ; but so crowded with general business is its calendar that the judges have found it impossible to give more than a few weeks each year for the trial of tariff causes. They have been forced to adopt the practice of rendering oral decisions ; finding it impracticable to devote to the elaborate and technical issues litigated before them the desired amount of time for study. In short, our present procedure seems specially designed to breed confusion and delay in a branch of legal



business where speed and certainty are so vitally necessary. Being so much in the dark as to the duties they must pay, the merchants find it best to base calculations upon the highest rate of duty that seems in the slightest degree probable. Upon this calculation a selling-price is fixed ; and should the courts ultimately hold that some lower rate was applicable, a refund is obtained, which, coming long after the goods have been sold and paid for, is looked upon as a bonus or gratuity out of the public purse, and may represent a clear gain to the importer.

The establishment of a National Customs Court, with ample powers and jurisdiction, rendering final judgments—judgments not reviewable elsewhere—would be a long step in the direction of simplicity and certainty. A court of seven judges, located at New York City, and sitting at other ports at stated intervals, would probably be able to keep well up with its business. It would be by no means necessary that every case should be tried before a full Bench. Many hundreds of cases on every docket are precisely alike—as where some well-known staple article is imported in quantities—and are submitted by counsel upon nothing more than the usual custom-house papers, together with duly verified samples of the goods, and a reference to some previous decision covering all the points at issue. For such work one judge would be entirely competent to make the necessary order, without drawing at all upon the time of his colleagues.

For the disposition of more important cases, a procedure modelled after that of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts might well be adopted. It should be possible for counsel when trying causes before a single judge to request that he reserve his decision and report the case for the consideration of the full Bench, to the end that their opinion might be obtained on certain specified points, or on the case as a whole. If the request were deemed meritorious the judge would reserve the case, and report it to his colleagues. They might consider it at length, either with or without additional argument upon the exceptions taken or rulings made, and might then render final judgment, or remand the case for the taking of further testimony as justice might require. Should the judge deem the request for reservation to be without merit he might deny it, and proceed to decide the matter himself ; and from his decision an appeal could be prosecuted to the full court. By some such system an immense amount of routine business might be transacted with rapidity ; and, at the same time, all the benefits of the conservative and deliberate action of an appeal court would be

preserved. To the finality of decision of the Customs Court now advocated, there should be one plain exception. A writ of error should lie with the Supreme Court to bring up a question arising under the United States Constitution, or treaties made thereunder.

The cases arising before the present Board of Classification sometimes place that body in a very delicate position. One illustration will suffice. Although the decisions of the Appraisement Boards are, and ought to be, final, yet every appraisement is subject to be impeached where the appraiser or collector has proceeded upon a wrong principle, contrary to law, or has transcended the powers conferred by statute. The impeachment is made by filing a protest against the action of the collector in assessing duties upon the valuation thus ascertained. A case is thus presented for the Classification Board and the courts. The right to bring it necessarily follows from the fact that the Reappraisement Board, being a special statutory tribunal of limited jurisdiction, and not proceeding according to the course of the common law, is always subject to have its action inquired into in a collateral proceeding, as respects its jurisdiction, and as regards acts in excess of its power. Were this not so there would be no way of correcting the most flagrant errors in excess of power or jurisdiction which the Reappraisement Board might commit, and intolerable injustice might follow.

If, then, the Reappraisement Board's proceedings are subject to this species of review, though they cannot be challenged by a direct appeal, it is clear that the reviewer should be not only some other body than that which rendered the decision under review, but also some tribunal not in any way connected with it. Among the members of a body like the present Board of General Appraisers, there is, and must be, too close a union to save the members of the Classification Board from a certain embarrassment in pronouncing the action of their colleagues unauthorized and void. Nor is the press or the public slow to appreciate this. Plainly, such a situation should be avoided. A Court of Customs in no way connected with the Appraisement Board would be in a far better position to scrutinize the action of that Board than any General Appraiser can now possibly be, let his juridical learning and attainments be what they may.

It needs no elaborate argument to show that public confidence would much more readily be reposed in a National Court of Customs, of a fixed personnel, with judges protected from arbitrary removal by the United States Constitution, than can ever be accorded to a Board



whose status is not entirely clear, whose organization lies largely within the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and whose members the President claims the right to remove at any time. It was, indeed, long supposed that the Customs Administrative Act guaranteed to the General Appraisers a tenure during good behavior, like that of the federal judges ; but apparently the law has been construed differently ; one of them having been removed recently without the assignment of any charges.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that public confidence will not be extended in any great degree to a tribunal constantly passing upon cases to which the Government is a party, and yet always menaced by possible executive displeasure. It would be a great misfortune if a tribunal having such a far-reaching control should become the football of politicians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> While this article has been in preparation, another member has retired under similar circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing contained in this article is designed to reflect in any way upon the present Board of General Appraisers, which, amid many difficulties, has successfully discharged its arduous duties. The writer also desires to say that, in advocating the establishment of a customs court, he is not to be understood as favoring a trial of customs suits by juries.

W. A. ROBERTSON.

## OPERA LIBRETTI.

“AND what do *you* know about the opera?” some fair enthusiast may exclaim, “And who made *you* a musical critic?” Well, one man in his time plays many parts, but the part of a critic of music I have never played, nor do I now intend to play. As a patron of this art, I have confined myself to paying blackmail to itinerant performers: it is the best means of inducing them to seek new victims. The opera itself I have visited, both in London and Paris, but this inconsistent behavior must be explained. The late Master of Balliol used to tell how he was dining alone, once, at an hotel. He heard the sound of uncorking a bottle of champagne, then another, presently a third. He glanced round and saw a single gentleman at the table behind him, who remarked, “I would have ye to know, sir, that I am not travelling at my own expense.” It was not at my own expense that I went to the opera, where I supported myself by eating elegant preparations of chocolate (also at the expense of a French friend) and reading the libretto, or book of words.

It is about the books of the words, not the music which has made a *mésalliance* with the words, that I am to write. Any man may write about poetry, especially if he is himself a poet, as almost everybody has been, in fact *everybody*, according to Sainte-Beuve. Moreover, I myself have been the author of the first acts of two libretti, in circumstances so full of admonition that I venture to describe them. It was not that I had any desire to shine in opera: I did not knock at the stage doors, nor pine to have my words interpreted by singing men and singing women. The composer, the manager, came to me, and invited coöperation. The composer was one of our most celebrated: he asked for a libretto about King Arthur and Queen Guinevere. Anxious to oblige I composed one act. It opened with the Queen going a-maying. She and her bower maidens chanted, of course, the mediæval commonplaces of the season, nightingales, flowers, and so forth. They met Merlin, at heart an unconverted heathen, who was doing ancient British ritual (see Mr. Frazer’s “Golden Bough”) and was singing hymns. To them enter Launcelot. And here I pointed out to the com-



poser that Launcelot must be riding : no knight ever walked a mile, and when Launcelot had no horse, he drove in a *charrette*, a woodman's cart. The composer would not permit horses to come on ; so, contrary to historical truth, Launcelot was obliged to " pad the weary hoof." The act was finished ; I sent it to the celebrated composer ; he said that it was excellent ; and, from that day to this, I have never heard another word from him on the subject. I daresay he has my MS. somewhere.

On the second occasion an experienced manager appealed to me. He wanted an opera on Mr. Rider Haggard's " Cleopatra." Well, I went to work bravely, and introduced a street scene in Alexandria ; bringing forward the two famous Dorian ladies from Theocritus—the *Adoniazusæ*. They are known to some readers from Mr. Matthew Arnold's translation. I forget the rest of the act, but, naturally, a chorus of devotees of Isis entered. The act was finished : I took it to the theatre. The manager ran about a queer little dusty room, speaking down telephones in an agitated manner. The composer was pleased, the manager expressed delight, and he planned an act inside the Great Pyramid. I did not, myself, think it a feasible act, and I did not write it. But I did write later to tell the manager that I desired to see our covenant or agreement engrossed in black and white before going further. Had it not been for my experience with the composer, I should have indited the whole book, and been left with the MS. for my sole reward.

The manager replied that he was not going to have any opera at all. I thought that he might have mentioned this circumstance earlier, and not let me produce a work which he did not want. It was an oversight. But, as I had not written the work beyond the first act (I wonder where it is !) he did me less harm than might have been expected. These fragments of autobiography are here offered to prove that the young, and the elderly, but inexperienced, had better be very careful in their dealings with managers, composers, and the profession generally. Publishers demoralize us : they treat us like vertebrate animals. Thus I am not wholly unversed in libretti : not bad verse, either, were my operas, as libretti go.

These compositions, as a rule, are constrained to be absurd. Whatever primitive man may have done, modern humanity does not invariably sing, as in the opera, but speaks. A chorus of conspirators yelling, " Hist, we are observed !" shouts an obvious truism. In an opera on the Gunpowder Plot, the conspirators, Catesby, Fawkes, and

the rest, would sing at the tops of their voices, under Cecil's windows, or as they store the powder under the House of Lords, with the sympathy of Mr. Labouchere. But as the audience does not know what they are saying, nor (as far as my experience goes) what it is all about, nobody is the worse, and libretti might as well be written in Chinese. When the author is only a translator he must "syllabify and accen-  
tuate with extreme care, according to the syllabification and accen-  
tuation of the original," which rather trammels the poor man. The opera is thus the most conventional of conventions; adding new bonds to those inflicted by the drama. The music and singing are the thing, and also these prolonged gargles in which the prima donna indulges, to the delight of the proper audience. Such pleasures are a mystery to me : but there is still hope. Dr. Johnson was over seventy when he first got any enjoyment out of music—a dirge it was.

Recognizing these imperfect sympathies I have all toleration for the librettist. Out of a mass of his industries one picks up "The Huguenots." The book does not say who wrote the words : they are "edited and translated by Manfredo Maggioni." The piece opens in Touraine, in the Castello del Conte de Nevers. Gentlemen, Protestant and Catholic, are drinking and singing. Nevers announces :

"I shall myself to-morrow  
Be bound in Hymen's chains,"

Here we expect :

"Away, away with sorrow  
And Celibacy's pains."

Not so, however. The fatuous Nevers goes on :

"And I renounce all love.  
And from this very moment  
I feel that I cannot  
Assuage the cruel grief  
Of all the other ladies."

Obviously Nevers is in an improper frame of mind for a bridegroom. Not thus should we enter the temple where Hymen, in antique fashion, gilds the horns of the victims. Raoul (hero and Huguenot) then tells how *he* first saw and loved the object of his flame. It was returned at first sight. His Puritan servant enters ; "business" follows ; a veiled lady is led through the room into the gardens, on which the window opens. A secret visitor would naturally enter the gardens



in this, the only conspicuous and compromising way, instead of going round outside. Otherwise there would be no plot : besides this is the most absurd method possible. Raoul then peeps out of the window "into the adjacent chapel," and there beholds his lady love. De Nevers passes through the gardens with a veiled lady. A page brings a letter for Raoul. It is from Marguerite de Valois, then engaged to Henry of Navarre. Raoul naturally reads the letter aloud, and hands it round. He is invited by Marguerite to go away blindfolded in a carriage. Everybody congratulates Raoul, recognizing Marguerite's hand and seal. For a Huguenot, Raoul is passably *fanfaron*.

We now go to Chenonceaux, where Marguerite sings of her "rigid moral" to her ladies. This is more in the spirit of her Memoirs than of her reputation. However, she next sings :

"Be banished all cares  
Except to pay homage  
To pleasure and love."

Valentine, Raoul's lady, now announces that Nevers has promised not to marry her. It was for this boon that she walked through his room, veiled, but detected by Raoul, in Scene III. Raoul enters, blindfolded. Marguerite has sent for him to tell him that he can marry Valentine. "If I were a flirt," says Marguerite (and never was a greater), "his conquest, I confess, would be an easy matter." The other gentlemen enter : they are to go to Paris "on private business" (the massacre). They take oaths of friendship. Valentine is brought forward. Raoul (under the false impression that she is the mistress of Nevers, as above) declines her hand. The gentlemen are angry. Obviously Raoul, though intimate with De Nevers, did not know that he was to marry Valentine next day, still less, of course, that she had induced him to break off the engagement. But what mortal could understand these impossible combinations, when he only hears them chanted?

Next we have merrymakings on the *Pré aux Clercs*, an unlikely place (it was the usual scene of single combats), and a duel is arranged to be fought at night, an unlikely circumstance. Raoul is to fight Valentine's father, who has arranged to assassinate him. Valentine and Marguerite appear. Valentine is carried off to marry Nevers, after all ! In the third act we are again at Nevers' chateau in Touraine ; Raoul, behind a curtain, hears the arrangements for the massacre ; Nevers refuses to take part in it ; Valentine, whose position Raoul

now understands, tries to prevent him from going to Paris, where, as the chorus sings :

“The child and the mother  
Must perish *without reserve* !”

The massacre of Paris is next visible and audible, though (according to the book) Raoul and Valentine are far away from Paris, in Touraine ! The meaning may be that the scene is in the town house of Nevers, but nothing is said to indicate this. Finally (Act IV) the massacre begins during a ball at the Hôtel de Nesle. Valentine next meets Raoul in the open air, and becomes a Protestant. “Oh, rapture !” cries Raoul. Valentine is shot.

“What do I see ? My child ?”

cries her father, who leads the slayers. Marguerite passes, coming, oh History ! from a ball, on her way to the Louvre. Chorus of slayers. Curtain.

This is, on the face of it, not a well-constructed piece. And the historical pedant is not alone in his objections ; for time and place are practically annihilated, to make two lovers unhappy.

The plot of the celebrated “Trovatore” produces on my brain much the same effect as does *un beau page d’algèbre*, or one of these elegant Babylonian records on clay, which look like chocolate inscribed with cuneiform. These things have their entirely lucid meaning for the mathematician or the Orientalist, not for others. Perhaps “Il Trovatore” meaneth somewhat. Scene I : Ferrando (apparently the butler or seneschal) appears in a lobby of the palace of the Count de Luna. He wakens the hired helps, because the count is out, and usually “comes home with the milk,” as the vulgar say. “He must not find us asleep.” The count is not a dissipated man ; he merely

“ spends the hours of the night  
under the balcony  
of his beloved.”

He is not alone in this unsatisfactory practice. Ferrando tells the other servants how, long ago, a witch was found in the room of the count’s baby brother, in the time of the count’s father. The witch was burned, but left a daughter. Garzia, the baby, disappeared, and presently the bones of a child were found where the witch had suffered. The father, who had obviously read novels, could not be per-



suaed that the bones were his Garzia's bones. However, the father died, but the butler thinks he could recognize the witch's daughter if they met. In the next scene Leonora confides to Inez that she cares for an unknown knight, and rather thinks he is the troubadour.

“ May not this powerful love  
To her yet fatal prove,”

sings Inez, aside. Then the count comes under Leonora's window, as does the troubadour. Leonora runs out to kiss the troubadour, but embraces the count by mistake. “What must I do?” says the count, feebly. [Jealousy of the troubadour, who observes, but does not understand, the situation.] But, indeed, no more do I, for Manrico comes in. Are there three lovers? No, Manrico is the troubadour, and is recognized as a rebel by the count. “The rivals retire with drawn swords. Leonora falls senseless.”

In Act II Azucena, daughter of the burned witch, tells the story to the other gypsies. Azucena explains to the troubadour that, meaning to burn the count's son (the aforesaid Garzia), she, by some incomprehensible accident, burned her own. The troubadour, whom she has brought up, asks, very naturally, “If I am not thy son, who then am I?” Who, indeed? Azucena (“hastily, as one who tries to amend a mistake”) replies, “Thou art my son!” Leonora is now reported to be about to take the veil. The count lies in wait for her, outside the convent, but the troubadour “appears as a vision, and throws himself between them. General astonishment”—though it is just what we expected. At the camp of the count, later, Azucena is brought in, and recognized by the butler. She is dragged off, but the troubadour intends to rescue her. He is, in his turn, caught, and Leonora offers to wed the count, as the price of the troubadour's freedom. Really, she means to take poison, which she carries, conveniently, in a ring, like Hannibal. All meet in prison. Leonora dies: the troubadour is slain by the count's order. Azucena explains to the count that he has executed his own brother, the missing baby brother. Azucena then expires, or perhaps only faints.

COUNT.

Oh! What horror! *Curtain.*

Clearly this would be a hard play to understand, even if the performers talked in place of singing.

The worst enemy of librettists must admit that, at least, they are

not pedants. "Aïda" is cast at large in the wide period "when the Pharaohs ruled over Egypt," say 5,000 years. We incidentally learn, from the chorus, that the Egyptian monarchy is elective, like that of Poland. Here, as usual, people concealed in or near temples overhear state secrets, and, also, as usual, everything ends badly, the lovers being buried alive. In "Messalina," the doings of the wife of Marcus Aurelius would have horrified Marius the Epicurean, and I blush to report them. She is supposed to be more or less redeemed by a real passion for an African athlete, whom she induces to slay his brother, also one of her numerous admirers. This is a sample of the verse :

MESSALINA.	Thou ! Why comest thou hither ?
HARES. (Vehemently.)	For thy self's sake—
(Sweetly.)	
	Thou who art e'er to me dear !
	E'en for thee ! To take thee now from here !

The opera of Wagner, being based on epic and national legends, is, of course, a protest against the vacant and inept operas which preceded it. The opera itself is a kind of return to the earliest form of the Greek drama, which was mainly musical and choral. Protests from the sober-minded have accompanied the opera through the whole course of its existence. But protests have never been of any avail. Music, dance, and spectacle are the *raison d'être* of this kind of entertainment ; and, to adapt a saying of one of Miss Austen's heroes, if an opera were rational, it might be a better thing, but would not be nearly so like an opera. "I was twice at the opera," wrote Dr. Carlyle, in 1746, "which seemed so very far from real life, and unnatural, that I was pleased with nothing but the dancing, which was exquisite, especially that of Violetti." Every art, by its nature, is "very far from real life ;" but the opera is at the remotest remove, and the further removed the more is it operatic.

It is known that our rude forefathers, about 1720, in the time of Pope and Swift and Gay, kicked against the newly introduced Italian opera, as a thing incompatible with beef, beer, common sense, and the British Constitution. But fashion overpowered these protests. I find in a newspaper the following attempt, whether serious or humorous, to explain an opera. Mr. Page Hopps, to whom the interpretation is ascribed, is not, professionally, a humorist. If rightly reported he is rather a mythologist of the Solar school, to which I am opposed. What does the libretto of "Il Flauto Magico" mean ?



Most folk give it up. The resolute Mr. Page Hopps, however, is not one of them. "The Magic Flute," he writes to us, "is a beautifully worked-out presentation in dramatic form of the story, dear to all ancient mythologies, of the birth of Dawn, or its separation from Night, and of the Earth's union with Dawn or Day. Astrifiammanti is the Queen of Night, or Night itself, and her daughter, Pamina, is the Dawn, separated from her, but in the keeping of Sarostro, high-priest of the Temple of the Sun, and in charge of a dusky slave, or Twilight. But the Earth, Tamino, is seeking her, and cannot find or possess her, until the splendor of Day arrives, and then, all darkness over, and storms all past, Earth and the Day find each other, and are welcomed to the Temple of the Sun.

"Papageno and Tamino represent the two sides of earth-life—the animal and the intellectual. Both are seeking the Dawn and Day, but for different reasons. For the one, the earth is a great cookshop and the sun a wonderful cook ; for the other, the earth is a scene of intellectual and emotional life and activity, and the sun is the symbol of love and beauty and wisdom. All this is most carefully and artistically worked out in the plot. Attention might be drawn to the meaning of the flute and the bells ; to the curious dancing of the dusky slaves, or mists and clouds, to prevent the escape of Dawn ; to the wonderful silence which precedes the emergence of Day, and to the gradual approach and meeting of Earth and Dawn. Next comes the final trial of storm and mist, and then, all trials over, with Night discomfited and Twilight banished and clouds dispersed, the blaze of glory bursts upon the vision, and the story ends with a flood of song, which reveals the meaning of the whole."

Now, if Prof. de Gubernestis found time, among his mythological speculation, to write "*Il Flauto Magico*," the libretto may have this truly cosmic significance. Otherwise I must reserve my confidence in the interpretation. Indeed, why interpret at all ? A libretto (except Wagner's) does not mean anything in particular ; it is a mere excuse for music, dance, and song ; and he who does not love them

"Remains a fool his whole life long."

ANDREW LANG.

## THE IGNORANCE OF EDUCATION AND THE PROJECT OF AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

THE question as to what ought to constitute the "higher" education of a tolerant civilization will probably for all time be debated and considered a debatable one. Waves of reform in studies will rise and fall, and each generation is likely to witness some marked improvement or advance upon the systems that were in vogue with the suffering students of the generation before. Methods and studies "new" are launched by pedagogues the world over upon the sea of education, just as new dresses are flung upon the manikins of fashion to redeem the crudities of the style that has just passed. Systems of literary reading, cyclopædias of best thought, are hurled at the hungry public, just as the multiplication table used to be flung at the complaisant lad of the time when the "new arithmetic" was still an unknown quantity. The processes of analytic determination have crowded out those of the receptive faculty, and we pride ourselves on the knowing of the whyfore and wherefore of everything. Verily, it might be said that we stand on the threshold of all knowledge, and that the sphinx of silence has become only a relic of ancient history.

Has it in truth come to this? Is the present generation so much wiser as the result of its scholastic training that it can afford to look back upon that which preceded with the feeling that the present has buried the past, and that compassion only need be written over the tombstone?

From time to time a protest is heard to this declaration in the feeling that the university man, judged at least in a scale of comparative efficiency, is unfitted to execute many of the charges which the ordinary walks of life entail upon mankind; that his mind, instead of remaining free for thought, is crabbed with a method that has been forced upon it; and that the facts with which it has been stored are those which bring remuneration neither to body nor to soul. However much one may feel disposed to set aside such an allegation, every honest educator will admit to himself that there is something of truth in the criticism, and perhaps even more than he may feel disposed to



confess. A feeling of unrest seizes upon him with each new disclosure of disqualification, or that which is asserted to be such, and he racks his brain in order to discover what new weapon of defence might be evolved from the pedagogical acorn. It is this that has made the words "pedagogics" and "pedagogical" such tyrants in the language of to-day, and has made them powerful with the all-circular educational conventions and the self-satisfying "teachers' institutes." With the public at large they are less popular, and to some, it must be confessed, their deliverance brings a feeling almost akin to nausea.

When one seeks to ascertain the value or non-value of the university education, such as we now recognize it, more particularly in this country, it is not sufficient to bring forward the strength of the learning that has been acquired, nor the diversity of topic that has been reached ; for the calculation of deficiencies is a more nearly satisfying measure of the service that has been put into three or four years of the best period of academic life. In this connection, it may be recommended as a healthful exercise for the student of the class of 1898-1899 to ascertain for himself to what extent he may have been familiar, historically, geographically, linguistically, and from the side of nature, with the regions of the earth's surface which have latterly engaged the attention of more than one of the great nations of the globe—Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, the Transvaal, and the northwest of the North American continent. It is claimed, that Java was ceded to the Dutch, in 1816, because England's Minister of Foreign Affairs could not locate the island on the map ; and, in nearly the same way it may be said that a nation of 75,000,000 inhabitants plunged into war with a distant land and people, concerning which an ignorance prevailed that was as astonishing as the blunders to which it gave rise were distressing. And this ignorance permeated not alone the "classes," but all the departments which make up the active machinery of the national government.

And yet, the Philippines are neither a desert nor a mere oasis of the Pacific ; their population being perhaps not far from one-seventh of that of the entire United States, and nearly equal to that of Mexico. At about the period of the outbreak of hostilities Manila, the chief port and capital, had a population of perhaps 250,000 souls, or somewhat more than that of Genoa ; and its commerce, calculated for both exports and imports, played no unimportant rôle in the economic relations of the globe. It is probably not overstepping the mark to say that at the beginning of 1898 not five university students out of a

thousand could have given any information regarding these islands which might have been considered worth knowing. And though the government of a nation, which has implanted upon its free soil not less than a hundred universities or higher colleges, may have found it necessary to dispatch special commissioners to "study up" the region, and to dispel in part the obscurity that surrounded it, it must not be assumed that there had not been made up to that time any detailed study of those islands, or that the literature pertaining to them was inaccessible. But it had not yet reached the centres of our institutions of learning.

With the invasion of Cuba we had an army—if we are fully to credit the reports of the commanding officers—entering into the "wilds" of a near-by land with maps hardly better than those of the crudest atlases, to assist in the work of military exploration; and the maps furnished to the navy appear to have been but little better. This is surpassing strange when it is recalled that Cuba lies just off the United States, and frequently, during the last thirty years, has given rise to disquieting rumors as to a possible engulfment by the United States.

This ignorance of matters geographical, except as coming back in the form of a disagreeable personal humiliation, is hardly surprising to the non-university observer; for he has long since recognized that our higher institutions of learning stand above the plane of geographical teaching. It is true that from time to time we scan from publishers' lists the advent of some geography to which the educating author has affixed the word "new"; and the hope is entertained that the "new geography" will finally supply a long-felt want. But it takes little examination of these works to show that their newness is largely of the bald and ancient type; and the study of geography, where there is such a study at all, continues in our schools and colleges as geography with geography left out, running closely parallel in its method with the study of history. It may be seriously questioned if there are three institutions of academic learning in the entire United States where, at the present time, sound geographical information can be obtained covering the countries to which reference has been made, or where thought is expended upon the political or ethnographic relations existing there.

Of all the lapses in our university training perhaps none is so glaring as that which touches just this "earth knowledge," or, as it is more happily expressed by the German, "Erdkunde." We learn sufficiently of Greek, but know nothing of Greece, either ancient or



modern ; we may acquire something of French and German, or even master these languages, and yet know practically nothing of either France or Germany, no more than our study of Oriental languages teaches us of the East. It is only with the outbreak of a sudden movement that we begin to "brush up;" and it has frequently been remarked that wars afford a providential means of acquiring geographical knowledge.

How the German geographical and historical method contrasts with this appears from a review of the educational process which has recently been published in Petermann's "Mitteilungen." At not less than forty German and Austrian universities and higher academies the study of countries and peoples is given an uppermost place in the curriculum of education. At the University of Berlin alone there are not less than fifteen chairs or courses of ethno-geographical teaching, not including here the more strictly defined courses in geology and physical geography ; and the Seminary for Oriental Languages, in the same city, furnishes for the winter semester of 1899-1900 ten courses in the study of the geography, history, and ethnology of modern Greece, Syria, Persia, China, Japan, eastern and western Africa, and the Sudan. Much the same diversity and breadth of subject are found in the teachings of the Universities of Leipsic and Vienna; and it is extraordinary what a wealth of subject is outlined by the professors even of the minor universities for their courses of the coming year.

Not many years ago our War Department admitted that much the best general maps of the United States were those to be found in the German atlases. But enormous strides have been made in the official maps of our country during the last few years, causing them to compare favorably in accuracy of detail and execution with nearly the best of their kind issued elsewhere. No better way of satisfying one's self with regard to the amplitude and exactness of the German geographical treatment of a country can be had than by examining the "Baedeker" for the United States, and by comparing the detail, cartographical and descriptive, which appears in that publication (of the Adirondacks, of the Yellowstone and Yosemite, or of the different cities, for example) with similar work in corresponding American or English publications.

Special stress has here been laid upon the deficiencies of this particular branch of learning, because, everywhere, they glaringly stare us in the face. Millions of square miles of the inhabited earth's surface are as unknown to the average university graduate as is the bottom

of the sea or the top of the atmosphere ; and tens of millions of the earth's inhabitants enjoy an obscurity in his cerebral whirl as complete as that which marks the conception of sky-scrapers and railroads in the brain of the Eskimo. But it is not alone here that we are sadly deficient. Into the domain of science, to which so much attention is properly given at this time, we carry a misguided method which is most distressing in its results. We, or at least many of us, may be proficient in the dissection of a cockroach or mussel, know the ganglia in the sympathetic system of a rabbit, and even talk understandingly of the relations of blastoderm, gastrula, and hypoderm. But much the larger proportion of those who bear diplomas fail to recognize even the commonest of the birds of the field either by song or form ; and as to the habits and life of animals generally, the common knowledge is of such a nature that it might almost as well be dispensed with altogether. Our botanical laboratories teach us properly of sap-circulation and embryo ; and under the microtome we bring plant tissue to nearly its finite particle, so far as study is concerned. But it is safe to say that much the larger number of those who leave their *alma mater* equipped for the higher life cannot in the field distinguish between a birch and a poplar, or between a spruce and a pine.

We study minutely the details of " world " history, follow the fortunes of commanders of a thousand or two thousand years ago to the year and month, and in some cases almost to the day, and treasure up the episodes of war and conquest with a nicety that is almost touching in its tenderness ; but the works of the masters of art, whether of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, or the drama, whose refining or vivifying influence is so directly exerted upon mankind, find but the scantiest foothold in our repertoire of collegiate studies. In this regard, indeed, many of the private schools and seminaries far outdo the more potent institutions of higher learning. The pleasure to life that could readily be given to hundreds of thousands by a systematic course in drawing and painting, not to mention the direct practical benefits, is forfeited to the advantage of other studies which neither truly interest nor inspire, and whose benefits (if there are such) are dissipated within the first few weeks after graduation.

All these deficiencies may, indeed, be considered trivial by those who hold that the higher education should take no cognizance of the commonplace and the material ; but the scholar, however well he may be equipped with a knowledge of Greek and Latin roots, with the formulas of the Rig Veda, and with psychological inductions, who is



suddenly confronted in the field with growths of oats and rye, and cannot distinguish between them, or who does not know even in minutest degree the conditions governing farming or agriculture, is hardly in a way to excite enthusiasm for study among the multitude, who constitute the rural population of every country. "Reuben" from the country is hardly more of a "jay" in the city than is the average college graduate a "jake" in the country.

One can readily anticipate the part-answer that might be made to the criticisms which have here been advanced; namely, that the university affords the opportunity for the study of the branches in which a deficiency has been remarked. It is not, however, a question as to what it offers, but of what it gives to the vast majority of students, and what the students take from it. In its present state, with tendencies clinging to it from a remote past, it is inchoate in both form and substance. What it will be in the future it is impossible to predicate; but that it could be readily improved in its humanizing, directing, and practical tendencies, and give more of a knowledge that is worth having than what it now gives, is as certain as that the sun will set.

At a time when so much effort is expended looking to the betterment of present educational institutions, it may perhaps not be amiss to force an example, and to abjure almost *in toto* the system that has so long dominated the university. The first essential of an education is to know something; the second is to know the most of that which is most worth knowing. The problem is, then, how to acquire the "most." The fact, however agreeably or disagreeably received, has long been recognized, that personal contact and practical demonstration or experimentation are to most students much the safest road to the acquiring of knowledge; and the proposition of contact-study, except as a purely theoretical conception, calls for no further discussion. Only the question of how the greatest amount of contact can be established requires particular consideration.

The suggestion is here thrown out that a university, instead of retaining its simple national character, be converted into one with international characteristics; the coöperation of different nations being invited to secure the furtherance of this end. There seems to be no particular reason why a three or four years' course should be tempered exclusively by the atmosphere of a single city or country. No one will question that the same period of time judiciously applied to study in different countries, and with studies standing in the main in direct relation to the environment, must produce results of a much more sub-

stantial and lasting character than those with which we have been so long familiar as the outcome of the present system.

Eight months' study in Germany of the German language, of the country and people at large, of German literature, history, art, and manufactures, followed by a similar course, whether of greater or less length, in France, England, Italy, Switzerland, cannot fail to be decisive in at least many of its aspects. And, in the end, the student, let him be ever so stupid or perverse, must acquire something to which he can look with real advantage. Rome studied from the Forum is very different from Rome studied from class-books, just as widely separated as would be the study of modern France in the monuments of Paris from written history, or that of the living glacier of Switzerland or the active volcano about Naples from the text furnished by geological text-books. A little of real Russia is worth a ton of theoretical Russia, and much more than that amount of many other studies which to-day so largely engross the time of the university student and lead to practically nothing. Moreover, the advantage of studying under wholly different masters presents itself as an obvious proposition.

It is not the purpose of this article to outline a course of international university training, or to indicate the methods by which it might be most readily brought about. It is enough to know that such a project lies well within the zone of practicability, and is already narrowly anticipated in the "travelling" system which attains with the German universities. A prearranged system of main studies for the different countries, designed also to include a certain number of studies as are not distinctly geographical or historical in their relations, can easily be formulated, and made equally applicable to students of all nations. Few, then, of the general branches would remain over for a "finishing" year at the home college, or for that period of time which may be considered necessary to compass them.

It may be objected that the plan here outlined contemplates personal expenditure far beyond what is now incurred at the different seats of learning at home, and that in a prohibitory aspect it might act rather as a deterrent than as an incentive to the acquiring of knowledge. What this excess of expenditure may amount to cannot easily be calculated to a narrow margin; but it would probably not be such as to overreach the capacities of most university students. And it may be taken for certain that the courses need not be made more costly than the courses at some of the university centres to-day. A judiciously conducted study-course of two years following both banks of



the Mediterranean would be worth much more to most students than any combination of four years that we can extract from our existing university courses.

No account has here been taken of the purely professional studies, full successional courses in which are conditions determining proficiency. Such will necessarily be taught in special schools, or schools of specialties, just as law, mining, and medicine are taught to-day. And as Prof. Huxley has characteristically stated the point, the more the intending specialist studies of his own branch and leaves the consideration of other branches for assistance or to possibilities afterwards, so much the better for the student and his following.

ANGELO HEILPRIN.

## WESTERN BENEFITS THROUGH CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT.

THE leavening of the vast Chinese Empire, begun within the past quarter of a century, by Western thought, is now strongly felt throughout the realm. Under the fostering influence of a wise and progressive government, it is effecting in a nation of over 400,000,000 souls marvellously beneficent changes. These have been watched by the peoples of the West with the utmost gratification, and with the liveliest anticipation and hope.

He must be a curious man of the West who does not feel a certain pride in the fact that the creations of his half of the world have begun to enter the thought realm of what is practically the remainder of the earth, and to effect methods, to establish modes, even to subvert forms in a region which for many centuries esteemed itself, and was in truth, the Supreme of the Universe. There is an element of sympathy in human nature which feels gratification in the advancement of a fellow-being, and contemplates with admiration and applause his rise to higher things.

It is not altogether concepts and precepts that move the numerous followers of your Christian faiths to establish schools, asylums, and hospitals, to usher the young into a flowering maturity, and to nurse the sick to health. There is an instinct, as natural to mankind as the instinct of self-preservation, which makes for the promotion of others in the scale of being ; and this instinct, operating on a plane as wide as the human nature of which it is a part, takes no account of race lines or color limits. Your missionary conceives that his doctrines will secure happiness to the soul after death : straightway he traverses cities and plains and jungles in search of all men not in accord with his views, be they pale, black, yellow, or red. But this most noble quality, like every other benevolent trait of our natures, may, in individual instances, be perverted. Where there were heartiness, helpfulness, and generosity there may come narrowness and selfishness ; and, unfortunate as the fact may be, these faults, which we are inclined to pity in people, who, from pinched, material conditions, regard with



envy their more successful brothers, may exist in those who have not the excuse of material pressure, but who evolve their views from philosophy.

It is a false philosophy, however, that leads to such conclusions ; for any reasoning which results in pitting man against man is just as wrong as the notion in chemistry which once designated filth as waste matter. We have since learned that filth is but matter out of place, that, in the harmony of nature, there is no such thing as waste. In the realm of human brotherhood similar harmonies exist ; and if any line of thought concludes with a postulate that the prosperity and advancement of one people are irreconcilable with the prosperity and advancement of another people, that the living of one body of the race upon a plane of high ideals can be maintained only through the degradation of another body of the race, or through the continuance of it upon a level distinctly inferior, that line of thought, depend upon it, is wrong and mischievous.

It is to me a most painful circumstance that this idea of the success of one nation being dependent upon the non-success of another nation, and hence of the world, should be so widely diffused in the United States ; and it is remarkable, too, that it should be diffused not only in the teeth of philosophy, but in the very presence of facts incessantly proclaiming to the contrary. It is a school of thought which, I am glad to say, England has survived, and which, it is comforting to note, the United States, under the sagacious administration now existing at Washington, is rapidly putting aside through the avenue of reciprocity treaties.

Nevertheless, there are those who, in all seriousness, maintain, with specious arguments, that the development of one nation must operate to the harm of the nations with which it trades if trade be left open between them. The most striking instance which I have lately observed of the assertion of this fallacy, elaborated with wrongly drawn deductions, is the article by Mr. John P. Young, in *THE FORUM* for November, 1899. It is more notable to me since the nation against which it is aimed is China. Mr. Young is the first man who, to my knowledge, has specifically declared in public print that the industrial development now progressing in China will result detrimentally to the welfare of the United States. If this voice had come from New York I might have thought that it was moved by rivalry on the part of the Eastern metropolis caused by the impending greatness of the chief seaport of the Pacific coast, fronting, as

San Francisco does, the very face of China. But when it is considered that Mr. Young is a resident of San Francisco and managing editor of one of the largest newspapers on the coast, a newspaper which makes it its especial province to foster the industrial growth of the city and State, his error becomes all the more perplexing.

Mr. Young takes the curious position that the development of China, which would mean her rise in the production of those things esteemed by Westerners, would be a menace, and a possible blight, to Western industry. It is singular that any American should be found who asserts that American industry stands upon so unstable a basis. If the assertion were true, the country would have good reason to fear, and would urgently need to post geese on the Capitol to quack out in the night at the approach of an invader. Any civilization built upon such sands would surely be swept away; and the day of its downfall could never be far from the date of its rise. Mr. Young feels that the vast natural resources of China, together with her myriads of population, among whom the laborers are willing to work for a mere pittance per day, when acted upon by the methods in Western use, will result in producing so cheaply that the producers of the United States will be unable to compete with such products in their own market. The result will be, Mr. Young thinks, not only to drive American salesmen out of China, but to a large degree to close American mills, and to convert their salesmen into purveyors of Chinese wares. The picture is exceedingly dark. Here we have China's import trade entirely eliminated, and an immense export trade developed, by which China is inundating the United States with the things her people want, and taking nothing in return.

Mr. Young would say, however, that China would demand gold for her goods, and, in this way, would drain the country of gold. But China does not want gold; almost every pennyweight mined within her territory being sent abroad. Gold is not currency with her; it is a commodity no more specialized or valued than cloth or grain—indeed, not so much. China's standard is silver, and silver you do not want. Seven out of every ten of your silver mines are to-day lying idle. The people of the States in which the mines are located have recently been waging a vigorous campaign to open the mints of the country to the coinage of silver, in order that a market for their commodity may be created. Now here, according to Mr. Young, is China, which will be willing to take their silver and to give goods in return. Consequently, in any event, if Chinese competition should close the cotton mills of



Massachusetts, the iron mills of Pennsylvania, the tanneries of Chicago, the furniture factories of Michigan, and so on throughout the whole gamut of American enterprise, it would at least open the silver mines of Utah, Nevada, and Montana, and make populous and powerful those now neglected States.

Meanwhile, it must be remembered that China has immense resources of silver of her own. The mountains which flank the Great Desert of Gobi, the Tsin-lings, the Pelings, the Nan-lings, all contain great deposits of silver ; the mountains of Yun-nan being particularly rich in it. When the concessionaires to whom China has granted the privilege of digging and reducing much of this ore shall, by modern methods, have completed their task, then as much silver as all the needs of art or trade require shall be let loose over the Empire ; and small call may be made upon foreign commerce for the money metal. If in the eyes of Mr. Young such a calamity takes place, and if, as he assumes, China still persists in sending to the United States her goods, why then, manufacturing everything cheaper than like articles are made here, there could, of course, be nothing taken in return ; and the United States would be deluged in clean gift with infinite quantities of superior Chinese goods to the closing of all her mills and to the utter idleness of her people. Imagine such a state ! Every person in possession of all he could desire to eat, drink, and wear, all of Chinese production, for which nothing could be taken in return because of your cost of manufacture, and, withal, lolling in enforced and complete indolence ! Surely the possibilities of such a catastrophe might alarm any one. To avert such a misfortune the pens of such publicists as Mr. Young might well be engaged.

Mr. Young gives reasons for inclining to the opinion that the Chinese will take nothing in return for what they send. The chief reason is, that the Chinese want nothing. He tells us that "for nearly half a century Europeans and Americans have had very few obstructions placed in the way of introducing their wares to the attention of the millions living in and near the treaty ports ; and in that time they have not succeeded in securing as great a market for their surplus of manufactured products as that created in half the time in sparsely populated Argentina." He tells us, too, that, in California, "such a thing as Europeans and Americans manufacturing for Chinese consumption is never thought of ; and, if the idea ever did occur, it would be speedily abandoned ; because if the article were one which this really curious people wanted, they would turn to and make it them-

selves." And then he remarks that "the workers of Europe and the United States may not take kindly to the prospect of China's vast stores of mineral wealth being converted by Chinese into finished articles for consumption in the Western world." Mr. Young says furthermore:

"It is probable that, in the earlier stages of modern industrial development, the vast surplus energy of the Empire will be utilized in manufacturing for outsiders rather than for Chinese. The latter, until they radically change their habits of living, until they learn to consume wastefully, must necessarily be poor customers for the wares which they may produce in profusion." So he concludes that "it may be safely predicted that the effect of the opening of China to the trade of the world will not be followed by results so confidently expected by people who have surplus products that they are anxious to dispose of at a profit. Instead, the effect of the opening and awakening will probably be to bring disaster upon Western industrialism unless a barrier be interposed to the competition of a race whose most striking characteristic is an entire absence of those desires and aspirations which Americans and Europeans strive to gratify. This notable peculiarity, at this stage of the world's development, may give the Chinese an overwhelming advantage in the struggle for existence, and compel the Western working classes to abandon their ideals."

So it is plain that the Chinese will persist in sending without taking, and that they will not take because they do not want. They do not want because traits, the "result of an intense struggle for existence extending through thousands of years," have trained them to the utmost parsimony in living. Their houses are of "a uniform low level and monotonous appearance, the interiors being as uniform as the exteriors. The meagre furnishing and extreme plainness which mark nearly all interiors are due to a national trait, and are not enforced by lack of things with which to make home beautiful." In communities like the Chinese, he says, "the only incentive to accumulation is a mere desire for subsistence which takes the form of providing for a rainy day. The desire for reputability, which is responsible for the system of conspicuous waste that marks the expenditures of all highly civilized Western peoples, and is accountable for the chief part of the consumption of the manufactured goods in the Western world, is almost unknown in China; and it is doubtful whether such a struggle could be incited in that country."

But, not only in his house, we are informed, are the Chinese con-



tent to dispense with luxuries, but in the matter of dress the utmost uniformity prevails. Fashion, that incentive to incessant change and unending waste in clothes, is not known among us ; hence, he argues, much less material would be consumed by us than is consumed by Western peoples. Consequently, on the whole, there would be no demand by the Chinese for Western goods ; while the cargoes of utilities which we would deliver upon these shores could only be warded off by high and hostile tariffs, for the enactment and levying of which Mr. Young's article is especially framed. The absurdity of the statements of Mr. Young and of his deductions is so palpable that ordinarily I would not bother to reply to them. But it is an unhappy fact that his views are shared by others. I have said that he has been the first to publish them. He seems to have taken his cue, however, from what he calls a "warning note" sounded by "Bradstreet's Trade Review ;" reciting that "some day China will figure as a competitor in many lines of industries in the markets of the world." This competition is what these champions of monopoly fear.

They are champions of monopoly, though they may not know it. What afflicts them is the unfortunate perversion of ideas which has arisen in the United States through a trade system created by legislative acts in opposition to the natural trend, and which is built upon the error that foreign trade means an exchange of goods for gold. If, therefore, you can have vast quantities of goods going out of your country and great amounts of gold coming in, then you have the acme of what you call "national prosperity." The very statement looked at as a cold formula is ridiculous. Suppose this sort of thing possible. Suppose that in the range of the Tsin-lings we should find a mountain of pure gold, and we should send this stuff to you by shipload, as we probably should, in exchange for your goods. What would be the result? Why, very shortly gold would become so plentiful in your country that its purchasing power would not equal the cost of digging it from the mountain and transporting it, slight as might be that cost in cheap labor in China. As a consequence, your one-sided foreign trade would be shut off entirely, snuffed out by the very process upon which, in lack of wisdom, you wish to base your foreign trade, and which such disputants as Mr. Young are alert to defend. Nay, this mountain of gold idea may not be altogether allegorical. Our alchemists have always held that gold is a compound ; a view now finding sanction among the metallurgists of the United States. It may be that

we who discovered gunpowder and the fact that the magnet inclines to the pole shall yet discover the reaction which produces gold. When we do you shall have gold to your heart's content ; but, as a result, you will find how quickly you will correct your notion that foreign trade consists of an exchange of goods for gold.

You will then learn the great and universal truth that trade is barter, an exchange of goods for goods. You will learn, too, this potent and sadly overlooked fact, that the more goods that come into a nation the more goods must go out to pay for them. Consequently, that heavy imports are much to be desired ; and all limits and restrictions upon them which impair their free ingress should be as far as possible swept aside ; for, as the night follows the day, heavy imports into your country must be followed by heavy exports.

Mr. Young does us Chinese a keen injustice by his inference that we would send any goods without demanding a full and adequate return ; and he is entirely wrong when he supposes that we want nothing that you have. On the contrary, the Chinese want a vast number of things. No people have desires pitched higher ; no people are more eager to advance. What does Mr. Young suppose to be the incentive which forces the lowest born coolie to strive in salt mines or to pack burdens day by day over long and tedious roads, if it is not that he desires to better himself ? Wherever the Chinese have gone they have become distinguished, not alone for industry, but also for the wealth which attends it. Where the Chinese have settled, in all of those kingdoms and communities adjacent to China, they are foremost among the men of wealth and influence. In Corea, the Straits Settlements, and the Philippines they have long constituted the very backbone of commerce and finance.

It is wrong, too, to say that the Chinese do not desire or enjoy luxuries. Mr. Young does not understand us. Our ideas of those things are different from his, but they are none the less expensive. He thinks that because we do not wear starched linen and silk hats, and because our women do not wear lingerie, we consume little. But the gentleman is mistaken. The garb of the ordinary Chinese about equals in cost that of the Americans. Your negroes working in the rice-fields of the South are scarcely better clad than our coolies in similar occupations. Among the upper classes your dress does not compare in cost with ours. If your gentleman of leisure pays \$100 for a suit of clothes his habit may be considered expensive : with us the very embroidery on the breast-piece of the jacket frequently costs more. Mr. Young



must not think that because we do not follow Western styles we have no luxurious tastes. There is nothing in Western styles to tempt us. I have myself donned the European garb on several occasions, and I have always found it stiff, tight, and awkward. It encases the body with an inconvenience which would be intolerable if the wearer knew better.

Mr. Young must not forget that progress in China does not mean our forsaking national habits in such things as clothes and modes of life. In a thousand things we do not bow to the West. Your effects may be different from ours ; but they are not superior. We were a civilization more powerful than Rome at her best, in a day when the hills of Rome were pasture, and when the only peoples of the wilderness which is now your land were savages. You cannot expect forms which the wisdom of thousands of years has confirmed to be swept away because you have another fashion. Mr. Chester Holcomb, who was for years a member of the United States Legation at Peking, speaking of our poorer classes, in his work, "The Real Chinaman," p. 311, says : "The Chinese do not live poorly because they desire nothing better. Like all other men, they live as well as their earnings or resources will allow. A wealthy Chinaman dresses as expensively, though in a different style, has a table as luxurious, though his taste may be esteemed peculiar, and generally maintains the same elegance as his Western brother. There, as everywhere else, income must control the expense."<sup>1</sup>

But the fact that Chinese have their own ideals and models does

<sup>1</sup> In John Thompson's book, "Through China with a Camera," there is on page 258 the following description of a Chinese gentleman of to-day and his house : "Mr. Yang was a fair sample of the modern Chinese savant—fat, good-natured, and contented. His house, like most others in China, was approached through a lane hedged in by high brick walls on either side, so that there was nothing to be seen of it from without save the small doorway and the small brick partition about six feet beyond the threshold. Within there was the usual array of courts and halls, reached by narrow, vine-shaded corridors ; but each court was tastefully laid out with rockeries, flowers, fish ponds, and pavilions. Really, the place was very picturesque and admirably suited to the disposition of a people affecting seclusion and the pleasures of family life. Its proprietor was an amateur, not only of photography, but of chemistry and electricity too ; and he had a laboratory fitted up in the ladies' quarter. In one corner of this laboratory stood a black carved bedstead, curtained with silk and pillowed with wood ; while a carved bench, also of black wood, supported a heterogeneous collection of instruments, chemical, electrical, and photographic, besides Chinese and European books. The walls were garnished with enlarged photographs of Yang's family and friends. In a small outer court there was a steam saw-mill, with which the owner had achieved wonders."

not mean that there is nothing used in Western life that they want. They want, as I have said, thousands of things you have. It is not anticipating too much to opine that the modern American house, with its conveniences and comforts, will be the future house of China. Her cities will be sewered and paved, lighted with electric lamps, and threaded with electric car lines. They will have water-works and fire departments and spacious public edifices. The materials for many of these things must come from the West. But Mr. Young must not forget that before we can procure these things we must first have something to buy them with ; and the only things with which we or any other people have to buy are the products of our labor. If, then, our products are of slight value, reckoned upon the unit of population, our exchanges must be correspondingly small, and our trade must be worth little.

This must always be the case so long as China produces by hand labor, and not by machines. What is a machine in relation to labor? It is a multiplication of the power of the hand that runs it. A cobbler will make one pair of shoes in two days. Give him a machine and the skill to run it, and he will make twenty pairs of shoes in the same time. What is this but a multiform increase of the potentiality of his hand? With his bare hands and his tools he had one pair of shoes at the end of two days with which to buy food, clothes, and furniture ; with his machine he has twenty pairs, less cost of materials, to devote to the same end. Chinese labor is cheap, but only because its effectiveness is small. Let this be magnified with the power of machines, and it will be dear enough. Chinamen will be prompt to demand their full share of the wealth which their hands produce after they have been potentialized by the machine, just as Mr. Young correctly remarks that, as toilers in the West, they have come to "enjoy better wages than most of the purely laboring classes of the Western world."

Mr. Young, in common with his school, overlooks a salient fact. He concludes that the demand for labor arises from a scarcity of labor's products. Hence, if abundance comes into a nation from abroad, there are consequent congestion and idleness within. It is doubtless this mistake that causes Mr. Young to fear the onslaught of goods which, he argues, will come from China into the United States in free gift and without value exacted in return. The idea of there not being "enough work to go around" was the idea of ancient China, just as it is the present idea of Mr. Young's school. It was this that tabooed machines "because they produce so much that there would be nothing left to



do ; ” consequently, dearth was cherished as a national necessity. But such modern statesmen as Prince Ching, Yung Lu, Li Hung Chang, and Wu Ting-fang have perceived differently. With a vision unaffected by interests other than truth, they discern that the greatness of the West exists because of its machines, and that, as the effect of the machine is to multiply produce, so the produce thus created in turn calls upon other mechanisms and other labor.

The starched linen of which Mr. Young speaks would not exist if you did not produce more corn and potatoes than you require for food. Take away your steam-ploughs, cultivators, diggers, and shellers, and if any one wears starched linen some one will have to go hungry to allow it. It is the presence of wealth that creates a demand for wealth. The human mind is so adjusted that as soon as it is gratified it begins to evolve visions of further desires. Demand breeds upon what it feeds ; it can never be surfeited. Take your Indian out of his canvas tepee and build him a house, he will forthwith want it furnished ; put carpet on his parlor floor, and he will crave a piano ; give him china dishes, he will abolish jerked beef and require *ragouts*. This quality is an instinct of nature and exists in all peoples, including the sensitive, alert, calculating, and eager Chinaman.

It is not we who are the adherents of uniformity ; it is Mr. Young and his class. Through the installation of monopoly, which seeks to control certain lines of production within the country, Mr. Young would have a crystallized condition that nothing could disturb ; and you would go on purchasing the products of your combine which, secure and absolute in its market, would have no need to regard the world's progress in its utility, and would continue indefinitely to supply you with whatever it might please. We, on the other hand, seeking a market for our like product, would be constantly watchful to cheapen its cost and to increase its merit. Left to itself the world of production is constantly changing, constantly working toward higher planes ; being unceasingly drawn into accord with the higher reaches of human thought. It is only when its action is obstructed by such “ barriers interposed to competition ” as Mr. Young asks for, that it subsides into static quiescence. Left to itself it will follow man in all his ideals ; interfered with by “ barriers ” it becomes paralyzed.

After all, what are utilities, or these things we call “ goods,” which we import and export ? They are no other than expressions of human thought impressed upon matter. Looking to your imports and not beyond them, from which countries do you get evidences of the highest

civilization—from Europe or from Africa, from England or from Turkey? You do not have to look beyond what a people puts forth to fix its position in the scale of being. In truth, by such alone may they be judged; for goods are acts; and, as men or nations act, so are they high or low in the domain of thought. The reason why China is behind the United States in material achievements is, that our masses, as compared with yours, have little potential thought. Our government understands this. It is our effort now to acquire for our people a measure of your knowledge, for that means ascension over nature; and a people is great and powerful just in the degree that it possesses the ability to turn nature in all her departments to the gratification of human desires.

But, aside from these abstractions, we have only to look about us to find refutation of the hypothesis and fear of Mr. Young that “the Western world will not be benefited by Chinese development.” A few years ago, when our neighbor Japan—a much smaller nation than our own, and, therefore, more sensitive to Western influences—manifested signs of the revival which has since so distinguished it, Mr. Young attacked that kingdom just as he is now assailing us. He had then the same fears that the United States would be swamped by the goods of Japan, just as he now expresses fear that it will be deluged with the products of China. If his doctrines had been believed they would have driven Japanese trade away from San Francisco through the erection of those “interposing barriers” which he so much desires to be built against China, with the result that there would have been lost to the city and country about \$15,000,000 of sales to Japan a year. But his alarms were not heeded; and the trade with Japan increased, because, by the introduction and use of machines, the country, which produces little or no gold, came to have something to buy with. In 1898, it bought 40,000,000 yen worth from this country, though only four years before it could buy but 6,000,000 yen worth. In 1898, you took from them 47,000,000 yen worth of goods; so that you have shown a disposition to increase your purchases just as they have increased their imports from you.

If Mr. Young's conclusion, that the development of one nation is harmful to the condition of another nation, were correct, you would naturally expect to find the part of the United States nearest the developing nations showing the worst effects of the blight. What part of your country has the most industry, business, finance, development, the side that fronts Europe, or the side that faces quiescent



and undeveloped Asia? If you could put the United States on a turntable and twist it around until the Golden Gate opposed the English Channel and New York was before Hong Kong, would San Francisco be benefited or damaged by its contiguity to Europe? Would New York benefit China or would China sink back from her rising evolution? Obviously, Mr. Young's theories are thin indeed; he has against him the proved experiment of unfolded Europe. Since 1888 England has advanced prodigiously. You are now taking from her vastly more than you took then; yet, in 1888 you sold to her but \$32,000,000 worth, while in 1898 this amount was increased to \$74,000,000. Germany has kept full pace with Europe's advance, a fact made manifest in the great increase of her exports to the United States. Yet, in 1878 you sold her \$16,500,000, and in 1898, \$32,700,000. England and Germany and France and Italy have increased in their power to buy from you; and the size of their purchase bills has promptly manifested this enlargement of their ability. Their power to purchase, however, is not the power to send gold, which would be all drained out of their countries in one year's buying, but the power to send to you the things which your civilization desires.

So will it be with China. The trade which now only amounts to some thirty-two millions both ways is so small because of China's inability to make larger purchases. When we multiply the things you want, that same variation will excite in us a desire for the things you have. If our goods are cheap, so much the better for you. We thereby bring you more of labor than you return to us. The teamster gives to the lawyer the product of thirty days' toil for an hour of the lawyer's thought. Both are benefited; but, in the aspect of things, who acquires the higher advantage from the transaction? We may give you abundance of our goods for little of your goods; but you will be the more favored.

Mr. Young takes a narrow view when he measures the possibilities of the Chinese Empire by the little group of people in San Francisco's Chinatown. They consume little of American wares, it is true; for few expect to remain here permanently. Most of them look forward to the time when, gathering their accumulated stores, they can return to China. This is caused by two considerations: (1) the hostile feeling that exists against the Chinese here, due to the agitations of labor leaders and political charlatans; and (2) the obstructive legislation influenced thereby, with the result that their freedom is curtailed and their peace and property are made insecure. Moreover, the difference

in the purchasing power of their money here and in China impels them to aspire to live in the country where their wealth will give them more return. All of these conditions will undoubtedly cease to exist.

I do not believe that the American people will always be deluded as to the value and necessity of Chinese residents, or that the types of men who now influence thought on that subject will continue to find credence ; and I am very sure that, in not many years, the Chinaman's money earned in the United States will buy him little more in China than here. For, the cost of living will rise with the rate of wages ; and in China both will presently reach the American standard. I do not expect this change to take place slowly. The movement now progressing in China has attained marvellous speed ; and, with the aid of the kindly offices of the Western peoples, especially the people of the United States, and under the guidance of the present sagacious and efficient government of China, we shall continue our progress, advancing ever upward, making ourselves more and more fitted to be a benefit to the world and to merit the highest esteem in the family of nations.

Ho Yow.



## THE HAMPTON ROADS CONFERENCE.

ONE of the most interesting episodes of the war between the States was the informal conference in Hampton Roads, on the 3d of February, 1865. It was held on board a steamer anchored near Fortress Monroe; and the participants were, on the one hand, President Lincoln and William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, and, on the other, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell, commissioners appointed by President Davis. There has long been considerable misapprehension in the public mind as to the origin, objects, and results of that conference. As I was a member of the Confederate Congress at that time, and had, to some extent, an inside view of the situation, I propose to give my recollection of the incident.

In the beginning of the year 1865 the prospects of the Southern Confederacy were gloomy indeed. Grant, with his hosts, had swung around upon a new base, and was at City Point, on the James River, threatening Petersburg and Richmond, then defended by the Army of Northern Virginia under the incomparable Lee. That army, during the preceding year, had covered itself with imperishable glory in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania Court House, and at Cold Harbor. Numbering less than 60,000 men it had inflicted a loss of more than 50,000 upon the enemy in the campaign, resulting in Grant's change of base; but, with inadequate supplies of food and clothing, it was then suffering all the discomforts and hardships of winter in the trenches around Petersburg and Richmond. Sheridan, in the valley of Virginia, with a powerful and well-equipped army, had driven back Early with his little band of Confederates, and had completely devastated that beautiful and fertile region. Sherman, after destroying Atlanta and laying waste the surrounding country, was at Savannah, with an army of 65,000 men, prepared to march through the Carolinas and to form a junction with Grant in Virginia. Such was the military situation, when, in the early part of January, 1865, Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., a gentleman of great ability and acknowledged influence with the administration at Washington, made his appearance at Richmond.

He brought with him no credentials, but exhibited to Mr. Davis the following card :

“ December 28, 1864.  
Allow the Bearer, F. P. Blair, Sr., to  
pass our lines, go South and return.  
(Signed) A. LINCOLN.”

After a private interview with Mr. Davis, Mr. Blair returned to Washington, and in a few days came again to Richmond. Another consultation was held, in the course of which Mr. Blair suggested to Mr. Davis that a suspension of hostilities might be brought about by a secret military convention between the belligerents for the purpose of maintaining the Monroe Doctrine on this continent, and thereby preventing the threatened establishment of an empire by France in Mexico. He frankly declared that, in his opinion, the final result of the proposed military convention and the suspension of hostilities would be the restoration of the Union. On January 12, Mr. Davis handed to Mr. Blair the following letter :

“ RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, *January 12, 1865.*

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

*Sir* : I have deemed it proper and probably desirable to you to give you in this form the substance of the remarks made by me to be repeated by you to President Lincoln, etc. I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms and am willing now, as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace. I am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission if the United States Government shall choose to send one. Notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commission, minister, or other agent would be received, appoint one immediately and renew the effort to enter into a conference with a view to secure peace to the two countries.

Yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.”

On January 18, Mr. Lincoln delivered to Mr. Blair the following communication, with the understanding that it should be shown to Mr. Davis :

“ WASHINGTON, D. C., *January 18, 1865.*

F. P. BLAIR, Esq.

*Sir* : You, having shown me Mr. Davis's letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send me with a view of securing peace to the people of our common country.

Yours, etc.,

A. LINCOLN.”



After seeing the foregoing letter, and after consultation with his Cabinet, Mr. Davis, on the 28th of January, appointed Alexander H. Stephens, Robert M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell as commissioners to proceed to Washington, and to hold an informal conference with Mr. Lincoln upon the subject referred to in his letter of the 18th of January, addressed to Mr. Blair. It was intended that the affair should be conducted with the utmost secrecy. But the absence of such prominent officials necessarily attracted attention, and the public soon ascertained that an important movement was on foot. At that time Mr. Stephens was Vice-President, Mr. Hunter was President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Judge Campbell was Assistant Secretary of War. On January 29, the commissioners went from Richmond to Petersburg; and on the following day they addressed this communication to Gen. Grant:

“PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA, *January 30, 1865.*

LIEUT.-GEN. U. S. GRANT,

Commanding Armies of the United States.

*Sir*: We desire to pass your lines under safe conduct, and to proceed to Washington to hold a conference with President Lincoln upon the subject of the existing war, and with a view of ascertaining upon what terms it may be terminated in pursuance of the course indicated by him in his letter to Mr. Blair of January 18, 1865, of which we presume you have a copy, and if not, we wish to see you in person if convenient, and to confer with you on the subject.

Very respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS,

J. A. CAMPBELL,

R. M. T. HUNTER.”

In reply, the following was received by the commissioners at Petersburg, dated at Headquarters Army of the United States, January 31, 1865:

“*Gentlemen*: Your communication of yesterday requesting an interview with myself, and a safe conduct to Washington and return, is received. I will instruct the commanding officer of the forces near Petersburg, notifying you at what part of the lines, and the time when and where conveyances will be ready for you. Your letter to me has been telegraphed to Washington for instructions. I have no doubt that before you arrive at my headquarters an answer will be received directing me to comply with your request. Should a different reply be received, I promise you a safe and immediate return within your own lines.

Yours very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*”

In the afternoon of the same day, the commissioners were met at a point on the Federal lines previously designated by Lieut.-Col. Bab-

cock, with an escort, and escorted to Gen. Grant's headquarters at City Point. They were received by Gen. Grant with marked courtesy and civility, and remained with him two days before they could arrive at an understanding with the authorities at Washington as to the conditions upon which they should be allowed to proceed. On February 1, Maj. Thomas T. Eckert, who had been sent with instructions from Mr. Lincoln as to the requests of the commissioners, addressed to them a letter in which he informed them that, if they passed through the United States military lines, it would be understood that they did so for the purpose of an informal conference on the basis of a paper prepared by Mr. Lincoln, a copy of which was placed in their hands.

Without going into all the details of the correspondence between the commissioners and Maj. Eckert, it is sufficient to state that, on February 1, Maj. Eckert telegraphed to Washington that the reply of the commissioners was not satisfactory, and that he had notified them that they could not proceed further unless they complied with the conditions expressed in Mr. Lincoln's letter. On February 2, the following telegram was sent by Gen. Grant :

"TO HON. E. M. STANTON,  
Secretary of War.

Now that the interview between Maj. Eckert, under his written instructions, and Mr. Stephens and party has ended, I will state confidentially, but not officially to become a matter of record, that I am convinced, upon conversation with Messrs. Stephens and Hunter, that their intentions are good and their desire sincere to restore peace and union. I have not felt myself at liberty to express even views of my own or to account for my reticence. This has placed me in an awkward position which I could have avoided by not seeing them in the first instance. I fear now their going back without any expression to any one in authority will have a bad influence. At the same time I recognize the difficulties in the way of receiving these informal commissioners at this time and I do not know what to recommend. I am sorry, however, that Mr. Lincoln cannot have an interview with the two named in this dispatch, if not all three now within our lines. Their letter was all that the President's instructions contemplated to secure their safe conduct, if they had used the same language to Capt. Eckert.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*"

As soon as the foregoing telegram was shown to Mr. Lincoln, he telegraphed to Gen. Grant as follows :

"TO LIEUT.-GEN. GRANT,  
City Point, Virginia.

Say to the gentlemen that I will meet them personally at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can get there.

A. LINCOLN."



At the same time, Mr. Lincoln sent to Mr. Seward, who had already gone to Fortress Monroe, the following telegram :

“To HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

Induced by a dispatch from General Grant, I join you at Fortress Monroe as soon as I can come.  
A. LINCOLN.”

On the morning of February 3, the commissioners met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward on board a steamer anchored in Hampton Roads near Fortress Monroe. Mr. Stephens and Mr. Lincoln had been acquaintances and friends in former years. They had been in the House of Representatives at the same time, had belonged to the same political party, and, as members of the Congressional Taylor Club, had coöperated in the nomination and election of Zachary Taylor to the presidency in 1848.

At the beginning of the interview, Mr. Stephens, addressing himself to Mr. Lincoln, made pleasant allusion to their former acquaintance and friendship, to which Mr. Lincoln cordially responded. After mutual inquiries as to former congressional associates, Mr. Stephens introduced the business of the meeting by asking Mr. Lincoln if there were no way of putting an end to the existing troubles and bringing about a restoration of good feeling and harmony between the different sections of the country. At this point Mr. Seward interposed and said it was understood that the conference should be informal, that there should be no clerk or secretary, and no record made of anything said. The commissioners having assented Mr. Stephens repeated his inquiry ; and, in reply, Mr. Lincoln said there was but one way that he knew of, and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease resistance. Mr. Stephens replied, in substance, that they had been induced to believe there might be some other question, some Continental question, that might divert the attention of both parties for a time from the questions involved in the existing strife until the passions on both sides might cool, when both would be in better temper to come to an amicable and proper adjustment, etc.

Mr. Lincoln at once understood Mr. Stephens as referring to what Mr. Blair had suggested in his interview with Mr. Davis. He said it was proper to state at the beginning that whatever Mr. Blair had said was of his own accord and without the least authority from him ; that when Mr. Blair applied for a passport to go to Richmond, and desired to present certain views, he had declined to hear them ; that he had

given the passport, but without giving Mr. Blair any authority whatever to speak for him ; that when Mr. Blair returned from Richmond, bringing with him Mr. Davis's letter, he had given the one alluded to in the application of the commissioners for permission to cross the lines ; that he was always willing to hear propositions for peace on the conditions of that letter, and on no other ; that the restoration of the Union was a *sine qua non* with him, and hence his instructions that no conference was to be held except upon that basis.

After a short pause in the conversation Mr. Stephens continued to urge the adoption of the line of policy indicated by Mr. Blair, and claimed that it would most probably result in a restoration of the Union without further bloodshed. Among other things he said that the principles of the Monroe Doctrine were directly involved in the contest then going on in Mexico ; that the administration at Washington, according to all accounts, was decidedly opposed to the establishment of an empire in Mexico by France, and wished to maintain the right of self-government to all peoples on this continent against the dominion or control of any European power. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward concurred in the statement that such was the feeling of a majority of the northern people.

"Then," said Mr. Stephens, "could not both parties in our contest come to an understanding and agreement to postpone their present strife by a suspension of hostilities between themselves until this principle is maintained in behalf of Mexico ? And might it not, when successfully sustained there, naturally, and almost inevitably, lead to a peaceful and harmonious solution of their own difficulties ? Could any pledge now given make a permanent restoration or reorganization of the Union more probable, or even so probable, as such a result would ?"

Mr. Lincoln replied, with earnestness, that he could entertain no proposition for ceasing active military operations which was not based upon a pledge first given for the ultimate restoration of the Union. He had fully considered the question of an armistice, and could not give his consent to any proposition of that sort on the basis suggested. The settlement of existing difficulties was a question of supreme importance ; and the only basis on which he would entertain a proposition for a settlement was the recognition and reestablishment of the national authority throughout the land. As the commissioners had no authority to give any such pledge the conference seemed to be at an end. According to an understanding between the commissioners



before entering into the conference that, if they failed in securing an armistice, they would then endeavor to ascertain upon what terms the administration at Washington would be willing to end the war, Judge Campbell inquired in what way the settlement for a restoration of the Union was to be made. He wished to know something of the details.

Mr. Seward then said he desired that any answer to Judge Campbell's inquiry might be postponed until the general ideas advanced by Mr. Stephens might be more fully developed. There was a general acquiescence, and Mr. Stephens proceeded to elaborate his views. They were substantially as follows :

That the Monroe Doctrine assumed the position that no European power should impose governments upon any peoples on this continent against their will ; that the principle of the sovereign right of local self-government was peculiarly sacred to the people of the United States as well as to the people of the Confederate States ; that the Emperor of France was at that time attempting to violate this great principle in Mexico ; that the suspension of hostilities and allowance of time for the blood of our people on both sides to cool toward each other would probably lead the public mind to a clearer understanding of those principles which ought to constitute the basis of the settlement of existing difficulties ; that the settlement of the Mexican question in this way would necessarily lead to a peaceful settlement of our own ; that whenever it should be determined that this right of local self-government was the principle on which all American institutions rested, all the States might reasonably be expected to return of their own accord to their former relations to the Union, just as they had come together at first by their own consent and for their mutual interests ; that we might become indeed and in truth an ocean-bound Federal Republic, under the operation of this Continental Regulator—the ultimate, absolute sovereignty of each State. He concluded by saying that this Mexican question might afford a very opportune occasion for reaching a proper solution of our own troubles without any further effusion of fraternal blood.

Mr. Seward, while admitting that the views presented by Mr. Stephens had something specious about them in theory, argued at considerable length to show that practically no system of government founded upon them could be successfully worked, and that the Union could never be restored or maintained on that basis. He then inquired of Mr. Stephens as to the details of the plan he had in view for effecting the proposed purpose.

Mr. Stephens replied that he had no fixed plan, but there were several which might be suggested. The whole matter might be easily arranged by a military convention known only to the authorities at Washington and Richmond. This convention could be made to embrace not only a suspension of actual hostilities on all the frontier lines, but also other matters involving the execution of the laws in States, having two sets of authorities, one recognized by the Confederate States, the other adhering to the National Government. All these matters of detail might be easily adjusted if they should first determine upon an armistice for that purpose.

Mr. Hunter said that there was not unanimity in the South upon the subject of undertaking the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, and it was not probable that any arrangement could be made by which the Confederates would agree to join in sending any portion of their army into Mexico. In that view his colleagues on the commission fully concurred. Mr. Lincoln, while admitting that, as President, he might properly enter into a military convention for some of the purposes proposed, repeated his determination to do nothing which would suspend military operations, unless it was first agreed that the United States authority was to be restored throughout the country. That was the first question to be settled. He could enter into no treaty, convention, or stipulation with the Confederate States, jointly or separately, upon that or any other subject, except upon the basis first settled that the Union was to be restored. Any such agreement or stipulation would be a quasi-recognition of the States then in arms against the National Government as a separate power. That he never could do.

Judge Campbell then renewed his inquiry as to how restoration was to take place, supposing that the Confederate States were consenting to it. Mr. Lincoln replied: By disbanding their armies, and permitting the national authorities to resume their functions. Mr. Seward then said that Mr. Lincoln could not express himself more clearly or forcibly in reference to that question than he had done in his message to Congress in December, 1864, and proceeded to state its substance from memory.

Judge Campbell said that the war had necessarily given rise to questions which ought to be adjusted before a harmonious restoration of former relations could properly be made. He referred to the disbandment of the army, which would require time, and to the Confiscation Acts, on both sides, under which property had been sold, the title



to which would be affected by the facts existing when the war ended, unless provided for by stipulations. Mr. Seward replied that, as to all questions involving rights of property, the courts would determine, and that Congress would no doubt be liberal in making restitution of confiscated property, or providing indemnity.

Mr. Stephens inquired what would be the status of that portion of the slave population in the Confederate States which had not then become free under the Emancipation Proclamation, or, in other words, what effect that proclamation would have upon the entire black population. Mr. Lincoln said that that was a judicial question, and that he did not know how the courts would decide it. His own opinion, was that, as the Proclamation was a war measure and would have effect only from its being an exercise of the war power, as soon as the war ended it would be inoperative for the future. It would be held to apply to such slaves only as had come under its operation while it was in active exercise. That was his individual opinion, but the courts might decide differently.

Mr. Seward said there were only about 200,000 slaves who, up to that time, had come under the actual operation of the Proclamation, and who were then in the enjoyment of their freedom under it ; so that if the war should then cease, the status of much the larger portion of the slaves would be subject to judicial construction. He also called attention to the proposed Constitutional Amendment providing for the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States. He said that had been done as a war measure, and if the war were then to cease, it would probably not be adopted by a sufficient number of States to make it a part of the Constitution. In answer to an inquiry by Mr. Stephens, whether the Confederate States would be admitted to representation in Congress if they should abandon the war, Mr. Lincoln said his own individual opinion was that they ought to be, and he thought that they would be, but that he could not enter into any stipulation on that subject.

Mr. Stephens having urged the importance of coming to some understanding as to the method of procedure in case the Confederate States should entertain the proposition of a return to the Union, Mr. Lincoln repeated that he could not enter into any agreement on that subject with parties in arms against the Government. Mr. Hunter, in illustrating the propriety of the Executive entering into agreements with persons in arms against the rightful public authority, referred to instances of that character between Charles I of England and the

people in arms against him. Mr. Lincoln said he did not profess to be posted in history, and would turn Mr. Hunter over to Mr. Seward on all such matters. "All I distinctly recollect," said he, "about Charles I is, that he lost his head in the end."

Mr. Lincoln subsequently discussed fully his Emancipation Proclamation. He said that, in the beginning, it had not been his intention to interfere with slavery in the States ; that he never would have done it if he had not been compelled by necessity to do it, to maintain the Union ; that the subject presented many difficult and perplexing questions ; that he had hesitated for some time, and had resorted to that measure only when driven to it by public necessity ; that he had been in favor of the prohibition by the general Government of the extension of slavery into the territories, but did not think the Government possessed power over the subject in the States except as a war measure ; and that he had always been in favor of gradual emancipation. Mr. Seward also spoke at length upon the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, and said that what he had thought would require forty or fifty years of agitation to accomplish would certainly be attained in a much shorter time.

Other matters relating to the evils of immediate emancipation, especially the suffering which would necessarily attend the old and infirm, as well as the women and children, were then referred to. These were fully admitted by Mr. Lincoln ; but as to them he illustrated his position with an anecdote about the Illinois farmer and his hogs. An Illinois farmer was congratulating himself with a neighbor upon a great discovery he had made, by which he would economize much time and labor in gathering and taking care of the food crop for his hogs, as well as trouble in looking after and feeding them during the winter. "What is it?" said the neighbor. "Why, it is," said the farmer, "to plant plenty of potatoes, and when they are mature, without either digging or housing them, turn the hogs in the field, and let them get their own food as they want it." "But," said the neighbor, "how will they do when the winter comes and the ground is hard frozen?" "Well," said the farmer, "let 'em root."

Mr. Hunter inquired of Mr. Lincoln what, according to his idea, would be the result of the restoration of the Union as to West Virginia. Mr. Lincoln said he could only give his individual opinion, which was, that West Virginia would continue to be recognized as a separate State in the Union. Mr. Hunter then very forcibly summed up the conclusions which seemed to him to be logically deducible from



the conference. In his judgment they amounted to nothing as a basis of peace but an unconditional surrender on the part of the Confederate States and their people.

Mr. Seward insisted that no words like "unconditional surrender" had been used; none importing or justly implying degradation or humiliation to the people of the Confederate States. He did not think that yielding to the execution of the laws under the Constitution of the United States, with all its guarantees and securities for personal and political rights as they might be declared by the courts, could be properly considered as unconditional submission to conquerors, or as having anything humiliating in it. After considerable discussion on that point between Mr. Hunter and Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln said that, so far as the Confiscation Acts and other penal acts were concerned, their enforcement would be left entirely to him, and he should exercise the power of the Executive with the utmost liberality. He said he should be willing to remunerate the southern people for their slaves; that he believed the people of the North were as responsible for slavery as the people of the South; that if the war should then cease with the voluntary abolition of slavery by the States, he should be in favor individually of the payment by the Government of a fair indemnity for the loss to the owners; that he believed this feeling was very extensive at the North, but on this subject he could give no assurance and enter into no stipulation.

The conference, after a session of about four hours, then terminated, and the parties took formal and friendly leave of each other. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward returned to Washington, and Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell went back to City Point, under the escort of Col. Babcock. There they met Gen. Grant again; and he was evidently disappointed that nothing had been accomplished in the effort to bring about a suspension of hostilities.

It is proper to say that the facts here stated have been gathered from the report of the commissioners bearing date February 5, 1865; from the message of Mr. Davis to the Confederate Senate and House of Representatives, communicated on February 6, 1865; from the message of Mr. Lincoln to the United States House of Representatives, sent in answer to a resolution soon after his return from Fortress Monroe; from conversations held with one of the commissioners; and from the narrative of Mr. Stephens, published soon after the termination of the war.

The failure of the conference was a great disappointment, not only

to the authorities at Richmond, but to the people generally. Mr. Davis, in his message to the Confederate Senate and House of Representatives transmitting the report of the commissioners, accepted the action of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward as showing that "they refused to enter into negotiations with the Confederate States, or any of them separately, or to give to our people any other terms or guarantees than those which the conqueror may grant, or to permit us to have peace on any other basis than our unconditional submission to their rule, coupled with the acceptance of their recent legislation on the subject of the relations between the white and black populations of each State."

In a public address delivered before a large audience at the African Church in Richmond, soon after the return of the commissioners, he aroused the people to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and incited them to renewed determination to continue the struggle and to stake all upon the issue. His speech was characterized by the boldest and most defiant tone, and was delivered in his loftiest and most captivating style. As a specimen of real oratory it has never been surpassed—not even by the fiery eloquence of Rienzi when he stirred the hearts of the Romans to their inmost depths, nor by the burning words of Demosthenes when he moved the Athenians to cry out against Philip. There were other speakers on the occasion referred to, among them Gustavus A. Henry, the Eagle Orator of Tennessee, then a member of the Senate, and the silver-tongued Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, then Secretary of State. The circumstances under which the meeting was held and the fervid eloquence of the speakers made a profound impression, and those present with one heart and one voice resolved that there was no alternative left but to fight on to the bitter end. The end came within two months, when Gen. Lee and the remnant of his gallant army, having fought to the point of complete exhaustion, furled their banners, and laid down their arms at Appomattox.

JOHN GOODE.



## AMERICA'S FIRST AND LATEST COLONY.

CONCERNING many political occurrences in Samoa during the past twelve or fourteen months, I hold opinions which are probably not less defensible because they happen for the moment to be shared only by a small minority. For reasons set forth at some length in an article entitled "The Samoan Crisis and its Causes," contributed to the May number of the "Fortnightly Review," I have condemned the decision of ex-Chief-Justice Chambers, in the matter of the kingship, as bad in law, contrary to the public interest, and opposed to all ideas of equity and reason. A short while after this article was published, I was enabled to investigate on the spot, and from many points of view, the remarkable series of events which preceded and followed the delivery of the judgment. I made the acquaintance of most of the actors, "star" and supernumerary, who had played rôles in the medley-drama of intrigue, farce, and comedy; I visited the places at which history had been made—consulates, mission-houses, villages and plantations ravaged by fire, and other resources of civilization; and I was an interested, not unfriendly, critic of the proceedings of the Joint Commissioners, who arrived at Apia with a cargo of good intentions, and departed leaving confusion worse confounded.

Of these things, however, it is not my purpose to write here; nor shall I do more than allude to a notable absence, in the international arrangements recently arrived at, of moral considerations and of reference to treaty and other obligations to the Samoans. In an article, "Gains and Losses in the Pacific," which appeared in the January number of the "Fortnightly Review," these questions are discussed, not unfairly, I hope, nor with greater severity than the occasion justifies. The more pleasing task which I now essay is to offer an historical sketch of American rights in Samoa as they have heretofore been recognized, and to describe briefly the dependencies to which, somewhat unexpectedly, the republic has fallen heir.

The signature at London, on November 14, 1899, of the Anglo-German Convention, "for the settlement of the Samoan and other questions," has cleared the way for the full and undisturbed enjoy-

ment by the United States of rights which have been practically in abeyance for more than twenty years. Pago-Pago, indeed, merits very conspicuous attention from commentators on the political development of the republic. Its "cession" to Commander R. W. Meade, of the "Narragansett," in 1872, and the treaty of Washington, signed six years later, constituted the port, to all intents and purposes, the first-born of America's over-sea colonies. These events, moreover, were original symptoms of that long-threatened revolution in national sentiment which was quickened by the war with Spain and now finds expression in a policy of expansion.

To President Grant and the aforesaid naval officer belong the credit of initiating the movement. In March, 1873, during the former's occupancy of the Executive Mansion, Col. A. R. Steinberger was appointed by the Department of State "special agent of the government to visit and report upon" the Samoan Islands. This mission appears to have been suggested by certain "highly respectable commercial persons," who represented that great opportunities were offered of increasing the trade relations of America with the Western Pacific, and also by the circumstance that, in the preceding year, Capt. Meade, acting of course on his own responsibility, had entered into an agreement with Mauga and other Samoans. These persons described themselves as "the principal chiefs of the ten houses of the island of Tutuila," who had formed a league for their mutual welfare and protection, and were entitled by office to grant to the Government of the United States the exclusive privilege of establishing a coaling station in the port of Pago-Pago. In May, 1872, the agreement was communicated by the President to the Senate—which, however, took no action in the matter—with the remark that he would not hesitate to recommend its approval but for the promise of protection to which it seemed to pledge the republic.

Col. Steinberger duly visited the islands, returned, and presented an elaborate report to Mr. Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State; and this report, with inclosures, was, in April, 1874, transmitted by the President to the two Houses of Congress. Innumerable documents have since been written concerning Samoa and its people. Of these, some have sought to disparage the value of their earliest predecessor; others flatly contradict, often with excellent reason, the accuracy of many of its conclusions; yet, to this day, Col. Steinberger's report remains a monument to the shrewdness and indefatigable energy of its author, one of the most interesting and astute summaries of matters



connected with the islands. To Col. Steinberger's return to Samoa, his adventurous, and not too honorable career, as premier of the native government, his arrest and deportation on board a British man-of-war, it is unnecessary to refer more than casually. Let it suffice to say, that of all the foreigners who, at different times, have essayed to sway the destinies of Samoa, he best understood the needs of the islands and the character of their people.

The administration of Col. Steinberger, though short-lived, was the only really efficient and consistent one which Samoa has enjoyed since the advent of a white population ; and its fall must be attributed in large measure to the opposition of citizens of other nationalities, envious of the colonel's popularity among the natives, and apprehensive lest it might foreshadow American ascendancy in the councils of the islands. Ignoring the kaleidoscopic changes of Samoan politics, and the naïve candor of Stevenson's humorist-politician—"I never saw so good a place as this Apia. You can be in a new conspiracy every day"—outside critics have frequently dilated upon the brief memories of the Samoans. So much, however, may be said, that, among the older natives, Col. Steinberger's services in behalf of Samoa are yet spoken of in terms of grateful appreciation. His work, moreover, bore fruit in the outburst of national joy which greeted the signature of the Washington treaty, and in the long-continued reliance upon American friendliness and protection, which, despite the many opportunities offered for its withdrawal, prevail even to the present day.

Prior to the conclusion of the treaty of Washington, and in order to prevent supposed attempts on the part of Great Britain to annex the islands, the United States flag had twice been raised over the Samoan standard by consular representatives of the republic, and in harmony with the desires of great majorities of the Samoan people. It was, therefore, not surprising, when Le Mamea was commissioned to proceed to Washington as representative of the native government, that his countrymen believed they were on the point of securing a formal recognition of American protection. When, in July, 1878, the ambassador returned with a treaty and with glowing accounts of his reception in the United States, the joy of the Samoans knew no bounds. Soon, however, chilling doubts were spread as to the actual value of the document ; and Le Mamea was called upon to appear before gatherings of the chiefs, and subjected to a close examination regarding the significance and probable operation of the various clauses. As was very natural, under the circumstances, the Samoans were particularly

solicitous as to the weight attached by the other contracting party to the following, the first and fifth, articles of the treaty :

“There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Samoan Islands.”

“If, unhappily, any difficulties should have arisen or shall hereafter arise between the Samoan Government and any other government in amity with the United States, the government of the latter will employ its good offices for the purpose of adjusting those differences upon a satisfactory and solid foundation.”

The document in which these words occur is not only interesting at the present moment, because of the notable changes about to be accomplished in the administration of Samoa ; it is also of great historic value as the first treaty of its kind to be signed by the United States. In the account of its formal ratification by the Samoan chiefs and people, forwarded to Mr. Seward by Mr. Gustavus Goward, then commercial agent of the United States, I read that Commander Rogers, of the steamship “Adams,” promised, that “in case of trouble America would extend to them her good offices,” as provided by the treaty, and that Mr. Goward himself, representing the State Department, contributed the following among other remarks to the oratory of the occasion :

“After many years of petition, America, in her faith in the brotherhood of mankind, has heard your pathetic appeals, and, seven thousand miles away, has stretched forth her powerful hand to your aid. Other people, like yourselves, struggling for independence and national position, have in vain sought her aid and recognition. You have the honor to be the first to induce her to extend her good offices and active influence to islands so far distant. By such treaties, nations with each other bind more closely the ties of friendship and increase their commercial intercourse. The readiness and unanimity with which you have ratified this treaty, free from influence or force on our part, will be a most pleasing duty for me to report to the United States Government.”

Before seven years had elapsed, a situation was created which served to test the value to Samoa of the phrase “good offices.” In January, 1885, as a counter-demonstration to the policy pursued by the German consular representative at Apia, the United States Consul raised the flag of his country and proclaimed a protectorate. The act was promptly disavowed by the American Government ; but at the same time steps were taken to discharge in some measure the obligations which it was felt were imposed by the treaty of 1878. It is unnecessary in the present article to refer more than incidentally to the events which followed : the despatch of commissioners to Samoa ; the Washington conference ; the German war against Malietoa Laupepa ;



the destruction of the United States and German squadrons in Apia Bay ; the conference at Berlin ; the restoration of Laupepa ; the rebellions of Mataafa and the younger Tamasese ; and the oft-recurring occasions when the American Government or its local representative for the time being was obliged to take ground displeasing either to Great Britain or Germany, or both. One of the most complete epitomes of Samoan history during these troubled days will be found in a report, dated May 9, 1894, from Secretary Gresham to President Cleveland. No doubt to many readers the document is already familiar ; still I may be excused if I quote the following conclusions, to point a moral and adorn the tale :

“It is in our relations to Samoa that we have made the first departure from our traditional and well-established policy of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers in relation to objects remote from this hemisphere. If the departure was justified, there must be some evidence of detriment suffered before its adoption or of advantage since gained, to demonstrate the fact. If no such evidence can be found, we are confronted with the serious responsibility of having, without sufficient grounds, imperilled a policy which is not only coeval with our Government, but to which may, in great measure, be ascribed the peace, the prosperity, and the moral influence of the United States.”

Apart, however, from such considerations, which Mr. Gresham applied chiefly to the Act of Berlin, the treaty of 1878 claims peculiar attention as the basis on which rested for many years United States rights to Pago-Pago, the earliest and, probably, at no distant date, one of the most prized of America's over-sea possessions. Heretofore, misconception has frequently prevailed respecting the precise character of the relations between the United States and the much talked of harbor. The republic has certainly not owned it ; all her real treaty-rights being conveyed in the following concession :

“Naval vessels of the United States shall have the privilege of entering and using the port of Pago-Pago and establishing therein and on the shores thereof a station for coal and other naval supplies for their naval and commercial marine, and the Samoan Government will hereafter neither exercise nor authorize any jurisdiction within said port adverse to such rights of the United States or restrictive thereof.”

Though the United States has repeatedly, and certainly very properly, declared, that it would regard as an unfriendly act any purchase by another nation of lands for naval purposes on the shores of Pago-Pago, I much doubt whether the Samoan Government could have been legally prevented from granting to Great Britain rights very similar to those conceded to America. In this view I am fortified by Article 8

of a treaty of friendship, etc., between England and Samoa, signed at Apia, in 1879, and ratified the following year. The first-mentioned power was thereby authorized to establish on the shores of any Samoan harbor, to be subsequently designated, a naval station and coal-ing depot, under the provisions of the Washington treaty, with the restriction that "this article shall not apply to the harbors of Apia or Saluafata (the latter already ceded to Germany), or to that part of the harbor of Pago-Pago which may hereafter be selected by the Government of the United States."

That the government and people of the republic were sometimes in doubt as to the extent of the national rights is evidenced by a discussion in the Senate early in 1889, to which Mr. Bayard contributed by forwarding to Mr. John Sherman, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a copy of the deed of transfer of the harbor and two explanatory notes by Mr. Goward. The deed, dated August 5, 1878, and signed on board the "Adams" by four chiefs acting as commissioners on behalf of the Samoan Government, and selected (as explained by Mr. Goward) because they were "individually owners of property along the shore of the harbor," transferred to the Government of the United States, in accordance with the provisions of the Washington treaty, "the privilege of using the port of Pago-Pago and the shores thereof." Mr. Goward expressed the opinion—which subsequent events showed was not of appreciable value—that the instrument "might be regarded as transferring to the United States title to the land ;" but he added that at the time he was not authorized or prepared to accept an absolute title in fee-simple, not knowing how far the United States Government desired to proceed in the matter.

It is worth noting that two years before Mr. Goward pronounced his opinion, Mr. Bayard, at the Samoan conference held in Washington, had drawn special attention to the fact that, though the United States, with a great ocean front on the Pacific, was the first power to enter into a treaty with the Samoans, it had not acquired a single foot of land in that region, adding : "Our treaty antedates the rest and there was in it no special privilege of any kind. There was a cession . . . of the harbor of Pago-Pago, which remains now as it was at the time it was ceded."

In later years we find the United States eager to purchase portions of the very land to which most foreigners and many Americans believed the republic possessed unquestioned title. On January 19, 1891, Consul-General Sewall reported from Apia that, pursuant to instruc-



tions, he had secured for his Government, a piece of land from its owners, three chiefs, on the south side of the harbor, known as Goat Island, or "Nun," the price paid being \$214.29. At the same time Mr. Sewall stated that he proposed to take a surveyor to Pago-Pago, preliminary to the purchase of Swimming Point; and he recommended the immediate acquisition of the properties of the Polynesian Land Company and of all other land with a shore frontage within the limits of the Kimberley Survey. On March 31 following, Mr. Sewall reported the payment of \$200 for Swimming Point, and by the next mail forwarded surveys of other lands, the purchase of which he advised. Six months later Mr. Blacklock, the Vice-Consul General, sent to Washington for ratification a deed, relating presumably to one of these sites, "for the location of a station for naval and other supplies." On June 22, 1892, Mr. Blacklock reported the purchase for \$1,750 of the "Nathan mortgage," or "Sherwood claim," and expressed the hope that before the next mail left he would have secured another piece of land then leased to the United States Government by a Mr. Krause.

From a communication written on August 12, 1892, by Mr. Sewall (then staying on leave of absence at Bath, Maine) to the Department of State, it appears that considerable anxiety had been caused to himself and Mr. Blacklock by "news" published in a New Zealand journal to the effect that the English Land Commissioner, Mr. Haggard, had proceeded to Pago-Pago and selected, on behalf of his government, a place suitable for a coaling station. Mr. Sewall referred to several circumstances which, he believed, lent color to the belief that the mission was not self-authorized, and expressed the opinion that the activity was connected with the proposed "all red" cable-line. He alluded to the debate in the second session of the fiftieth Congress on the question of American rights and the value put upon them, and remarked that "throughout this discussion our rights at Pago-Pago were interpreted to be exclusive." Finally, he wrote:

"In pursuance of the appropriation of \$100,000 made 'for the survey, improvement, and occupation of the bay and harbor of Pago-Pago,' we have bought every title, native and foreign, to Goat Island and to the shore extending to and behind Swimming Point. . . This is the most valuable land in the harbor, but forms only a small part of the site selected by Admiral Kimberley, and is entirely insignificant in comparison with what will be needed for our station and the occupation of the harbor, as contemplated by the action of Congress. It is respectfully submitted that any attempt by any foreign power to find lodgment now at Pago-Pago would be in derogation of our rights there."

However, on January 2 following, having in the meantime received further instructions from Washington, Mr. Blacklock was enabled to report, that fuller inquiry had proved that the British Government had taken no steps to acquire land in the Pago-Pago harbor ; and a month later he wrote that Capt. Whiting, of the United States war vessel " Alliance," had

"made careful observations regarding the different points in the harbor which it would be well for our Government to own. And as soon as there is any hope of being able to get any options from the right natives," he continued, "I will attend to it. There are three points he mentions for strategic purposes ; viz., Breaker Point and Blunt Point, at the entrance of the harbor, then a point above the French Mission property, directly opposite the entrance. With these three points the harbor would be completely under our command. Then for coaling site there is a space directly opposite our present station which could be made available and should be purchased to keep any one else out."

Early in April, Mr. Blacklock proceeded to Pago-Pago, where civil war was then raging, and obtained two signed options for portions of Breaker and Blunt Points. Reporting this to his Government, he stated that it would be difficult to secure the property of the French Mission. But, with reference to the place owned by Mrs. Pike, opposite the United States coaling station, he remarked that, though the lady had on two occasions refused to entertain British offers, she was willing enough to sell to the American Government. "I am quite sure," he added, "that, when the trouble is over in Tutuila and the natives return to their homes, I could procure all the native lands within the Kimberley Survey, also most of the foreign claims, as well as any other points around the bay which the Government might wish to secure." In the following month the Vice-Consul again wrote to Washington, urging the purchase of the property previously mentioned ; and in February, 1894, he forwarded a cipher cablegram, followed by a despatch, stating that the British Consul was endeavoring to secure the land owned by Mrs. Pike.

All these despatches, with others which could be quoted, show that some such arrangement as that recently arrived at was necessary to place on record, beyond question of doubt, America's exclusive rights in the harbor of Pago-Pago. They certainly show that heretofore these rights were much less important and far-reaching than was commonly supposed. In this connection, I may be pardoned a final quotation, from the report, dated Washington, February 3, 1895, of Mr. W. L. Chambers, then United States Land Commissioner, and until recently Chief-Justice of Samoa :



"The claims and titles of our Government to Pago-Pago lots have been confirmed by the Supreme Court (of Samoa), but they are by no means as valuable property or rights as the American public would seem to think. In fact, our possessions as confirmed constitute only a small portion of the land surrounding the bay, and, in the opinion of competent authorities, it is believed that by far the most valuable part of the shore has never been acquired by us. . . . If our rights are really of value, it would be well for our Government to look further into the situation and acquire such additional rights as will make those now possessed of actual use, . . . but it would seem that before further investments are made and further rights acquired the advisability of such action should be thoroughly considered."

Tutuila is, in many respects, the most beautiful of the Samoan isles; though casual visitors often come away without that impression, owing to the frequent, almost continuous rains, in the neighborhood of Pago-Pago Bay, which have a tendency to curtail excursions. It lies thirty-eight miles from Upolu, and is the third of the Samoan Islands in size; being seventeen miles long, five miles wide, and sixty miles in circumference. Its outline is bold and picturesque, and presents striking evidence of volcanic origin. The island is almost cut in twain by the waters of Pago-Pago Bay; and the entire eastern portion, nearly two-thirds of its area, is a chain of well-wooded mountains, with an average height of 1,000 feet, diversified by massive cones of uplifted lava, intersected by valleys and ravines, and often extending almost to the sea. Except for the cocoa-nuts upon the shore-line, this portion of Tutuila can have little or no commercial value.

The western portion, however, though it has the same volcanic appearance, has greater width of area, broader valleys, and higher mountains. Of the latter Matafu is the most lofty peak, with a height of 2,350 feet above the sea-level. From it one descends southward to an undulating plain of considerable fertility, some 25,000 acres in extent. This tract is, for the most part, forest land, broken by occasional waterways; and the soil is comparatively rich, producing most of the fruits and vegetables indigenous to the group. Beyond this, to the westward, mountains again prevail; though the country about Leone, in the extreme southwest, is the richest and most populated section of the island. In Leone Bay, also, there is fair anchorage; and in the settlement around it several traders of Apia have agencies. The total superficial area of the island is 240 square miles, inhabited by about 3,000 people.

The entrance to Pago-Pago Bay, between Breaker Point on the east and Tower Rock on the west, is three-quarters of a mile in width, with soundings of thirty-six fathoms. Within it, a mile and a half

from Tower Rock, and connected with the west bank by a coral reef, is Goat Island, two acres in extent ; and this marks the entrance to the inner bay. The latter is surrounded by lofty hills, which neutralize the influences of the trade-winds and render it secure from hurricanes. At various points along the narrow shore are native villages and cocoa-nut groves ; and low down on the hillsides breadfruit, bananas, oranges, taro, and yams grow in sufficient quantity to provide for the scanty population. Fish is fairly abundant in the bay ; and a sufficiency of fresh water is usually found in the small rivulets at the mouths of the mountain ravines.

Much has been written, from time to time, and especially during the past year, concerning the strategic value of Pago-Pago, and the accommodation for shipping which might be provided within the bay. Some of the American naval men who may be said to have introduced the question into the sphere of practical politics evinced a certain tendency to overestimate the importance of the position ; and the effect of this was seen for many years, first, in the imitative or contrary tactics of civilian writers (many of whom had never been within miles of the South Pacific); and, secondly, in the probably wise disinclination of successive administrations to countenance any move in the direction of materializing the national rights, which might, in the language of Secretary Gresham, add to "the expenses, the responsibilities, and the entanglements of the Union." Still there can be no doubt of the intrinsic importance of the harbor and of its priceless value in the future.

In the spring of last year a contract was concluded between the Navy Department and a San Francisco firm for the construction at Swimming Point, in the inner bay, of a steel wharf and coaling station ; and early in June a party of engineers and skilled mechanics arrived in Tutuila for the purpose of commencing operations. The officer in charge of the work was Lieut. F. Chambers, U.S.N., assisted by two other engineers ; while the mechanics were under the direct supervision of Mr. R. Tibbetts, a member of the contracting firm. Partly owing to the late arrival of some of the machinery, lumber, and stores, and partly on account of unforeseen difficulties in levelling and preparing the site, comparatively little progress had been made in the construction of the wharf at the time I left Samoa ; but it is very probable that the contract is near completion. The plans provided for a wharf between four and five hundred feet long and forty feet wide, with an approach of almost equal length ; and the estimated cost was \$250,000.



Off the southeastern coast of Tutuila, and separated therefrom by a deep channel, lies the small island of Annu. This has an area of about ten square miles and a population of between two and three hundred ; and it is chiefly remarkable for the alleged immunity of its inhabitants from the scourge of elephantiasis, to which the natives of the other Samoan islands are more or less subject.

Thanks to their isolated position and to the unsophisticated character of their people, the islands of Manua group may claim to be almost unknown to the outer world. Of the three islands, Manua, or Tau, as it is sometimes called, is the largest, having an area of about 100 square miles ; Olesaga, four miles distant to the northwest, is credited with twenty-four square miles ; Ofu has barely ten. All are of volcanic origin, and mountainous ; but the soil is so rich that each appears clothed with vegetation to the highest summit.

Upon Manua grows the largest cocoa-nut in the world. Indeed, a single green nut sometimes furnishes nearly half a gallon of water. The inhabitants of the group number about 1,400. They maintain little or no connection with the Samoans proper, and have for many years religiously abstained from participation in the politics of their more quarrelsome and sophisticated kinsmen. At Tau, the principal village, the occasional trader from Apia is received with more or less ceremony by Tui-Manua, the hereditary high chief or king of the islands, who exercises over his people a kindly, and not unpopular, sway. According to Col. Steinberger, Manua was the original home of Mauga, the chief from whom Capt. Meade received the first Pago-Pago concession. Eighty miles east of Tau, and, therefore, 150 miles distant from Tutuila, is Rose Island, a coral lagoon, uninhabited, and of no value. It is generally considered as belonging to the Samoan group, but apparently for no better reason than that no other group cares to lay claim to it.

Such, briefly stated, are the leading features of interest in connection with the possessions conveyed to the United States by the treaty which cancels, and takes the place of, the ill-omened Act of Berlin. Americans have certainly no cause to complain of disregard of their "legitimate interests," referred to in the preamble of the treaty. Germany and Great Britain renounce, in favor of the United States, all their "rights"—a convenient expression which should not be too closely analyzed—"over the island of Tutuila and the other islands of the Samoan group east of 170 degrees east of Greenwich." Thus America's title to Pago-Pago is fully recognized ; and the republic

enters into undisputed possession of more than her original claim. As regards the future—of course, always excepting Pago-Pago Bay—she will, in my opinion, display wisdom if she contents herself with the merest shadow of sovereignty. The people of the Manua group might well be left, without any sacrifice on the part of America, to their own devices ; and but a small display of authority is required to convince the now happily unarmed Tutuilans that their true interests will be best served by cheerful acquiescence in the new rule destined for them.

JOHN GEORGE LEIGH.



## MR. STEPHEN PHILLIPS'S PLAY.

It is now some years since Mr. Traill informed the unsuspecting public that there were half a hundred or more authentic minor poets striving to catch the British ear with notes that would have seemed surprisingly true and sweet a century before. Any one at all familiar with the past and present of American literature knows that a similar phenomenon has been for some time observable in this country. Moreover, in both countries, this increase in the number of fairly good writers is to be noted in the field of prose as well as in that of verse. The most obvious explanation of what seems at first thought a remarkably encouraging state of affairs is probably to be found in the fact that, with the greater diffusion of education, especially of training in the use of the vernacular, and with the growth of population, more and more men and women have deliberately set to work to make themselves proficient in the art of writing, and have succeeded. The increased self-consciousness and desire for fame on the part of the present generation must also be taken into account; and, as in the case of all similar phenomena, we must suppose that our obvious explanation does not cover every element of the problem.

But our discovery that we have a host of meritorious minor poets has not in the least diminished our ardor to discover great ones; in fact, it seems rather to have whetted it. Ever since Tennyson and Browning were known to be passing from the scene of their great achievements, our British friends have been endeavoring to keep Mr. Swinburne from feeling lonely by finding him a worthy compeer; and we have been doing the same thing in this country since the death of Lowell—only to a less degree, since we have always had our search for the "Great American Novel" to keep our spirits up. In England, Mr. William Watson was pushed aloft to an eminence which must have seemed unsafe to a person of his distinctly critical cast of mind. Mr. Rudyard Kipling, on the strength of his "Recessional" and other performances in verse, was also, and is still, widely hailed as a denizen of the highest ridges of Parnassus. When Mr. Francis Thompson emerged sufficiently from his absorption in the seventeenth century

to address the nineteenth, he, too, speedily gathered his votaries. Of late, however—to make the list short even at the risk of slighting our native poets, some of whom deserve more praise than usually comes to those who stand and wait—the hopes of the faithful, who believe with Matthew Arnold that “the future of poetry is immense,” have centred almost unhesitatingly upon the young poet whose verses won, in 1897, the premium of a hundred guineas offered by the proprietors of “The Academy,” Mr. Stephen Phillips.

In view of the two volumes now finding thousands of readers, and of the verses that have recently appeared in periodicals, it seems safe to say that, even if the praise of the reviewers has been pitched a trifle high, devotees of poetry have not erred in relying on Mr. Phillips. He may not have given sure promise of being some day a major poet; but if he were to be taken from the scene of his triumphs, or were to become an ascetic enemy of the art he now serves, he would doubtless leave behind him not merely a pleasant memory tinged with regret, but also a small body of poetry that would attract fit readers, though few, and that would furnish anthologists with many exquisite fragments. For it is as certain as anything in the domain of literary judgments can be, that Mr. Phillips is both a born and a trained poet. He has the technique of his art as thoroughly in hand as any living English poet, save only Mr. Swinburne. His mastery of rhythm and diction is remarkable; he shows at least no lack of originality; he has imagination and fancy; he is self-critical and tactful to a high degree, or, in other words, possesses great artistic restraint; and he has an unusual sense for beauty. In addition, he evidently has high ambitions, is determined to give nothing a chance to interfere with his chosen art. In short, he takes himself seriously. It is, therefore, no wonder that thousands of people are taking him seriously.

And yet his poems, hailed though they were by the reviewers with a unanimity of praise that makes us rub our eyes and wonder if we really are still in the century of the early revilers of Byron and Keats and Tennyson and Browning, left a few questions as to Mr. Phillips's poetical capacity to be answered by his subsequent work. Did he have intellectual strength and range sufficient to make his poetry a true “criticism of life”? Did he have the wisdom of the “vates,” the bard? Did he have the flexibility and spontaneity requisite to the production of masterly work, and did he have, or was he likely to have, the copiousness needed by the major poet? Did he have the fiery energy or the calm majesty which seems to differentiate the no-



table poets of the past? In fine, would he one day show the world that truth and goodness were as component parts of his poetic creed as beauty; would his verse prove an inspiration as well as a delight? These were some of the questions that must have confronted a few of the readers of the "Poems" when they took up "Paolo and Francesca."

Nor were they impertinent or unfair questions. Mr. Phillips's *début* had been so successful, so provocative of high hopes, that some such questions were almost instinctive; and they were surely a compliment to him. Besides, his admirers had celebrated his achievements in such high strains, that the suspicions of persons devoted to poetry as well as friendly to Mr. Phillips were necessarily aroused. When an English newspaper of standing spoke of "Marpessa," not as a charming modern rendering of a classical myth that recalled Tennyson, but as having "an almost Shakespearian tenderness and beauty," one naturally felt a little startled. When "Literature" declared that the writers whom he makes one "think of range up to Milton," one inevitably examined his blank verse—and found him "sealed of the tribe" of—Tennyson. When Mr. Churton Collins discovered a "Dantesque intensity and vividness" in "The Wife," one wondered whether the Florentine, if he were alive and writing at the end of the nineteenth century, would find "the grand style" a superfluity, or would mistake gruesomeness with a touch of decadence for solemn, purifying awfulness. Not that any capable reader could have remained oblivious to the power and loveliness of the poems thus bepraised! The rather obtrusive modernity of some passages in "Marpessa" scarcely marred the effects of its beauty and subtle charm. No recollection of Tennyson could make one ungrateful for the exquisite cadences, or the perfect diction, of such verses as

" When the long day that glideth without cloud,  
The summer day, was at her blue deep hour  
Of lilies musical with busy bliss"—

or

" But if thou'lt live with me, then shalt thou bide  
In mere felicity above the world,  
In peace alive and moving, where to stir  
Is ecstasy, and thrilling is repose"—

or, again,

" Thy face remembered is from other worlds,  
It has been died for, though I know not when,  
It has been sung of, though I know not where.  
It has the strangeness of the luring West,  
And of sad sea-horizons."

For such poetry one can scarcely be too grateful ; while for the lines

“ All Asia at my feet spread out  
In indolent magnificence of bloom ! ”

it is surely permissible to feel positive rapture.

Yet, while niggardliness of praise would be unfair to Mr. Phillips, it would be equally unfair to him to assure him that he has achieved Shakespearian charm or Miltonic grandeur. He has done nothing of the sort ; he has not even shaken himself clear of Tennyson. His blank verse is admirable ; his single lines and passages are often marvels of beauty ; but, although we have rarely, or perhaps never of late, seen these things in such profusion save in his poetry, we have been recognizing them growing like flowers far and wide ever since the dominating poet of the last half of this century scattered the “ seed,” about which he once wrote in a tone of semi-serious complaint.

This is not, of course, to deny that Mr. Phillips's “ Poems ” showed originality and genuine power. “ Christ in Hades ” was a performance of haunting strength that promised much. The lines “ To Milton,—Blind ” were worthy of their subject, and will doubtless take a permanent place in that inspiring section of poetry that includes the tributes paid by poets to their predecessors in the art. “ The Woman with the Dead Soul,” “ The Wife,” “ The Question,” if their themes and treatment showed that their author had been affected by latter-day love of morbidity, proved at least by their power that the virility of his genius had not been undermined. The decadent tone of other poems that need not be named raised apprehensions ; the comparative absence of lyrics of marked excellence suggested a possible thinness of vein. But when the worst had been said, when even such minute blemishes as “ split ” infinitives and strained epithets had been duly noted, one thought of the great and rare, positive excellences, and closed the book with gratitude ; asking one's self whether the future would prove that we once more had a great poet using our noble English tongue.

The publication of “ Paolo and Francesca ” has, for many readers, answered this question in the affirmative. Although the play has not yet been performed, it has seemed to most of the reviewers that the faith exhibited by Mr. George Alexander when he commissioned the young poet to write a tragedy for him has been abundantly rewarded. Mr. Phillips has shown his genius, according to his admirers, by his ambition, his artistic sincerity, his devotion to beauty and truth. He



has actually written a noble poem on a theme that Dante seemed to have preëmpted, on a great and moving subject that had lured other poets to conspicuous failures. If the public does not like the drama—and an American critic, forgetting, as we shall soon see, the success of Boker's "*Francesca da Rimini*," thinks that being based on illicit love the play cannot prosper—then so much the worse for the public ; and in any event we have a great poem to mark the end of the century.

Nor is it only the professional reviewers that have been lavish in their praises. So competent a critic, and so busy a man, as Mr. Sidney Colvin has felt impelled to contribute to "*The Nineteenth Century*"<sup>1</sup> a long and most flattering article devoted to the play, in which he gives a sketch of its historical setting, which all interested readers should consult, and summarily sets aside other poets of the century who may be in a sense regarded as Mr. Phillips's rivals : Leigh Hunt, Silvio Pellico, and George H. Boker. With regard to the Englishman and the Italian there is no need to question Mr. Colvin's verdict ; but he might conceivably have been better informed about the American playwright. To a cultivated critic reading it in his closet, Boker's "*Francesca da Rimini*" may be "ingenious, wordy, sometimes almost witty, always too trivial for the theme, occasionally approaching the poetical, never the intense or impassioned ;" but the history of the drama shows plainly that the closet critic ought to be very careful with regard to his statements about the success of an acted play. Mr. Colvin dismisses Boker's drama with the remark that he believes "that when the late Mr. Lawrence Barrett once attempted to produce the piece on the stage, it had, as from the nature of the case one would have foreseen, no success." As a matter of fact, after Mr. Barrett had revived "*Francesca da Rimini*" in Philadelphia in 1882, he took it to New York in 1883, where it ran for nine weeks at the Star Theatre. It was subsequently, as we learn on good authority, his mainstay for about two years in the chief cities of this country.

This may seem at first thought to be a trivial detail, but in reality it is fundamental. Mr. Colvin and the rest of the critics have been predicting the success of Mr. Phillips's play upon the stage, apparently on the assumption that the acting qualities of a drama can be discovered from a careful perusal of it. But after reading another drama and drawing inferences from "the nature of the case," Mr. Colvin, as we have just seen, inferred its failure, oblivious of the fact that he could easily have ascertained that, when revived, it had, all

<sup>1</sup> December, 1899.

things considered, a conspicuous success. If his judgment failed him so completely in the one case why should it not fail him in the other?

But it is not so much Mr. Colvin that is at fault as it is the methods of criticism literary men are so prone to adopt with regard to dramas. To appreciate the poetical power and charm of "Paolo and Francesca" is one thing; to estimate its adaptability to the stage is quite another. To be sure, actors and managers have to attempt such estimates; but they know very well how egregiously their judgments are liable to go astray. If mere reading or careful criticism according to rules and conventions, or even emendation and reshaping after elaborate rehearsals, could enable dramatic authors or critics to be fairly sure that a play would succeed, should we not be spared the spectacle of seeing the conscientious works of veteran dramatists unceremoniously damned?

The moral of these remarks is plain. We must content ourselves with attempting to appreciate the poetical value of Mr. Phillips's tragedy, and to describe what appear to be its salient dramatic features. In the latter task we shall be helped, perhaps, by an occasional comparison with Boker's successful play on the same theme; but the inferences drawn from such comparisons must be purely tentative. This may seem to be a cautious, unenthusiastic, even ungenerous procedure; yet we may be sure that, though we were each and all of us literary dictators like Dr. Johnson, our prudence would do Mr. Phillips no harm. His admiring critics may help his play over the first few nights; but they will be powerless to help it when the third or even the second week begins—when the pit will be filled with people who never read reviews; to whom Dante is a mere name; for whom Francesca is not a heroine crowned with a halo of "piercing pathos" and enrapturing romance, but a strange woman in whose fate they are to be made interested.

It can scarcely be doubted that "Paolo and Francesca" will increase Mr. Phillips's reputation as a poet. The charm and beauty of his work have suffered no diminution; his cadences are as delightful and his diction as perfect as ever. We still encounter exquisite passages and single lines that linger in the memory. His art has apparently lost nothing in point of finish; and the fact that it has been exercised upon a larger scale than ever before counts as a distinct gain for the poet. He has also proved his capacity to deal in a moving way, so far as readers are concerned, with a theme superior in passionate and pa-



thetic interest to any that he has previously treated. He has shown power in handling a few characters ; and, whether or not he has succeeded in writing a play that is satisfying as a whole, he has assuredly composed several scenes of remarkable beauty and strength. How far his work, viewed merely as literature, is above what even more distinguished poets have been content to give us in the shape of tragedies in verse may be determined by a comparison of " Paolo and Francesca " with Mr. Swinburne's recently published " Rosamund." If we had nothing but these two performances to compare, it would probably be Mr. Phillips that would be standing in glorious isolation as a great poet—not Mr. Swinburne, whose play, whatever its merits of plot, has little of his pristine poetic splendor and charm.

It must, however, be said in fairness that, delightful as is Mr. Phillips's command of diction and rhythm, it is by no means certain that his style is entirely suitable to dramatic poetry. His blank verse seems fitter for narrative purposes. It is too uniformly decasyllabic, is made up too often of short words, thus failing to swell and roll like many of Shakespeare's and Milton's lines, and tends to fall into periods that are too brief and that end too frequently at the close of a verse. Such delicately modulated verse with its accompanying careful diction reminds us of the fact that Tennyson is more to Mr. Phillips than the Elizabethans. But Tennyson's style was not well adapted to bringing out individual peculiarities of character—was essentially non-dramatic—and it seems as if our poet might have found a better model. Even the far from artistic verse of Boker's play is probably more effective for actual delivery than Mr. Phillips's smooth and polished lines. Yet gratitude is certainly due to the poet who can give us such appealing passages as can be culled without difficulty from this tragedy. How beautiful, for example, is this description of the young Francesca !

" She hath but wondered up at the white clouds ;  
Hath just spread out her hands to the warm sun ;  
Hath heard but gentle words and cloister sounds."

And her own lines about herself, even if they seem to be *fin de siècle*, rather than mediæval, are equally satisfying :

" What is it to be sad ?  
Nothing hath grieved me yet but ancient woes,  
Sea-perils, or some long-ago farewell,  
Or the last sunset cry of wounded kings."

Nor are strong verses wanting. Take, for example, these lines from one of Lucrezia's speeches :

“ It is such souls as mine that go to swell  
The childless cavern cry of the barren sea ”—

or these from Paolo's passionate outburst in the fourth act :

“ Us, then, whose only pain can be to part,  
How wilt Thou punish ? For what ecstasy  
Together to be blown about the globe !  
What rapture in perpetual fire to burn  
Together !—where we are is endless fire.  
There centuries shall in a moment pass,  
And all the cycles in one hour elapse !  
Still, still together even when faints Thy sun,  
And past our souls Thy stars like ashes fall,  
How wilt Thou punish us who cannot part ? ”

But we have, perhaps, said enough about Mr. Phillips's poetic powers; and, with the remark that there may still be some doubt as to whether he has yet shown the intellectual strength and moral depth of the major poet, we may pass to a brief description of his drama. It is a tragedy of few characters, and thus lacks the movement and complexity that make a play of Shakespeare's seem like a segment of the living world. Giovanni Malatesta, Tyrant of Rimini, and Paolo, his brother ; Francesca da Rimini, Giovanni's bride, and daughter of Guido da Polenta, Tyrant of Ravenna ; and Lucrezia degl' Onesti, a cousin of Giovanni's, are the principal personages. The first act opens with Giovanni's reception of Francesca, who has been brought from Ravenna by Paolo. She is but a tender girl whose tears rise as her elderly, deformed wooer presses her hands in his rude warrior's clutch. When Giovanni goes out on business of state, she turns to the handsome younger brother, as a plant turns to the sun. He realizes the danger of the situation, and wishes to set forth at once on a military expedition ; but Francesca unwittingly beseeches him to stay, as does later Giovanni, who will not allow him to be absent from the marriage ceremony and feast.

But if Giovanni is at first unsuspecting he is soon stirred to a vague sense of danger by the worldly wisdom of Lucrezia—a neither superfluous, nor yet entirely necessary, character created by Mr. Phillips—who warns him of the risks an old man runs in taking a child-wife. Lucrezia herself is childless, and has brooded upon her condition until



she has become a fit prophetess of woe. Her place is soon taken, however, by Giovanni's blind nurse, Angela, who, through her gift of second sight, darkly reveals to him the dreadful fate that overhangs him. After this revelation, which some critics have pronounced worthy of Æschylus, but which may, perhaps, fail to appeal to an audience not under the spell of Mrs. Piper, the first act ends with a stately marriage procession.

It is by this time quite easy to see that Mr. Phillips will adhere in the main to the Greek type of drama. Little attempt will be made to reproduce the bustle and complexity and involved plot of the Elizabethan play. Destiny presides over the fortunes of the three principal personages ; and the spectator knows almost from the start what their terrible fate is to be. This insures us a dignified tragedy, and one not unlikely, considering Mr. Phillips's poetical powers, to appeal strongly to readers ; but its effect upon an audience unused to such severe art is quite problematical. Mr. Boker, on the other hand, in his "*Francesca da Rimini*," frankly imitated the Elizabethans. He developed a larger number of characters, stressed the intrigues leading up to the marriage, and made Francesca a woman capable of choosing her own fate. He gave her an excuse for her conduct by following the version of the sad story, which represents her as having been deceived by her father with regard to the personal appearance of her intended husband. She marries the hunchback warrior in order to save her father and Ravenna, but she knows that she is adding another link to the chain of fraud. Thus one deceit leads to another, and the end is a fearful crime and its expiation.

The moral is, therefore, far more obvious than it can be when Destiny is represented as pushing a weak, sweet girl into sin and shame ; and Anglo-Saxon audiences like the moral import of a tragedy to be plain. They like bustle and movement also, and the bloodshed that has been urged as an objection to Boker's play. In other words, they do not, as a rule, care for restrained art of the Greek type. But perhaps Mr. Phillips and the critics will be able to educate their taste.

The second act opens, after the lapse of a week, with a conversation between Giovanni and Paolo, in which the former discusses with the latter the revelation of the blind nurse ; the scene being naturally marked by dramatic irony. Francesca comes in "from fostering garden flowers," and business calls Giovanni out. Thus, the two victims of Destiny are left alone to have a talk that is full of subtle touches.

Paolo is still strong enough to tear himself away, and Francesca is left to ask her maid,

“Can any tell  
How sorrow first doth come? Is there a step,  
A light step, or a dreamy drip of oars?  
Is there a stirring of leaves, or ruffle of wings?  
For it seems to me that softly, without hand,  
Surely she touches me.”

On his reëntry sorrow touches Giovanni by no means so lightly. When he is left alone with Lucrezia, their talk turns, as would be expected, to the doom impending; and she quite inevitably leads him to see that it is his own beloved brother that threatens his domestic peace. He swoons at the thought, but, on recovering consciousness, bethinks him that there are “drugs to charm the hearts of women,” so necessary has Francesca’s love become to him. The whole scene ought to be quite effective in the hands of trained actors; and it contains at least two verses which it is scarcely an exaggeration to describe as almost Shakespearian,

“O barren, restless woman, at what sight  
Do you give cry at last?”

There is a strength, a *timbre* in these lines that is rare in modern poetry.

The scene now changes to a wayside inn just beyond Rimini, and the Greek type of drama is for a while abandoned. There is quite an Elizabethan charm in the brisk talk of the soldiers and girls bidding one another farewell. Like a true artist, Mr. Phillips uses prose until, at the end of the scene, he makes Paolo, after a pathetic struggle with his fatal passion, determine, in beautiful verses, that in suicide alone can he find a certain escape. The situation seems to be admirably handled, and the act closes with cadences that are nothing short of lovely:

“Under some potion gently will I die;  
And they that find me dead shall lay me down  
Beautiful as a sleeper at her feet.”

The third act continues the recurrence to the Elizabethan type of play—beginning, as it does, with what is in many respects the most interesting situation in the drama. We are introduced to the drug-shop of Pulci, in which his pretty daughter is selling philters to frail girls. After they have gone and Pulci has sent Tessa off to bed, Giovanni enters masked, and obtains from the old apothecary a



drug that "will purchase some infatuate days." Just as he is going a knock is heard, and Giovanni almost frightens to death the guilty vendor of poisons and philters by unmasking and demanding to be hidden. Pulci has time to get him behind the arras before unbarring the door. Naturally, the stranger who enters is none other than Paolo, come to get the poison that shall set him free. Pulci, in order to give Giovanni an opportunity to gather information about the clandestine doings of his subjects, tries to draw Paolo out; and the latter, feeling secure against recognition, and being resolved speedily to die, has no hesitation in declaring that he wishes to take poison as the best means of avoiding the commission of the worst of crimes against the brother who loves and trusts him. He departs with the poison. Pulci follows to see that he does not die too close to the shop. Giovanni, his suspicions now made certainties, is yet almost prompted to rush out and save Paolo, but desists, feeling that death alone can straighten out the coil that fate has made, and glad with a "dread relief" that he himself will be clear of his brother's blood.

It must be plain, even from this imperfect description, that we have here a scene of marked power; and—what is specially to be noted—it appears to be entirely of Mr. Phillips's own invention. There is seemingly nothing so effective in Boker's play, and if the attention of spectators can be held throughout the rest of the drama, as it ought with good acting to be held here, this new tragedy should be a success. But the next scene carries us back again to the Greek stage upon which Destiny stalks as protagonist. Paolo cannot bring himself to die without another sight of Francesca, and makes his way into the castle garden. Here couriers, after much search, encounter the just entering Giovanni, who, on hearing of the sudden revolt of the citizens of Pesaro, determines to set out forthwith against them, late though it be.

The scene now changes to an arbor in the garden, whither, just at dawn, Francesca, who has passed a sleepless night, repairs with a book, her maid Nita following with a lamp. After a charming colloquy she dismisses Nita, and, reading, begins to "melt into an ancient woe"—that, of course, of Launcelot and Guinevere—when Paolo enters. The scene that follows is too beautiful for treatment in prose, and sends one back for comparison, not to Boker's play, but to Dante's immortal passage. And yet, after all, Boker's bringing his lovers to the arbor in broad day, during the husband's ab-

sence, and making Paolo the reader with a purpose, is, perhaps, more natural and dramatically effective than Mr. Phillips's handling of the crucial situation. There is something factitious about this reading at dawn and the timely or untimely turning up of the would-be suicide. And does not the character of Paolo become unpleasantly weak, with the effect of detracting from the sympathy with which we witness the bestowal of the historic and fatal kiss? However this may be, the poetry of the scene deserves almost the highest praise. Could anything well be more exquisite than these lines?

PAO. So still it is that we might almost hear  
The sigh of all the sleepers in the world.

FRANC. And all the rivers running to the sea.

The fourth act opens in the late evening of the second day after Giovanni's departure. Giovanni returns, learns from Lucrezia that Paolo is not dead, and prepares to entrap the lovers. Francesca, still the trembling, fate-driven girl, is afraid to be left alone, and entreats Lucrezia to be a mother to her. The childless woman flames into a sudden, maternal passion for the victim of her own plot with Giovanni, and rushes off to find and restrain him. The situation is tense and strong, but can hardly be called natural. Lucrezia's adoption of Francesca has not been led up to sufficiently, and it would seem that exceptional acting will be required to carry it off. Still, the exaggerated passion of the elder woman, and the perhaps exaggerated timidity of the no longer inexperienced Francesca, may appeal to an end-of-the-century audience better than Boker's more natural delineation of his heroine as a strong woman determined to enjoy her passion, and to abide its consequences, would do.

We must, however, hasten to the close. Lucrezia leaves Francesca to the frail guardianship of Nita, who has a lover of her own. Paolo tries to enter, but is repulsed. Then Francesca, the beauty of whose speeches can scarcely atone for her appalling lack of strength, weakens, and Nita yields place to Paolo. He enters with a speech too dreamy for the situation; and we are once more ravished by poetry as beautiful as any that has been given us since Tennyson was in his prime. Then, passion supervening upon charm, the lovers leave the stage; and if the spectator is as highly impressed as the reader, Mr. Phillips's friends will be satisfied. Nita now enters, and after her Lucrezia, who asks eager questions as to Francesca's whereabouts, fearing the worst. Suddenly Giovanni, whom Lucrezia has not found, so



skilfully has he hidden himself, parts the curtains and appears. He sends Nita to prepare her mistress for bed, and confronts Lucrezia. She takes his hand, and he exclaims, "'Tis not my blood !" Then, cutting short her outcry, he calls in his retainers. The guilty pair, whom he has surprised and murdered, "shall be married before all men." When the servants come, he gives directions as to the disposal of the corpses ; after which blind Angela, the nurse, appropriately enters, the fatal doom she vaguely foretold having now worked itself out. The lovers are brought in upon a litter, over which Lucrezia and Giovanni pour out in short speeches their unquenchable agony. The play thus closes in true Greek style, and with these moving words from the husband's lips :

"She takes away my strength.

I did not know the dead could have such hair.

Hide them. They look like children fast asleep !"

Children ? Have we here, in the weakness of the central characters, the weak note of the play ? Perhaps so, since drama depends upon struggle, and children do not struggle sufficiently. But, perhaps, on the other hand, the audiences of London, New York, Paris, and Vienna, who, we are assured, will soon see this play, will be quite satisfied with the struggle made against Destiny by these old-time lovers, and, yielding to the spell of Mr. Phillips's artistic treatment of his theme, will award him palms that surely no one would be envious enough to grudge. Let us hope that this will be the case ; and if any of us still has doubts whether our author has yet given us work that is more than charming and fairly strong, let us put such doubts aside, and rejoice in the many excellences of a poet whose serious devotion to his noble art is worthy of all sympathy and of the warmest praise.

W. P. TRENT.

# The Forum

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APRIL, 1900.

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## THE NEW FINANCIAL LAW.

LEGISLATION has been passed fixing beyond all equivocation or doubt what is and what is to be the monetary standard of the United States. This legislation is something more than a mere declaration. The new financial law, which has just been written on the statute books, not only declares that all forms of money of the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with the gold standard, but it makes it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such a parity, and puts in his hands an ample measure of power to fulfil that duty.

When this financial measure received the sanction of the President and became an effective law, there was brought to a practical end what has been for a considerable time the foremost political issue in this country. There was, indeed, brought to a conclusion a controversy which had for a century occupied the attention of political parties and of financiers. The prescience of the makers of the Constitution, much as it has been rightfully lauded, was not equal to seeing the difficulties that would follow the provision made indifferently for the coinage of both gold and silver; and it was not long after 1800 that the difficulties of maintaining a double standard of value began to be observed. By the end of the second decade of the century the gold coin had left the country, and Congressional committees were inquiring into the reasons. Ten years later the Secretary of the Treasury declared bimetallism a practical impossibility. Congress, however, declined to support that sound conclusion, but attempted to bring both metals again into

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circulation by a change in the coinage ratio. The measure did more than was expected for it, as not many years passed before silver disappeared from circulation even more completely than the gold had disappeared. We had the gold standard and gold coin only when specie payment was suspended in 1861 ; and the resumption of specie payments in 1879 meant the resumption of gold payments on the obligations of the United States.

In the meantime, the silver dollar became obsolete ; and no silver dollars being in circulation for many years, that fact was recognized, and the coin was dropped from the mint list. With the increased production of silver, and the fall in the commercial value of the bullion, which began about 1875, there also began a movement for the resumption of silver coinage which, during the twenty-five years following, has been much of the time the chief point of political controversy between the great parties, and during that period has been an element of the very first importance in the commercial affairs of the nation.

In response to the demand for the coinage of silver there came, first, the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, providing for the purchase of a limited amount of silver each month, and its coinage into dollars. That was superseded by the Sherman Act, providing for a still larger purchase of silver bullion, to be paid for by the issue of Treasury notes, the notes in turn to be redeemable in "coin." Action under that law was suspended in 1893, and since then there has been no addition to the silver coinage ; but the question of free coinage of silver came forward as almost the exclusive question on which party lines were drawn in 1896. The Republican party in its platform declared squarely in favor of the gold standard. The political campaign was waged almost solely along the lines of this financial question, and the verdict was in favor of the single standard. The law which has now been enacted carries out fully the promise that was made in the St. Louis platform, and under the circumstances carries out that promise as speedily as could well have been done.

There was one necessity paramount to the need for financial legislation when Congress assembled in 1897. That was the necessity for providing adequate revenue ; and the attention of the special session of Congress, which President McKinley called immediately after his inauguration, was devoted to the framing of a revenue measure. When Congress met in regular session in December, the Secretary of the Treasury outlined a financial policy as strong as the warmest

friends of sound money could wish. He went further, and formulated a bill. It is interesting to note that every feature of the present financial act was contained in the bill brought forward by Secretary Gage in almost the same form as it has now become a law. The Secretary provided for the redemption of the several classes of paper money in gold, this to be accomplished through an Issue and Redemption Division, the funds in which should be kept quite distinct from the general fund of the Treasury. His measure provided for the refunding of the outstanding bonds into a new, low-rate bond, for the issue of national bank circulating notes up to par of the bonds deposited, and for other minor matters that are contained in the law which has just gone into effect.

Secretary Gage also advocated, in the measure which he presented, that national banks which had taken 80 per cent of their capital in circulation should be permitted to issue an additional 20 per cent of their capital in circulating notes secured on the assets of the bank, the amount of such issue being kept down under a repressive tax, so that such notes would only be put out in times of distinct commercial need. That step which the Secretary recommended has not yet been taken ; but the measure which has been enacted, so far as it goes, is strictly in harmony with the Secretary's earliest recommendations. The only essential difference lies in the fact that no issue of national bank circulation is provided for except that secured by deposits of United States bonds.

Not much progress was made with financial legislation in the winter of 1897-1898. The Senate was adverse to any gold standard legislation, and that in itself was sufficient to make impossible any effective action along that line. But the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph H. Walker, of Massachusetts, was hopelessly unable to come to any agreement. Mr. Walker could see no good except in his own particular financial measure ; and several other members of the Committee became almost as much wedded to their individual plans. Nearly all of those plans were good, but all through that session of Congress there was an utter impossibility of so harmonizing the members of the Committee that they could unite on any single measure ; and the result was, that no measure was seriously taken up by the House. With the elections of the following fall, a strong majority in favor of the gold standard was insured in the Senate, and the prospect for effective legislation brightened.



In January, 1899, the Republican leaders in the House decided in caucus that a Committee should be appointed to draft a financial measure. That Committee was appointed by Gen. Grosvenor, of Ohio, and was selected with great wisdom. It contained only members who had been reëlected to the next Congress, and no one who was so devoted to his own ideas of what form currency legislation should take that he would be unable to harmonize his views with those of the majority.

The work of the caucus Committee was a political as well as a financial task. It was not only necessary to frame legislation which would be wise from an economic point of view, but it was necessary that the proposed measure should command the united support of the majority. The caucus, which was held February, 1899, agreed, by a practically unanimous vote, to the appointment of a Committee to draft a bill which should be taken up for consideration as soon as Congress reassembled in December.

The Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee also set to work to prepare a bill; and both the House caucus Committee and the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee worked during the summer recess in preparing such a measure as would, on the one hand, meet every pledge and satisfy the adherents of sound money, and which would, on the other hand, be of such a character as to draw to the measure the full support of a majority, which was, especially in the House, none too large. The measure framed by the House caucus Committee was presented as the first bill offered when Congress assembled in December; going on the calendar as House Bill No. 1. It provided in the most unequivocal terms for the establishment of the gold standard, and made some changes in the national banking law, which included a repeal of the tax on circulation and the substitution therefor of a tax on franchises of national banks, as measured by their capital, surplus, and undivided profits.

The measure was quickly put through the House, under the spur of the majority, passing December 18. The vote in its favor was much stronger than the party strength, every Republican voting for it and eleven Democrats also voting in its favor, making a final tally of 190 to 150. The measure then went to the Senate, and was taken up for consideration early in January, when the bill agreed upon by the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee was substituted. That measure was somewhat less definite in its provisions for maintaining the redemption of all forms of money in gold. It did not ac-

cept the House plan for taxing bank franchises instead of circulation, and it provided an entirely new feature in the form of a refunding clause which would permit the Secretary of the Treasury to convert some \$836,000,000 of 3, 4, and 5 per cent bonds into 2 per cent bonds. The Senate bill passed by a vote of forty-six to twenty-nine, every Republican but one voting for it, and two Democrats also voting in favor of it.

When the measure went to conference there was the delicate task of harmonizing the two bills, so that the act which the Conference Committee should report would receive the full strength of the support which the original measures had received. The House was strongly in favor of more explicit language in regard to gold redemptions than the Senate had used. Especially strenuous was the House in favor of legislation which should preclude absolutely the recurrence of such conditions as led during the former administration to the "endless chain"—a redemption of legal tender notes in gold, their payment out because of a deficient revenue, and their presentation again for redemption. It was that process going over and over which brought the Treasury and the country so near a financial crisis in 1893; and the majority in the House was strong in its demands for legislation which would absolutely prevent a recurrence of such a situation. That view was impressed upon the Conference Report; and the measure which finally became a law provided that notes redeemed in gold should not be used to meet deficiencies in current revenues. The refunding measure was retained, and in general the Conference Report was closely in line with the Senate's original measure.

It is of interest to examine the completed legislation, and to note just what it is that has been enacted into law. In the first place, and most important of all, is the affirmation as to the standard unit of value, the declaration that it is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all forms of money of the United States at a parity with that standard of value, and the provision of adequate means for carrying out this direction. The measure provides that, in order to secure the prompt redemption in gold of United States notes and Treasury notes, there shall be established divisions of issue and redemption in the Treasury Department, and that in the division of redemption there shall be set apart a reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion, which fund is to be established for such redemptions, and for such redemptions only.



There has heretofore been no specific law authorizing any particular sum as a reserve to meet the redemption of greenbacks. The only semblance of such a specific statute was the provision relating to the issue of gold certificates. That provision directed that the issue of gold certificates should be suspended whenever the gold in the Treasury fell below \$100,000,000. The establishment of a definite gold reserve for the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes crystallizes into law what has for some years been the practice of the Treasury; but it goes much farther than that practice has gone. It makes the reserve \$150,000,000, and it absolutely separates it from the general fund of the Treasury.

The daily statement of the condition of the Treasury, following the passage of this act, showed a reduction of the available cash balance by \$150,000,000. That amount of gold coin and bullion has to all intents and purposes been absolutely taken out of the general fund of the Treasury, and is no longer in any wise available for expenditures. It stands quite by itself in the division of redemption, and its total can neither be increased nor diminished. When notes are redeemed, the notes so redeemed may be exchanged for gold in the general fund, or exchanged with the public for gold, or may be used to purchase gold; but if the gold in the general fund becomes exhausted, and the Treasurer cannot build up this reserve fund again by the exchange of the redeemed notes for gold, then the Secretary—should the amount of notes in the reserve fund rise to \$50,000,000, and the gold in the fund correspondingly fall below \$100,000,000—shall restore the gold to the maximum sum of \$150,000,000, by selling 3 per cent bonds, such bonds to be payable at the pleasure of the United States after one year from date.

In the case of deficient revenue, it will no longer be a possible thing for the deficiency to be made up by the sale of bonds ostensibly to provide gold for the redemption of United States notes. The endless chain which permitted such redemptions and withdrawals to go on in 1893 and 1894 is broken by that provision of the new law which prohibits the use of redeemed notes to meet deficiencies in current revenues. The issue division which is established in the Treasury has transferred to it all the coin held for the redemption of outstanding gold, silver, and currency certificates, and all of the silver dollars and silver bullion purchased under the act of 1890 held against Treasury notes. This transfer from the general fund to the divisions of issue and redemption of \$150,000,000 of gold for the redemption of United

States notes and Treasury notes, and of some \$720,000,000 of gold and silver coin and bullion held against gold and silver certificates and Treasury notes, and of United States notes held against currency certificates, leaves the general fund free from any obligations of redemption, and distinctly separates those two divisions of the Treasury—the one concerned with the issue and redemption of currency, and the other with the collections of revenue and the disbursements of expenditures.

Under the action of the new law all Treasury notes within a comparatively short time will be wiped out, their place being taken by silver certificates; for it is provided that as fast as the bullion purchased under the Act of 1890 is coined, the Secretary shall retire and cancel an equal amount of Treasury notes, issuing silver certificates against the coined silver dollars. There is now in the Treasury \$78,000,000 of silver bullion; and that will be coined at the rate of from \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000 a month, arrangements having been made to double immediately the present coinage of silver dollars. The Secretary is permitted to continue the issue of gold certificates against deposits of gold coin; but whenever the gold in the reserve fund falls below \$100,000,000, the authority to issue certificates is suspended, and remains suspended while the gold fund is below that limit. It is provided, also, that whenever the United States notes and Treasury notes in the general fund shall exceed \$60,000,000, the Secretary may suspend the issue of gold certificates.

The refunding clause of the act gives discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury to refund all of the 3 per cent Spanish War loan issued in 1898, amounting to \$198,791,440, all of the 4 per cent bonds maturing in 1907, amounting to \$545,345,200, and all of the 5 per cents maturing in 1904, amounting to \$95,009,700—a total of \$839,146,340. It is provided that there may be exchanged for those bonds an equal amount of 2 per cent bonds which will be payable specifically, principal and interest, in gold, and may be redeemed by the Government at its pleasure any time after thirty years. As the higher-rate outstanding bonds are not now payable by the Government, their redemption, of course, is entirely optional with the holders. It is provided that they may be taken in at a premium, the premium to be not greater than their present worth, to yield an income of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per annum; and the premium is to be paid in cash. That is to say, the price at which the Treasury will redeem the 3 per cent, 4 per cent, and 5 per cent bonds is such a price as would be equivalent, should



they run to maturity, to interest at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent per annum.

In the case of the 3 per cent bonds that price on April 1 will be 105.6851, of the 4's, 111.6765, of the 5's, 110.0751. None of these new 2 per cent bonds will be offered for sale ; and the only way they can be issued is in exchange for an equal par value of either 3 per cent, 4 per cent, or 5 per cent bonds. This exchange provides for the retirement and consolidation of all the bonded debt of the United States, excepting the 4 per cent bonds of 1925, amounting to \$162,315,400, and the 2 per cent bonds into which were converted the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent bonds, maturing at the option of the United States, amounting to \$25,364,500. This funding operation is peculiar in that it is an operation which is profitable both to the United States and to the holders of outstanding bonds. If all the bonds which it is proposed to refund are exchanged for the new 2 per cent bonds, the Government will make a net profit of \$22,695,509. The Treasury in that event will put out in place of the 3's, 4's, and 5's, an equal amount, par value, of 2 per cent bonds. It will pay in premiums \$86,495,821. But the total amount which would be paid in interest, principal, and premium, under the refunding arrangement, would be nearly \$23,000,000 less than the total payment of principal and interest, if the old bonds should not be refunded.

This gives rise to the natural questions, "Why should the holders of bonds make a sacrifice of this sort?" "Why should they give up bonds at a price which would net them  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent to obtain bonds which will pay them but 2 per cent?" One reason for that is to be found in the fact that the new bonds are specifically payable, principal and interest, in gold. But that cannot be a strong incentive, in view of the fact that the law which provides for the refunding also establishes on a parity with gold every other form of money. The new bonds are a longer time bond, running at least for thirty years, and that is of some advantage. The real motive for making the exchange, however, lies in the provision of the bill discriminating in favor of these new bonds as a basis for circulation for national bank-notes.

A national bank under this law may issue circulating notes up to an amount equal to its capital stock, depositing with the Treasurer of the United States as security for its circulation an equal amount of any form of United States bonds. Heretofore it could issue only up to 90 per cent of its capital, and 90 per cent of the par value of

Government bonds deposited. There has heretofore been a tax of 1 per cent on the average amount of circulation outstanding. That tax remains the same under the new law except as to circulation based on deposits of the new 2 per cent bonds. Banks taking out circulation on these new bonds will have that circulation taxed only one-half of 1 per cent. This discrimination in favor of circulation based on the new bonds furnishes the incentive to make a bank ready to sacrifice something in the way of interest in order to get the new bonds as a basis for circulating notes.

It will be a matter of the greatest interest to financiers to watch the operation of this new law in respect to national bank circulation. Opinions vary widely as to just what the effect will be. It is evident that the first effect will be, that all banks will increase the amount of their circulating notes up to the par value of the bonds they have deposited. The amount of bonds deposited to secure circulation is \$242,166,170 ; and the increase from 90 per cent of that amount to 100 per cent will give an additional national bank-note circulation of \$24,216,617. The total capital of all national banks is \$616,208,095, showing a possible inflation under the new law from the \$253,139,367 now outstanding to a total equal to the aggregate capital, which would be an increase of \$363,000,000.

With the price of the new 2 per cent bonds at par, it would be decidedly more profitable to a bank to take out circulation than it has been with the old bonds at ruling quotations. It has been calculated by the Government Actuary that a bank with \$100,000 capital, by taking out \$100,000 of circulation based on 2 per cent bonds, would make a profit, could it obtain those bonds at par, of \$1,437.50 more than if it invested the cost of the bonds at the same rate at which it might be able to loan out the new circulation. That incentive would undoubtedly be sufficient to make a very large increase in national bank-note circulation. Prices for the new bonds, however, seem likely to be above par. Quotations as high as 106 were made before the law authorizing their issue was actually passed; and at that price the profit on circulation is reduced to \$1,093, as against \$1,437.50 with the bonds at par. It seems probable that the price of the new bonds will be so far advanced that the incentive to take out circulation will in the end be about the same as it has been with the old outstanding bonds, and that an equilibrium will be reached where the price of the bond is so high as just about to balance the incentive to take out circulation ; and the total circulation will, after that, show little change. Until



that point is reached, however, there is likely to be a steady increase in the amount of circulation.

The law also changes the existing national bank legislation so as to permit the organization of banks with \$25,000 capital in any place where the population does not exceed 3,000 inhabitants. This will undoubtedly lead to the organization of a large number of small banks. Applications in the office of the Comptroller of the Currency indicate something like 150 additional banks of that character as likely to be almost immediately organized. The work of redemption of notes will be lightened by a clause of the bill which provides that hereafter silver certificates shall be issued only in denominations of ten dollars and under, except that not exceeding 10 per cent of the total volume may be in larger denominations. The field of small note circulation is to be given over more completely to silver certificates, by providing that a like volume of United States notes of less denominations than ten dollars shall, from time to time, be retired, and replaced with larger denominations as the larger denominations of silver certificates are broken up into denominations of ten dollars and under. National bank-notes are also removed from the small note field, by a provision that only one-third of the circulating notes of any national bank may be of denominations less than ten dollars.

The passage of this measure is the final act in the controversy over a double standard which has lasted during almost the whole history of our Government. It is too much to say, however, that it is a final settlement of the currency questions of the day. A solid foundation is laid when the country is placed squarely on the single gold standard and adequate means are provided for keeping it there ; but there are still unscientific features in our currency, and much remains to be worked out regarding bank-note issues that shall respond, in volume, to the commercial needs of the day rather than to the market price for Government bonds.

FRANK A. VANDERLIP.

## THE PUERTO RICAN RELIEF BILL.

THE Puerto Rican Bill which passed the House of Representatives on March 1, 1900, has been much misunderstood. Though for a time public sentiment appeared strongly opposed to it, it is, nevertheless, a just and meritorious measure. As it passed the House it provided that the tariffs, customs, and duties to be collected upon all articles imported into Puerto Rico from ports other than those of the United States should be the same as those collected upon articles imported into the United States from foreign countries. It provided, also, that the rate of duty to be paid on all imports from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico should be 15 per cent of the duties charged on like articles from other foreign ports, with this proviso, that all articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States subject to internal revenue duty in this country should pay this custom duty of 15 per cent plus the regular revenue tax on articles of that class produced or manufactured in the United States.

The criticisms of the bill were not directed against the rates of custom duties charged on articles imported from foreign countries into Puerto Rico. The consensus of opinion was, that those rates were equitable and just. The broad claim was made, however, by the Democrats of the House and by a few Republicans, that there should be absolutely free trade on all articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico. Those who opposed the bill based their objections upon two grounds : (1) that all import duties levied on articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico were unfair and unjust to the Puerto Ricans ; and (2) that under the Paris Treaty of Peace, between Spain and the United States, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands became integral parts of the United States, and that Congress had no more constitutional authority to impose custom rates on the Puerto Ricans, as proposed in this bill, than it had to make like impositions of custom duties on the products of New Mexico or Arizona imported into the States.



Both of these objections to the bill have been ably discussed in the House of Representatives and in the newspapers of the country. However, if the conditions of the Puerto Ricans were completely understood, and if our people could fully appreciate the effect upon the farmers and laboring people of the United States should the constitutional contention of the Democrats be upheld by the Supreme Court, it would be seen that the measure was both just and wise.

When Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, we took over with it the responsibility of providing a government for the people of the Island ; and the problem of how to raise the money for this purpose was presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. After a careful investigation of the subject, Gen. Davis, the present Military Governor, has estimated that the expenditures for the next fiscal year, to administer the affairs of the Island, will aggregate \$1,943,678.71. Of this amount, he proposes to use \$300,000 for the construction of school-houses and in the establishment of schools, and \$300,000 for the construction and improvement of highways. The balance is to be used in defraying the expenses of a civil government.

To start Puerto Rico on the way to progress is not an easy matter, and will involve the outlay of considerable money. While the soil is rich and productive, the people on the whole are not prosperous. The total population, at the present time, is estimated at 1,000,000 souls—620,000 whites, 300,000 mulattoes, and 80,000 full-blooded negroes. As the superficial area of the Island is estimated at 3,150 to 3,860 square miles, Puerto Rico is clearly one of the most densely populated portions of the globe. One-third of the population is made up of paupers, and the great majority of the people are dependent upon their daily wages for support. The wages of the common field hands range from thirty-five to fifty cents a day, native money ; *i.e.*, from twenty-one to thirty cents a day, American money.

Of the total population of Puerto Rico not more than  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent can read and write the Spanish language, and less than one-tenth of 1 per cent can read and write the English language. Prior to the cession of Puerto Rico to the United States, not a single building was ever constructed as a school-house. Under the Spanish rule, there were excuses for schools at various places ; but they were in rented buildings, and the schools were conducted in a manner that made them of little benefit to the people.

To make matters worse, this beautiful Island was visited, on Au-

gust 8, 1899, by a tropical terror, which was particularly destructive on the eastern and southern coasts, and in the interior. Yabucoa was made a heap of ruins ; the old port and town of Arroyo were practically destroyed ; and great damage was done at Ponce. The coffee and cane crops were greatly damaged, and in some parts of the Island entirely ruined. Between 2,000 and 3,000 persons lost their lives, and a great deal of the live stock was destroyed. The great damage caused by this hurricane seriously impaired the ability of the Puerto Ricans to raise the revenue required to defray the expenses of the government, either by direct taxation or otherwise.

When the matter of raising the needed revenue came up in the House of Representatives, three methods were suggested : (1) a loan of several million dollars, and the bonding of the Island for its payment ; (2) a direct appropriation from the Treasury of the United States; and (3) the revenue bill approved by the House of Representatives.

The policy of bonding the Island for an amount sufficient to meet the present and future needs of the people did not meet with approval. The Island was free from debt when it was ceded to the United States by Spain. With its rich and productive soil, and with the added stimulus given to the people under a freer and more humane government, it was thought to be poor policy to handicap the inhabitants by fastening upon them, at the very inception of their new national life, a large bonded indebtedness.

Again, nobody could look with favor upon a direct appropriation from the Treasury of the United States to pay the expenses incurred in administering the civil affairs of Puerto Rico. This would be supporting the people of the Island by taxing the people of the United States—a method of meeting the emergency which was deemed to be unwise as well as unjust.

The way of meeting the case by imposing the indirect taxation of custom duties was finally looked upon as the most advisable system of taxation, because it is the easiest to collect, and the least felt by those required to pay it. This method is represented by the Puerto Rican Bill which passed the House. The bill does not establish a system of government for Puerto Rico, nor does it profess by its terms to be a permanent system for raising revenue. It is only temporary in character, and was passed to meet the existing emergency. While it will serve to raise a revenue of more than \$2,000,000 annually, no part of the sum will go into the Treasury of the United States. All



the money collected, under the provisions of the bill, at Puerto Rican ports, and at those of the United States, will be placed in the hands of the President, to be used for the sole benefit of the Puerto Ricans—to defray the expenses of the civil government and to improve the conditions of the people.

Under the existing law all products imported into the United States from Puerto Rico pay the full rates of custom duties imposed by the Dingley law. Under this bill the Dingley rates are reduced 85 per cent. An analysis of the bill will show that it is not inimical to the Puerto Ricans, but that, on the contrary, it is directly to their interest, as it gives to the Island a revenue sufficient to meet all necessary expenditures, without subjecting the Puerto Ricans to the charge that we are doing charitable work for them, which charge might be made if the money needed for the government of the Island were taken out of the United States Treasury. The provisions of the bill make the Island self-supporting by following the same system of raising revenue that has been in force in the United States since the formation of our constitutional government.

The constitutional objection raised to the bill is entitled to more than passing consideration. The members of the House who opposed it on constitutional grounds made the bold claim that, under the Paris Treaty, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands became integral parts of the United States to the same extent as Oklahoma or the Indian Territory; that, by virtue of the Treaty of cession to the United States, the people living in those Islands became American citizens, under our Federal Constitution, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed to an American citizen in any one of the States. They also insisted that all forms of taxation, including custom dues, internal revenue, and direct taxation, must be uniform not only in the States that form the Federal Republic, but throughout these Islands as well; that, without additional legislation, our navigation laws extended to all the ports of these newly acquired possessions; and that not only the products raised and manufactured in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands could be brought into the ports of the United States free of any custom duties and without any prohibition or other limitations, but that the people had the right to come to any portion of the United States as freely and uninterruptedly as the citizens of any one State had the right to go into any other State. This contention is startling in the extreme; and if it be true, the American people did not realize what their Representatives were

doing when the Treaty of Peace, negotiated by our Commissioners at Paris, under the direction of the President, was approved by the Senate of the United States, and ratified by Congress.

It will be remembered that these Islands came to us through the fortunes of war—a war brought on not by the action of the Republican party, but by the people of the United States, through their Representatives, regardless of party considerations. The overwhelming public sentiment of the country was also in favor of the retention of the Philippine Islands as well as of Puerto Rico. The Treaty was ratified by the joint approval of the Republican and Democratic parties in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Indeed, Mr. Bryan, the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party, loudly proclaimed for the ratification of the Treaty and the cession of these Islands to the United States ; so that the responsibility, whatever it may be, must be equally shared by Democrats and Republicans. It becomes material, therefore, to note the attitude of the respective parties concerning the legislative treatment of these Islands and their inhabitants.

Under the Democratic contention, all tariff duties on products imported from the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico are unconstitutional ; free trade between them and the United States being guaranteed, the same as in the case of free trade between Illinois and Iowa. This means the breaking down of our tariff laws against the products of cheap labor. It means, also, the breaking down of all legislative protection against Asiatic coolies ; the Chinese and Japanese laborers in the Hawaiian Islands and in the Philippine Archipelago becoming American citizens. It means, furthermore, that industries established in Manila and other parts of the Island of Luzon, by aggregated capital, to manufacture with cheap labor products for the use of the people of this country, have the right to send such products without let or hindrance into the United States, to compete with the products manufactured by high-priced American labor. Under this construction of the Constitution, the 11,000,000 people living in the Philippine Archipelago become a direct menace to the laboring interests of the United States ; so that these Islands, instead of proving a blessing, as all Americans believed they would when Admiral Dewey achieved his brilliant victory in Manila Bay, will become a curse to the people of the United States.

These are not all the disastrous effects which, under the Democratic construction of the Constitution, will come upon the people



of this country through the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. By the Treaty of Peace, Spain is permitted, for a limited number of years, to enter all her products into the ports of those Islands under the same terms and conditions as like products are entered from the United States. If by the acquisition of those Islands free trade is established between them and the United States, then, during the period stipulated in the Treaty of Peace, Spain can have all her products entered into the ports of those Islands free of any custom duty or other taxation. Under the favored nation clause, which is found in our treaties with England, France, Germany, Russia, and other European countries, if Spain's products are entered into the ports of those Islands free of duty, the products of all these other countries are entitled to like privileges, and would also enter free of duty. From there they could be shipped to any of the ports of the United States as freely as goods are shipped from Ohio to New York. It will thus be seen that under this construction of the Constitution all our custom laws can be annulled, and the United States made absolutely a free-trade country.

It has been the dream of all patriotic Americans to increase our trade and commerce in the Orient ; and our people have sympathized with every effort made by England and Japan to force Germany, France, and Russia to agree to the open-door policy in China. Moreover, it is an open secret that this Administration has been long at work in endeavoring to come to commercial agreements with the countries interested in Chinese and other Oriental trade—agreements such as would secure to America the same privileges of free and open trade in all the ports of China as are guaranteed to any other nation.

One of our inducements has been the announcement of the open-door policy of the United States in the Philippine Islands. This, however, does not mean free trade, but simply equality of trade ; and this implies, that all the countries which come to such a commercial arrangement with the United States have the right to enter all their products into the ports of those Islands under terms and conditions as favorable as those under which the products imported from the United States are entered into those ports. If free trade is assured between those Islands and the United States, simply through their acquisition, then all efforts of this Administration to secure the much sought for privileges, just mentioned, in the different ports of China controlled by Germany, Russia, and France, and all hope of increasing our trade and commerce in that country must be abandoned, or

we must accept the alternative of throwing open all our ports to the free competition of the civilized nations of the world.

The Republicans dissent *in toto* from a construction of the Constitution which will bring such accumulated calamities upon the people of the United States. They claim that those Islands are not integral parts of the United States, and that the Constitution does not, of its own vigor, extend to them. They hold that under the Constitution of the United States, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands have become the property, not a part of, the United States, and that there is no constitutional limitation upon Congress defining or restricting the character of the legislation that shall be enacted for the people of those Islands. They maintain that Congress has full right and authority to form territorial governments for the people of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands—governments adapted to climatic conditions, racial peculiarities, the industrial and political development of their peoples, and all other elements peculiar to peoples ranging from savagery to civilization.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to quote authorities and to give the reasons advanced by the Republicans in support of their contention ; but a review of the history of the various acts of Congress respecting Territories and their government—beginning with the legislation relating to the government of the Louisiana Territory, in 1803, and ending with the legislation relating to the Hawaiian Islands, enacted by the Fifty-fifth Congress—confirms the position that Congress, in providing Territories with governments, and with laws relating to the people living in those Territories, is at liberty to establish whatever kind of government it pleases, and that it has established in the past whatever sort of government was, in its judgment, best suited to meet the needs of the people. That we have free trade, under existing laws, between New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and the States, is no argument against the power of Congress to legislate for Territories regardless of any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution. By treaty stipulations and by direct Acts of Congress, the provisions of the Constitution of the United States have been extended to those Territories. By the Treaty of Paris, the civil rights and the political status of the people of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are to be determined by Congress.

As has already been shown, in preparing the Puerto Rican Bill the object was to benefit the Puerto Ricans. It is conceded, however,



that, in framing that bill and in passing it in the House, the Republicans felt that they might as well meet this constitutional objection at the very threshold of all legislation respecting them. If this bill becomes a law, any person who feels himself aggrieved by being compelled to pay the 15 per cent custom duties can test its constitutionality ; and a decision can thus be obtained from the Supreme Court of the United States on the constitutional question which divides the Republicans and the Democrats.

If the Democratic construction of the Constitution is upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, we cannot too quickly terminate our relations with the Philippine Islands. Their retention under such conditions would bring unnumbered woes to our people. If, however, the Supreme Court holds, as I believe it will, that the construction of the Constitution as contended by the Republicans is the true interpretation of that great instrument, the problem involved in the control of these Islands is made direct and simple. In that case, Congress will have the power to legislate for them in a manner suited to their conditions. They can be given larger liberties and a better civilization than they have heretofore enjoyed, without imperilling any of the safeguards which are a part of the inheritance of every American citizen, and without endangering the great laboring interests of this country—the glory of the Republic.

I maintain, therefore, that if no other question were involved in this Puerto Rican Bill, not only were the Republicans justified in passing it in the House, but their duty to their constituents and their countrymen demanded of them its enactment into law, at the earliest possible moment, so that all good citizens might know, before any direct legislation is enacted for the Philippine Islands, just what our relations to these new possessions are.

ALBERT J. HOPKINS.

## RUSSIA'S LIEN ON PERSIA.

It was once said that every grave is a cradle, and every cradle a grave. This double aphorism may certainly be applied to Persia. It has been in turn the home and the tomb of empires, and its fitful history recalls to us most vividly the decline and fall of dynasties.

The past of Persia stretches back to the dawn of human history; and its present position is all the sadder when one remembers the part it has played in the early progress of the world. Its fall was not due to racial decay, nor to the sterility of the country, but to other circumstances, which had far-reaching consequences. The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama opened a new route between Europe and Asia. The conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks completed the isolation of Persia, and cut off all communication between Europe and the remote East through Persian territory. As results of these causes Persia ceased to have direct communication with the western world, and lost touch with the ideas which have regenerated modern Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the wealth of Persia, which was at one time fabulous, almost completely disappeared, and that the intellectual activity, for which it had at one time been famous, became a mere tradition.

Ten years ago, the conditions of the country presented a picture of Asiatic retrogression. The capital of each province had its own mint; and the coinage was carried on in so haphazard a manner that there was a difference of 17 per cent between coins of the same nominal standard. The Kran fluctuated so much in value as to paralyze all attempts at buying and selling, and to open a ready means for fraud and dishonesty. So uncertain a medium of exchange was in many respects inferior to the system of barter which it had superseded.

The difficulty of transporting money from one part of the country to the other, frequently by caravans of camels, was a great obstacle to inter-provincial dealings and to both the exchange and the production of the whole country. Persia had been the seat of an extensive sugar industry. The sugar-cane was grown in many parts of the



country, and a large export trade had once been carried on. The Caspian littoral is the only district where sugar is now produced ; and the yearly export of it is only ninety tons.

In the past, the silk trade had been a flourishing industry ; but a disease which attacked the silkworm destroyed the trade, for no attempt was made, as in France and elsewhere, to introduce silkworms from other countries. Cotton could be grown in almost every province ; but up to ten years ago not a cotton gin, nor even a hydraulic press, was to be found in Persian territory. A few wooden hand-presses in Ispahan baled and packed all the cotton produced in the country. No effort had ever been made to extend the wool export trade, which without doubt has been capable of immense development. Again, with an elementary knowledge of western processes of cultivation, the area of cultivation for wheat, barley, rice, and tobacco could have been greatly increased. In Persia agriculture is carried on under the crudest conditions. One man and two oxen are occupied in ploughing one acre per day, and with a plough but little better than the shod stick used in Biblical times. A Stockton plough, to be found on any ranch in California, would not only plough many times as much in the same time, but would increase the production per acre fivefold.

A comparison with California, in respect to a few staple articles, would well illustrate the backwardness of Persia as well as her possibilities. California has just one-third the area of Persia ; yet the county of Fresno alone, which, as a fruit-growing district, is only twenty years old, exports more fruit than the whole of Persia. Though Persia is as well adapted as California to the growth of the wine grape, no Persian wine crosses the Persian frontier. California produces 54,000,000 pounds of wool, most of which is exported. The wool export of Persia reaches 6,000,000 pounds only. California exports wheat to the value of \$25,000,000. Owing to lack of means of communication, and to methods of tillage 2,000 years old, not a bushel of wheat had been exported from northern Persia.

Such was Persia ten years ago, when Sir Henry Drummond Wolff came there as England's representative, and attempted the reclamation of the country. Ten years ago the fight for Persia between England and Russia was begun. At first, England scored several diplomatic victories. When Sir Henry arrived, Persia had been slumbering for centuries. Sir Henry was a man of aggressive spirit and vigorous intellect, entirely untrammelled by diplomatic conventional-

ities and usages. He determined to make Persia a field for the investment of English capital. He prevailed upon the Shah to open the Karun River to the navigation of the world. He obtained the concession for the Imperial Bank, the Mining Rights and Road Company, the Tramway Company, the Persian Gulf Trading Company, the great concession for the monopoly of trade and export of tobacco, besides several minor undertakings.

As a result of these concessions nearly \$20,000,000 of European capital was invested in productive industries in Persia. Progress and civilization were evidently on the way to this sluggish, stationary Asian Empire. The transition stage reminded one strongly of certain phases of progress through which Japan had just passed ; so that Europeans, especially Englishmen, were sanguine of the ultimate reclamation of the country. The results of the work were immediately felt. In every province, Europeans were engaged in transacting the business of foreign companies. The once mythical capital of the Shah was lighted by a European company ; a tramway was constructed for its streets ; and the building of a road between Teheran and the head of the Karun River was at once begun.

As a factor in the development of production, a good system of currency is as useful as railroads and telegraphs. The Imperial Bank established by the English substituted a sound paper currency, based upon the European system. A uniform silver currency was established. Bank-notes, at first viewed with suspicion, were beginning to be generally used, and could be seen in the bazaars. The ease with which paper money could be sent from one part of the country to the other substantially added to the growth and development of commercial transactions. This easy and cheap transmission of paper money, as contrasted with the difficulty of transporting specie, under the old system, together with the confidence that was felt in the stability of European banking methods, led many Persians to convert to productive uses wealth which had been hoarded up—a common practice in Asia—and it was also bringing the different parts of the kingdom into closer commercial relation with one another. On all sides, in town and country, there were the indications of the beginning of progress. The sudden influx of western energy and European capital had overcome the inertia of centuries, and the country was awakened by the new influences of the western world.

All this did not suit Russia's book. The financial invasion of Persia, by England, Belgium, and other European countries, was not in



accord with Russia's plans for Persia's future. The investments of capital by these countries might, perhaps, give rise to future claims which would end with attempts at political control. As a compensation for the concessions granted to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, one concession was demanded by the Russian Minister ; namely, that no railroads should be allowed in the kingdom. This was practically a concession against progress. Persia was to lie fallow, free from foreign entanglements, until Russia saw fit to make use of her.

The Russians, like ourselves, have a doctrine of manifest destiny. In their case it is, that all Asia must eventually come under their control. The opportunity to turn back this tide of civilization and progress soon came, and was cleverly seized upon by the Russian diplomats. The English tactlessly attempted to enforce one of the provisions of the tobacco monopoly—that provision which empowered them to order all Persian tobacco dealers to go out of business on a certain day.

When the foreign tobacco monopoly attempted to force this provision, the mollahs, Persian priests, announced to the people that tobacco was unclean. They forbade them to smoke while tobacco was handled by foreigners. The leading priest represented to the King, that the concession the latter had given to a company of foreigners to control the cultivation and sale of tobacco in Persia was inconsistent with the doctrines of the Koran and of Islam. They demanded an abolition of the concession. The universal use of tobacco in Persia—it is almost a necessity in Persian life—is well known. The attempt by an English corporation to control the sale influenced the fanatical hatred of all foreigners. It was so intense that, after various agitations in different parts of the kingdom, the internal monopoly was abolished ; leaving the company with the monopoly of its export only.

When this had been accomplished, the King ordered one of the high mollahs to smoke in the mosque, and to state to the people there that, since the internal monopoly was abolished, tobacco was no longer unclean. The King regarded abstaining from tobacco as a sullen resistance to his will. The mollah refused ; and the King ordered him to leave the country. This mollah was a man of high standing in the community. He was a teacher of civil and religious law, and was much beloved by the students and by the people. Upon the arrival of his students at his house the next morning, to hear him expound the doctrine of the Koran, they found his caravan of camels ready, and that he was preparing to depart. Upon learning the cause of his exile the students rent their garments ; and their lamentations drew

a great crowd. The bazaars and all the shops of the city were immediately closed.

The mob begged him to remain, and declared that he should not leave. It started for the King's palace, and succeeded in forcing the gates of the arc—the outer enclosure of the palace of the King and of that of one of his sons. Upon their arrival at the gate of the inner wall, they were addressed by a lieutenant of the guard from the roof of the gate. He said, "I desire to say a few words to you." The leader of the mob replied, "We will not hear you ; we are going to kill the King. The first time he went to Europe he brought us Count Monteforte—the minister of police. The second time he went to Europe he brought us the tobacco monopoly. He has sold his country to foreigners, and has spent no portion of the proceeds upon the public."

The soldiers were ordered to fire upon the mob ; but they reversed their guns, and would not harm their coreligionists in such a cause. The regiment of the King's son was then brought out and ordered to fire. Among those killed were two "green-turbaned men," descendants of the Prophet. Their bodies were taken and laid in state in the great mosque of the city. The King's son was stoned, and, with his attendants, put to flight. When the fury of the mob was at its height, some of the lower mollahs were running about in the crowd exhorting them to the "Jahed"—religious war—and inciting them to go to the foreign quarter and massacre the foreigners. Before they could get to the foreign quarter the gates of the square were closed upon them. The guns were run in and unlimbered at the gates ; and a great mollah persuaded the people to disperse and go to their homes. There was a stampede among some of the Europeans ; and many of them left their residences to take refuge in the grounds of the different legations.

Finally, the King gave way ; a conference of mollahs having demanded three things of him, which he granted : (1) A compensation for the families of those killed at the palace gate ; (2) an amnesty to all those who had been engaged in the revolt ; and (3) the total abolition of the tobacco monopoly—its export as well as its internal trade.

This affair brought to light a fact that the oldest Orientalists, even the Persians themselves, did not dream of ; namely, that the mollahs were possessed of considerable power. A mollah is not a member of any organization, like the Church of England, or one of our own churches, but simply a priest ; and it was by common consent that a body of them came together, carried on negotiations with the Shah,



made demands and concessions, and concluded an understanding with him. A means had been suddenly found for the expression of popular discontent and for the redress of popular grievances. In a despotism more like that of Cyrus and Xerxes than that of any government existing elsewhere, a parliament seemed to have risen from the ground.

Russian diplomacy and Persian fanaticism had fought and won the fight against material progress. (It must be remembered that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff had been replaced by another.) The abolition of the tobacco monopoly frightened the capitalists of Europe, and served to check the flow of European capital to the East. From that time, northern Persia has been completely within the sphere of Russian influence. The recent loan by Russia to Persia and the cession of a port upon the Persian Gulf indicate that the Russians now look upon all Persia as theirs.

It now becomes a question what part America is to play in the progress of this far-distant land, now on the verge of great changes.

While I can state from personal observation of the Russians, that their rule in Asia is, in the main, beneficial and humane, it must be said, nevertheless, that their commercial policy there is neither liberal nor enlightened; the official obstructions to trade are, indeed, greater there to-day than they were in England before the breakdown of the mercantile system. This makes it very difficult for foreign importers.

After Russia adopted the policy of protection, she put a practically prohibitive tariff upon all goods passing through the little strip of land that divides the Black and Caspian Seas, even upon goods destined to parts of Central Asia not under Russian rule. While tons of Russian goods were crossing our broad continent in bond, without paying a cent of duty, if destined for Siberia or other lands upon the Pacific, such was the rigidity of the Russian tariff, upon goods crossing this mere shoestring of territory, that Russians made no distinction whether such goods were destined for Russian lands or other parts. Consequently, foreign merchants were frequently obliged to send goods into Teheran *via* Trebizond, the old caravan route, involving 1,100 miles of camel travel, with all the loss occasioned by lapse of time and breakage. It is against such a commercial spirit as this, that nations striving for a part of the trade of Asia will have to contend.

There is no law so far behind modern requirements as the law of nations, especially that doctrine of it which allows one nation to con-

quer or annex another without regard to the vested interests which may be held by third parties. It is like one firm taking over the business of another, availing itself of all the assets, but repudiating all the obligations.

This deficiency, however, can be corrected by modern diplomacy. The Anglo-Saxons have interests in Persia. They were the pioneers of this latter-day regeneration. We ourselves were the first to import improved agricultural machinery into that country. We yearly import from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds of Persian wool—not to mention numerous articles of minor importance. Our missionaries have been for many years the pioneers of trade for all Christendom.

England and America have pried open the doors of trade upon the Pacific shores of Asia ; and our State Department would be asking for no more than justice if it should insist that the same principle applied to the Persian Gulf, where both England and America have so long enjoyed vested rights in trade.

TRUXTUN BEALE.



## THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

AT a diplomatic reunion, not long ago, it was my good fortune to hear the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs deliver a speech in which he brought out with remarkable clearness the idea that history is the only safe guide in government, and that it is impossible to govern wisely without consulting the records of the past. "If," he added, "the study of history is of great practical utility to all those who, in various capacities, take part in the administration of the State, it is of special utility to diplomatists." One must know what has been done in order to know what should be done, or, indeed, can be done. In examining the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, therefore, one must first consider the history of the question involved before discussing the stipulations in the document itself. To do this, it is necessary to go back as far as the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

The fable of the two knights who so vigorously maintained their diverse opinions about the shield of silver and gold is of universal application ; and if the ingenious author had added to the story a third knight, who was unable to see any shield at all, he would have described very accurately the contentions which have taken place about the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. There are people who think it a wise Treaty, others who think it a bad bargain, and those who contend that it does not exist. In examining the question it is convenient to take the last class first ; for, if the Treaty does not exist, the question whether it is good or bad may be left to take care of itself.

Those who maintain that there is no such engagement will tell you that the world was very guilty of such a treaty some ages since, but that now it is not to be found ; they will call it a damaging contract entered into during our diplomatic minority ; or they will say that it is a very old document, quite out of fashion, and unsuited to our present needs. If other arguments fail they will tell you that it is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine, that Nature has declared us lords of this hemisphere and of all the canals therein, no matter what the Treaty may say. They will declare that our geographical position and the

conformation of the continent give us a right to the exclusive military use of the canal. They rest their claim to disregard the Treaty upon the decrees of Nature; but, as the Lord Chancellor says in "Iolanthe," they should not tell us what Nature has told them. It is not evidence. An affidavit from the Gulf of Mexico, or a few words on oath from the San Juan River, would meet with all the attention they deserve. But such evidence has not been produced by those who claim that "chorused nature" bids us consider the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty void. In truth, those who think the Treaty has ceased to exist are but cunning to invent distinctions with which to cozen themselves. They are unable to see the Treaty, because, like Nelson, they put the telescope to the blind eye. Their views are dictated by their desires rather than by their intellects.

In 1850, the United States and England found themselves in an *impasse*. The diplomatic agent of the United States had arranged with Nicaragua for certain rights of transit across the Isthmus. England, on the other hand, had taken possession of Greytown, which would probably be the eastern outlet of any Nicaraguan canal. The United States controlled the western end of the route, while England controlled the eastern terminus. It is true that in the negotiations with Nicaragua the American agent has acted without instructions, and that the Secretary of State promptly informed Lord Palmerston that the United States "had no views of exclusive advantage to themselves in this matter." At the same time it is evident that they did not intend Great Britain to have any exclusive advantage. The result of this state of affairs was, that the two Powers agreed by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty that any canal built across the Isthmus should be neutralized; and they furthermore agreed, for the better carrying out of this design, that neither of them would "occupy or fortify or colonize or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America." Thus, the canal was to be removed from the danger of domination by either of the Powers. Other articles provided that the canal should be considered neutral in time of war, and that the maritime Powers should be invited to join in guaranteeing its neutrality, as well as to share its benefits on equal terms.

Before the exchange of ratifications Sir Henry Bulwer, desiring to avoid all doubtful disputations, filed a memorandum with the Secretary of State, saying, "Her Majesty does not understand the engagement of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlements



at Honduras, or to its dependencies." Mr. Clayton replied that this was in accordance with his own understanding of the Treaty.

Shortly after the ratifications had been exchanged disputes arose as to the meaning of the Treaty. It was debated whether England should give up her colonies already existing or whether she should merely refrain from acquiring new ones. There was also a difference of opinion as to what was meant by "Central America," and some legislators claimed that the Treaty was invalid because they were unaware of Sir Henry's note mentioned above. Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas negotiated a new treaty for the settlement of these difficulties, but it was not ratified. Great Britain suggested arbitration, which the United States declined, on the ground that the dispute was one concerning the meaning of the English language, and which could, therefore, be settled best by the two nations speaking that language. England offered to abrogate the Treaty and to return to the *status quo ante*; but the United States would not consent. Finally, Great Britain modified her possessions in accordance with the American interpretation of the Treaty. She gave up the Bay Islands, renounced her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, and arranged with Guatemala for the settlement of the boundaries of British Honduras. The United States accepted these concessions; and President Buchanan, in 1860, informed Congress that "the discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this Government."

An effort was made in 1881 to denounce the Treaty. Mr. Blaine sought to secure special and exclusive privileges for the United States in the proposed canal, and urged that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty be considered obsolete. His principal argument was based upon the change of circumstances which had taken place since 1850. But Great Britain insisted upon the validity of the engagement; and the Treaty has continued in force to this day. It gave evidence of its vitality as late as 1888 and 1894, when the United States insisted upon her own interpretation of the Treaty; using that convention as a means of compelling Great Britain to give up the last vestige of her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians. By this act the United States recorded the validity of the Treaty and her own adhesion to it.

The Treaty undoubtedly exists, and is a binding engagement. Whether it is a good treaty or a bad treaty may be a matter of opinion; for, according to a certain unpractical Dane, "there's nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so." Those who believe that

the United States should have supreme military control of the canal may think that it is a bad treaty; on the other hand, the Treaty has the approval of those who adopt the broader view, that the canal should be a neutral waterway open to all nations on equal terms.

There have arisen in the United States administrations and parties who have been led aside by the attractions offered by the prospect of the exclusive control of the canal ; but the idea of a canal free to all nations on equal terms and under international guarantee is the idea embodied in the historic policy of this Government, and it is the idea most in accordance with the modern development of diplomacy. As early as 1825 Mr. Clay, in referring to the project for an Isthmian canal at Panama, said, "If the work should ever be executed, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon payment of just compensation or reasonable tolls."

Ten years later the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the President "to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with the Governments of Central America and New Granada," for the purpose of securing the "free and equal right of navigation of such canals to all nations." The Secretary of State put forward this same principle in 1849, and it was embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in the following year. The Clay-Colindres Treaty (1864) and the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty (1867) both contain stipulations for inviting other Powers to extend their protection to the canal. Similar provisions were inserted in the three unratified treaties known as the Cass-Yrisarri Treaty (1857), the United States and Colombia Treaty (1869), and the Fish-Cardenas Convention (1877). The United States has pursued the same policy in dealing with the Panama Canal as in dealing with the Nicaragua Canal. In return for the protection granted, in 1846, to the Panama route the United States gained no exclusive privileges which could not be granted to other Powers. In 1849, Great Britain was invited to join in that guarantee. In 1862, this invitation was again extended to England by the United States, and France also was asked to join in guaranteeing "the safety of transit."

Shortly after the Civil War, an effort was made by this Government to secure from Colombia certain exclusive privileges for the war-ships of the United States; but the Colombian Legislature rejected the



treaty, and declared itself in favor of a neutralized canal open to all nations on equal terms. The disappointed American Minister attributed his defeat to the diplomacy of Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, who on Good Friday placed the British flag at half-mast, and, carrying a lighted candle, walked in procession in the Cathedral at Bogota. The American Minister considered this a "strange" proceeding on the part of "the virtual head of the English Church at Bogota." "How far that little candle throws its beams," thought the American Minister; but the real cause of the defeat of the treaty seems to have been that the legislators examined it in the light of wisdom. In any case (as a witty English dean once said to me) Her Majesty's representative could laugh to scorn the old adage, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.

On certain occasions the United States has reverted to the more shortsighted policy; but the most enlightened statesmen have been of the opinion that, as Mr. Fish said in 1877, the success of a canal "could not be compassed without a guarantee of the neutrality of the work by the chief maritime Powers." Mr. Cleveland, in his Message of 1885, said, that the United States, "by her positive declarations, and through the formal obligations of treaties, had consecrated the canal to the 'common use of mankind,'" and he added Mr. Cass's declaration, that "what the United States wants in Central America, next to the happiness of her people, is the security and neutrality of the inter-oceanic routes which lead through it."

Not only has the historic policy of the United States approved a canal open to all nations on equal terms, and neutralized by the consent of all the Powers, but this policy is also dictated by practical wisdom. The good of the world demands that the paths of commerce should be as free as possible. The doctrine of *Mare Clausum* has given way to the doctrine of *Mare Liberum*. Not only is the open sea free, but also the narrow seas; and in most cases the navigation of straits and rivers has been arranged by treaty stipulation. The Suez Canal, the only great artificial waterway so far completed, has also been declared open to the ships of all nations on equal terms in time of war as well as in time of peace. The international character of the canal was recognized even before the convention of 1888 was signed. During the Franco-Prussian War, the ships of both those nations continued to use the canal; and during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, England, with the moral support of the other Powers, insisted that the canal should remain neutral, so that even Russia's ships were en-

abled to pass through the waterway situated in the territory of her enemy.

If the United States could obtain exclusive control of the Nicaragua Canal, and should attempt to use it for military purposes, it would prove a source of weakness rather than of strength. It would be a point of attack, a joint in our harness. Moreover, the canal, if not neutralized by general consent of the Powers, would prove a constant cause of annoyance and embarrassment to us in the event of war between any two other nations. In such a case it would be the duty of the United States to preserve the neutrality of the waterway; and upon this Government would devolve the responsibility for any failure to preserve such neutrality perfectly. In undertaking by herself to guarantee the neutrality of the canal, the United States would, as M. de Bustamante remarks, "only succeed in voluntarily drawing upon herself an inexhaustible source of international conflict."

Even if, in the eyes of the United States, this exclusive control were desirable, it is almost unobtainable. This Government is bound by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and by that treaty as well as by its historic diplomacy it has committed itself to the policy of an open, neutral canal guaranteed by the maritime Powers. Nicaragua is also bound to that policy by her treaties with European nations. It is not to be supposed that these engagements can be easily set aside. The canal should be a great international highway for the trade of all nations. Commerce demands for its operations both peace and security. These can only be obtained by a conventional agreement between the Powers, such as that made at Constantinople, in 1888, by which the neutrality of the Suez Canal was secured.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty not only provides for such an international neutralization of the canal, but it is a statesmanlike document in other ways. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has long been a menace to the peaceful relations of England and America on account of the divergent views entertained in the United States as to its validity and its utility. From time to time parties have arisen which desired to secure exclusive control of the canal, and which, therefore, convinced themselves that the Treaty was no longer binding. There has always been a danger that these views would induce some misguided Administration to disregard at a critical juncture the obligations of this agreement, and bring on a dispute, perhaps a conflict, with England. With admirable foresight Mr. Hay has taken up the question at a convenient season and in a friendly manner. A danger-



ous source of dispute is settled, for the meaning of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is made precise by the new agreement. The legitimate ambitions of the United States are gratified by receiving the right to build and own the canal. Whether the Government will find this a profitable investment is a question of finance, the discussion of which does not come within the limits of this article.

But, while giving to the United States the right to construct the canal, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty declares that it shall be open to the ships of all nations in time of war as well as in time of peace, and that the Powers shall be invited to guarantee the neutrality of the route. The stipulations as to the passage of warships through the canal, the taking aboard of supplies, the landing of troops, the prohibition of blockade, and similar details are practically the same regulations as those adopted for the Suez Canal.

It is an error to suppose that the neutralization of the canal is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine was designed to prevent a combination of European Powers from intervening in the internal affairs of the American nations. An agreement among European and American states to neutralize a portion of the Isthmus is an engagement not to meddle with that portion of America. Hence, it is a contract to observe the Monroe Doctrine as far as that part of the Isthmus is concerned.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty is in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine; it removes an old source of dispute; it opens up a prospect of great benefit to the commerce of the world under international guarantee; it perpetuates the historic policy of the United States; it is a state paper worthy of the distinguished diplomatists who have signed it.

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

## IMMEDIATE NAVAL NEEDS.

WITH the return of the period for our legislators to consider what proportion of the country's revenue may be consistently given for naval purposes, a few suggestions may be of interest.

Although there are already too many laws, I have always believed there should be one requiring that all the appropriation bills for the current expenses of the Government should be passed before the consideration of any other legislation. It would cause at least this one benefit, that the obligations and current expenses of the nation could be thoroughly discussed and provided for under better influences than those which attend the closing days of a session.

In preparing this paper I have treated my subject not so much from the lessons which might be learned from our recent war with Spain as from conditions that have long existed, and which, perhaps, may be lost sight of under the exciting influences of victory and conquest. Of our navy we can justly say that no other nation possesses a naval force of which it can be prouder. Its successes have been unrivalled. That the engaging fleets of Spain were inferior makes, perhaps, the victories the greater ; for the very consciousness of superiority at times invites defeat because of indifference and conceit.

In considering the immediate needs of the navy many will undoubtedly think that I wander far from the subject when I include the cutting and completion of the Nicaragua Canal, the control of a well-defined watercourse connecting our Great Lakes with the ocean, and the acquisition of adequate, foreign coaling stations to supply what we must and will have—a stronger navy and a larger merchant marine. Projects covering the accomplishment of these three important works require the exercise of the best judgment of every department of our National and State governments; but they are of greatest import to the navy, involving as they do interests so intimately connected with this branch of the Government.

So much has been written on these subjects, so many official reports have been made, so much valuable data is available as to the great benefits that would result to our manufacturing and labor in-



terests, local as well as national, that it seems absolute folly further to postpone action. The appointment of new boards and the authorization of new investigations are but excuses to defer responsibility. What is needed is *action*. There is plenty of ability and plenty of money ready to be embarked in any and all of these undertakings.

For \$85,000,000, the Nicaragua Canal can be completed and put into operation in six years, probably in five, possibly in less, if the enterprise be conducted under a high standard of commercial and technical conditions. There would thus be given to our territory a southern water boundary which should be absolutely owned and controlled by the Government of the United States. The adaptability and convenience of steel construction, which made the Boston Subway an undertaking of comparative ease, will to a greater degree aid in reducing the cost and time of completion of the Nicaragua Canal. Not only could a commercial return be guaranteed from its revenues, but, because of the facilities for rapid transfer, the strength of our naval force would be nearly doubled. The development of the western coast, through the reduction of the cost of supplies by way of the Canal, which would be one of the resulting benefits, would be sufficient inducement for western capitalists to provide the major part of the money necessary for the accomplishment of this great work.

A leading journal has well said, "No scheme of engineering on the globe equals in importance to the country contemplating it that of the Nicaragua Canal." Have we not had sufficiently costly experience to satisfy us of the necessity for its speedy completion? Guaranteeing the interest on the bonds would be a small responsibility to be assumed by the National Government. Let us waste no more time discussing doctrines; let us, instead, accept the young republics as part of the United States. They would be of infinitely more value than the 10,000,000 people purchased at ten dollars a head—people with whom we are now battling at so great a cost in life and treasure.

Commercial necessity will undoubtedly hasten the construction of a deep waterway on our northern frontier, one that will be absolutely under our own control. Here, too, our Government ought not to hesitate a moment to give such encouragement as will expedite its completion. The control of the commerce of the Great Lakes and of the waters tributary thereto—a commerce which is constantly increasing in volume and value—is quite as necessary as cheapening rates and increasing facilities for the transportation of enormous western prod-

ucts. This would be effected, in a measure, by the proposed improvement of the Erie Canal and by the cutting of the Cape Cod Canal. During the less than eight months' open season of 1899, the freight tonnage passed through the two canals of the Sault aggregated nearly 26,000,000 tons.

To provide an efficient defence on our northern frontier does not involve a consideration of our treaty obligations in relation to the number, size, and armament of war vessels on the lakes. Torpedo-boats, torpedoes, rapid-fire guns, with suitable mounts, ammunition, and adequate means of transportation by shallow water routes and by rail should be immediately provided. An appropriation of \$20,000,000 should be made at once for the construction and armament, with suitable ammunition supply, of an adequate torpedo and gun-boat service, and for a supply of small arms of modern, uniform type, with which to equip, effectively and readily, a national guard and naval reserve to check any attack from the north.

If torpedo-boats are asked for by the hundred, and simple, efficient requirements are demanded, leaving the details to private builders, most excellent results can be obtained as far as time, price, and efficiency are concerned; two years and \$13,000,000 being adequate time and cost for the provision of at least 100 of a most desirable type. Contracts for 50 or 100 torpedo-boats would give the country something more than a few unsatisfactory experiments, which describes our present torpedo-boat force. While not advocating, in this paper, any special type of torpedo-craft, a careful estimate of the arguments in favor of submarine principles, coupled with the practical results that have been obtained with the submarine torpedo-boat "Holland," strongly favors vessels embodying principles which insure a control of invisibility.

Although political differences will start an outcry against subsidizing steamship lines, the most useful and economical method of supplying cruisers is to encourage the exportation of our own freight in American bottoms, built for the general purposes of commerce, but combining elements permitting rapid transformation into auxiliary cruisers. The possibilities of such steamers as the "Teutonic" and "Majestic," suitably fitted and protected and armed with rapid-fire and torpedo batteries, cannot be estimated except by the most careful study of those general elements which are likely to arise in a war of the present period. With speed and coal capacity in excess of any of the first-class cruisers, and with perfect adaptation for the transportation



of troops, horses, equipments, and supplies, they would be infinitely superior to any war craft which now exists for the general work that would be demanded of a cruiser. The money spent during the Spanish war in sixty days simply for yachts—which, with a few exceptions, could not possibly have a place in real naval tactics or actions—would have subsidized the finest fleet of “Majestics” or “Teutonics” that the greatest empire could desire. Such a fleet could have carried 30,000 men to Manila, Cuba, and Puerto Rico each, and been capable of defending itself, at the same time. Though magnificent carriers of men, fuel, ammunition, and supplies, still, in times of peace, they would cost the nation a mere pittance in comparison with the value of our flag covering our exports.

With exports for 1899 alone exceeding by more than \$1,000,000,000 our imports and exports combined in 1870, with the world's commercial leadership knocking at our door, we can afford to expend almost any amount to reëstablish our commercial prestige on the seas, at the same time providing every type of auxiliary vessel for naval use that emergency may dictate.

To subsidize ships in order to secure their services in time of need and then fail to provide armament or ammunition for them seems incredible; but such was the case. Recent acts gave us control of several steamers that performed as efficient service as some of our cruisers; and yet the comparatively small sum necessary for their proper equipment in this case of emergency was not only *not* appropriated, but was stricken from the estimates.

The absence of suitable docking facilities for ships laid down five years ago is not only well described by a contemporary as a cause for national humiliation, but was certainly a marked omission in a period when such docks as were needed could have been constructed for \$1,000,000 each, within nine months, if commercial selection and enterprise had been given the responsibility, and the undertaking had been kept free from political embarrassments.

The Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations made the statement, July 8, 1898, that \$361,788,220 had been appropriated to meet the expenditures of the war with Spain. If this sum was necessary to protect our interests against an unprepared nation, it is appalling to think of the vast expenditure of lives as well as of money that would be required for a conflict with any one of the Great Powers. This situation is not at all unlikely when we recall that our recent colonial acquisitions in the East more than equal the territory parti-

tioned a year ago in China, and that we have added to our responsibilities the government of some 10,000,000 people—less those we are killing off—more difficult to civilize or control than our North American Indians. It is true that we have acquired, at the cost of priceless lives and millions of money, a few coaling stations ; but even they are not distributed strategically as well as those which could have been secured for the purchase price of a few hundred thousand dollars. But victory followed us everywhere, even when retreat had been planned.

In all our naval engagements we have added to the already brilliant record of our naval history. For these successes the world is asking how the United States will reward those who had the good fortune to be present at the few engagements that the conditions of the war made possible. Japan, young as is her intercourse with other Powers, does these things better than we. As she commences the construction of suitable docks for her battleships coincident with the order for the ships themselves, so she rewards her officers in a manner that does not reflect upon and discourage those whose equally important duties keep them from the special fields of actual fighting and victory. With medals of honor, increase of pay, and an extension of active service interfering in no way with the regular roster, Japan has built up a strong navy ; and in many directions we could not do better than imitate her.

In providing training ships for the naval cadets, the two elements which should govern their selection are : (1) the discipline and responsibility which ought to be prominent in a naval officer's education ; and (2) the opportunity for observation of, and practical experience with, the progress and development of naval architecture and marine engineering. The fact that nearly every navy in the world retains as long as possible its old sailing sloops, or builds similar ones, goes far to indorse my view, that the two important traits of responsibility and meeting emergencies cannot be more firmly installed than in a sailing ship and in the modern commercial steamer.

Therefore, the naval cadets ought to be supplied with such types as would permit of frequent replacement, and as are found in our fast coastwise steamers, which combine the qualities of safety, comfort, speed, and handiness, which cover the latest and best types of engines and modern appliances for handling ships, and which, when not utilized for the actual education of the cadets, can be used for the transportation of personnel and supplies. Experience in handling



these ships would fit these young officers for the most important duties which the emergency of war would impose upon them. One such steamer, together with a steel sailing sloop of sufficient capacity, could be constructed within nine months, for a very small sum ; and it would prove of much practical value, not only for education, but for general naval service as well.

Speaking of *naval cadets* suggests the wisdom of restoring the time-honored title of *midshipman*, of reducing the age limit of admission to the Naval Academy, and of increasing the numbers ; sending, as now, all graduates into civil life for whom no vacancies in the service exist. I do not see any advantage in the suggestion to change the name to that of a marine university. Under its present name the Academy can be made as useful. The merits of the proposed conditions are : (1) that the young men would graduate at an age suitable for entering any of the large universities or colleges ; and (2) that they would have the advantages—the value of which cannot be overestimated—of completing a course of discipline and education tending not only to form a character that will eminently fit them for the collegiate course, but also to engraft, at the most critical period, a natural love and interest in the navy and naval affairs that must prove of great value in subsequent life, whether they be called to active service afloat, or to representation, no less important, in the nation's legislature. If the graduates should go into civil life, they would better understand their responsibilities ; for what better elements are needed for success in commercial life than the respect, obedience, and discipline that constitute so large a part of the splendid education which the Naval Academy provides ?

One important matter which seems to be still far from accomplishment is uniformity in the type of small arms to be used by both branches of the military service. While the rivalry between the officials of the army and the navy to secure the better arm may be presented as a benefit, nevertheless, in case of coöperation of the land and naval forces, the differences in the character and calibres of the rifles, and the lack of uniformity of ammunition, would be such an evident drawback that it needs no explanation to emphasize the disadvantage of such a system. The suggestion to supply the two services with ammunition of the same calibre is a move in the right direction, but does not go far enough. The same arm should be issued to the army, navy, national guard, and naval militia.

To the seemingly hopeless task of adjusting the differences of the

personnel, I shall give but a passing notice. Upon this point, Congress, boards, and even the officers themselves fail to agree ; but there must soon be some legislation that will raise an officer to command before he reaches the age when he fears responsibility.

There is no question in connection with the navy which deserves more careful consideration than that of a proper supply of seamen. We have very few, if any, native watermen now to call upon ; and while the State governments are, in a measure, endeavoring to meet this want by their naval militia organizations, Congress should increase by at least 10,000 men the present limit of enlistment, and continue to encourage the naval reserve force by liberal appropriations and assignments of war material.

While the enormous increase in our population has not in any way diminished the fear of some of our people that a handful of the rank and file of the United States army and navy may follow the precedents of history and usurp the reins of government, our constantly increasing wealth has seriously augmented the danger of rupture with other nations. And while there is not the least doubt of the ultimate success of any war into which it may be our misfortune to be drawn, we must not lose sight of the fact that not every conflict will be as short and victorious as the recent one, but that immense damage to our property and great loss of life may result before final victory. One of the most pertinent assignments of the naval militia is to coast and harbor defence. Had the demands and petitions for a proper-sized naval reserve been heeded, and a force averaging 1,000 men per State been authorized, batteries of them, instructed by the regular artillery in time of peace, would have provided a splendid seacoast defence force which, with submarine torpedo-boats, would have released the regular artillery and the northern squadrons for immediate service in the West Indies.

The Naval War College and the Intelligence Office should be very closely allied ; in fact, they ought to be under one head. This accomplished, the headquarters of the College should be in Washington. Technical work could be undertaken anywhere, at certain periods, just as the various scientific societies have their annual, semi-annual, and quarterly meetings in those locations which best suit their purposes and those of their members. If the War College were situated in Washington, the various departments and a larger number of officers would get the benefit of its lectures and technical work. It has been



argued that the headquarters of the College should not be near the Navy Department, that it ought to be kept at a distance from its business, its politics, and its daily excitements. Yet, the best advisory staff with which I am acquainted, that of Germany, is situated in Berlin, directly in contact with the Emperor. The College should be controlled by men of such stability, application, and tact as would secure to it the benefit of the business, politics, and excitement of the Capital. They would also have intercourse with foreigners interested in similar subjects, which intercourse, properly exercised, would be of great value.

Further, I know of no other city of the same size as Washington where so much professional research is carried on undisturbed by the elements cited. I do not see how the College can be placed upon a solid, valuable basis until liberal appropriations are made for the publication and distribution of all the information that is not considered strictly confidential, and for the extension of the field of lectures to men eminent in all the branches of education, civil as well as military. While according praise for what has already been accomplished, under many adverse conditions, by those responsible for its development, I do not expect the College to flourish as it should, until it is removed from the control of a small coterie of officers, and until the war college extensions (similar to university extensions) are carried on all over the United States.

As to extension, subjects for discussion could be sent to the headquarters of yacht clubs, State naval militia, and those colleges having departments in naval architecture and marine engineering, and where lectures also would be most gratefully appreciated. What is needed is a more general recognition throughout the country of the necessity for the *naval force*. The result of such a course as I have suggested will be, that the men interested in the various localities will, through the local authorities, interest the national legislators sufficiently to secure adequate appropriations for the work.

The absence, or omission, of a Naval General Staff from the administration of our navy has for years been a source of regret to many a one interested in its welfare. An emergency substitute, the Naval War Board, was created at the beginning of the late war with Spain. While it was in no sense a strategical or directing body, the Secretary spoke of it with much pride, officially eulogized its work, emphasized its importance, and then put it out of existence. There is no more important unit in naval administration than the Naval General

Staff ; and it should be organized at once on the strongest lines that experience has defined.

I have not included any modification of construction or changes in equipment that the late war has suggested, but have confined myself to those reforms which the successes of the war might tend to subordinate. In our naval construction, however, much time and money are wasted, because the contracts are separated, and because too many changes are made in the original plans. Radical alterations not only increase the cost of construction, but seriously impair the efficiency of the ship. Better construct rapidly on original design and build more ships than to attempt to incorporate under delayed construction those elements which make them neither the one thing nor the other. If shipbuilders are required to supply all material entering into the construction, and if no marked digressions are made from the original designs and specifications, there is no reason why a first-class battleship should not now be completed and commissioned within two years from the time she is laid down ; and there is no doubt whatever that the contracting shipbuilder can secure the material, armor included, in less time and at less cost than when separate contracts are made for the supplies in question.

In the contracts for armor more latitude should be given the shipbuilder. Much better results would be obtained if he were merely required to protect his ships with armor of certain ballistic resistance, having the privilege of purchasing thinner armor if affording equal protection to that of the thickness and quality estimated by the bureaus. Such a reduction of weight could be most advantageously utilized in the plans for his machinery, coal supply, or other details.

The specifications for the construction of ships and for the supply of other war material should be as simple as possible. Much time and money would be saved by placing the responsibility upon the contractors themselves. In general, all Government establishments should be kept equipped only for the purposes of emergency, experiment, and repair, while all construction and all war material should be supplied under reasonable, open competition by private establishments of undoubted capacity and reputation.

There is one lesson which the late war has emphasized, and which, as far as I know, has not been noticed ; namely, that our ships should carry transportable siege guns for their landing parties, and which, in case of emergency, as at Santiago, for example, could be loaned to the army.



Tabulating our *immediate naval needs*, the following would put us in a very strong position among nations, and effect a powerful insurance of our wealth at a much less rate than we ordinarily pay for fire insurance :

OBJECT.	TIME TO COMPLETE.	COST.
Nicaragua Canal .....	5 years .....	\$85,000,000
Waterway from lakes to ocean .....	4 years .....	50,000,000
Coaling stations.....	Immediate.....	500,000
Torpedo-craft .....	2 years .....	13,000,000
Armament for auxiliary steamers.....	2 years .....	2,500,000
Reserve ammunition....	1 year.....	5,000,000
10 subsidized steamers of the "Majestic" class...	2 years .....	20,000,000
6 docks.....	1 year.....	6,000,000
2 training ships.....	1 year .....	900,000
100,000 rifles (small arms).....	1 year.....	2,000,000
10,000 seamen .....	Immediate... ..	2,500,000
War College and Naval Intelligence Bureau .....	Immediate.....	500,000
Naval Reserve .....	Immediate.....	1,000,000

I have called attention to the pressing needs of our navy. Of these, the most important is the extension of our *merchant marine*. Let us attend to this at any cost ; and let us also cut and control the Isthmus waterway. Then we shall have not only, as Henry Norman wrote, "a war-made New America," but a peace-assured New America.

WILLIAM HENRY JAKUES.

## THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SCIENCE.

THE present may be deemed the Age of Science. Humanity's record began in an Age of Tooth and Claw, when primal men were content to borrow nature's weapons—and motives as well—from bestial neighbors. Next came the Age of Stone, during which thought crystallized about a crude material fit only for rude purposes. In the earlier part of this age (the *protolithic period*) pebbles and spalls were used in natural form or as shaped by use ; during the later part (the *technolithic period*) the material was wrought after models or preconceived designs ; and in its climax the age was that of knowledge of stone. In some countries this eon merged into an Age of Bronze, in which the metal was first wrought as stone, and afterward smelted and alloyed. In at least one centre this age in turn merged into an Age of Iron, during which the refractory metal was forged and founded into uncounted levers for lifting mankind to higher planes. And the two ages were an eon of knowledge of metal.

Throughout the ages each new art was as a new branch on the ever-growing tree of knowledge ; and the arts multiplied and spread from land to land, until, by interwoven arts and industries and all manner of devices for nature-conquest, the leading nations were bound into cultural unity. Then followed, normally and inevitably, a polytechnic age, in which thought turned first to natural materials, next to all nature, and finally to knowledge of nature. And so dawned that joint knowledge of nature and of knowledge itself which opened the Age of Science.

Modern science involves (1) methods of acquiring knowledge ; (2) methods of formulating or organizing knowledge ; and (3) the sum of knowledge (including the knowledge of methods) acquired and formulated in accordance with experience. There are several branches of science, each defined by the phenomena or aspects of nature with which it directly deals ; yet the methods are alike in all, from eldest-born astronomy to youngest-born anthropology. By virtue of these methods, science rises far above that unconsciously assimilated experience called instinct in animals and intuition in men ; it out-passes



that semi-conscious summation of experience called common-sense ; it even transcends that consciously assimilated, but only half-formulated, experience which grows with the years and ends with the life of the sage, and is extolled as sagacity or wisdom ; yet it spans all these and other grades of actual knowledge, and seeks to reduce them to simple order. So science may be defined as *consciously organized knowledge*.

Reduced to simple terms, the scientific method of acquiring knowledge involves (1) observation, (2) generalization, (3) inference, and (4) verification ; though the processes overlap to the extent that there is no observation without some generalization, no generalization apart from observation and unaided by some inference, no inference wholly dis severed from observation and generalization, and no continuous acquisition by any or all of these direct processes without some spontaneous effort at verification. In other words, generalization is little more than normal expansion of simple observation ; inference is little else than intuitive extension of generalization, through the aid of memory ; while verification is nothing more than instinctive fixation of the factors of knowledge as a basis for confidence in its reality. The source of all scientific knowledge is experience, though some part of the experience may be indirect ; *i.e.*, that of other individuals and generations communicated in ways implying measurable similarity in experience. These methods of acquisition are shared not only by the several sciences, but by all other lines of intellectual out-reaching ; yet the proportion of the intuitive (or unconsciously integrated) experience, called deductive knowledge, decreases, while the ratio of consciously organized experience, called inductive knowledge, increases from the inchoate lines to modern science, and from branch to branch of the special sciences—astronomy, chemistry, physics, phytology, zoölogy, geology, anthropology—in about the order of their historical development.

It is in the methods of organizing knowledge that modern science attains its most distinctive aspect ; and these methods are reducible to a few simple formulas, most of which are expressed in phrases already familiar through long use in scientific speech and literature. Each of these formulas sums a vast body of experience which was contributed by one or more lines of research ; and all are sustained jointly by the several special sciences. Since they are not shared by other branches of knowledge, they may fairly be held to constitute the superstructure of science.

The beginning of science can be discerned but dimly amid the shadows of antiquity ; yet enough of the earliest traces may be caught to show that organized knowledge began with counting and grew into mathematics. There are, indeed, unmistakable indications that primitive numbers were largely magical or almagabalic ;<sup>1</sup> but the indications are equally clear that the counting, whence the number-systems sprang, expressed at least partly conscious recognition of the veritable existence and persistence (or the integrality) of the things counted ; so that these systems may be held to mark the inception of science.

On passing to the lighter shadows of less remote antiquity, patient search discovers traditions and other traces of an epoch in which men living under the clear skies of arid regions were impressed with the apparent stability of the star-decked firmament, and gradually grouped the heavenly bodies into systems. The vestiges indicate that the early grouping was largely mystical or astrological ; that the primal constellations were mainly beast-gods translated to the heavens ; that the crystal spheres invented to carry the great luminaries and planets were supernal figments. Yet the vestiges show no less clearly that this crude system grew out of persistent effort to organize experiences of consciously recognized things. Thus, it seems fair to date the definite conception of science from the passage of astrology into archaic astronomy. Roughly speaking, the era of numbers may be correlated with the Age of Stone, and the era of primal astronomy with the Age of Bronze ; but the eras and ages merge and overlap too far for definite coördination.

As the mental processes of mankind were fixed by counting and star-gazing, as well as by the conquest of metal, writing came up ; and the chronicles of Hellas show that the mental processes were steadily extended to other things, which were slowly recognized as entities no less definite than stars and counted objects. The several lines of advance—including the sublimely fruitful union of stone art and metal art in Grecian sculpture—combined and culminated in the early intellectual climax of Mediterranean's easterly shores. About 450 B.C., Empedocles, following a suggestion of Parmenides, taught—of course in metaphysical wise—that the ultimate particles of all substances must be indivisible, immutable, and indestructible ; while Democritus about the same time summed up the prevailing philosophical opinion in a proposition which may be thus rendered : “ Out

<sup>1</sup> The earlier stages of counting have been described in “ The Beginning of Mathematics,” “ American Anthropologist ” (New Series), vol. i., 1899, pp. 646-674.



of nothing nothing arises ; nothing that is can be destroyed ; change is only combination or separation of particles." This notion of nature was crystallized by the clear reasoning of Aristotle ; and during the century before the opening of our era it was given a somewhat grossly material application to fiducial matters by Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius. Then the notion lagged during the Dark Ages, to revive with the Renaissance and the physical researches of Gassendi and Leibnitz, and especially of Lavoisier (1743-1794), who showed experimentally that matter is neither lost nor gained in chemical change.

This experimental demonstration opened an epoch in intellectual progress. It marked the extension of macroscopic observation into microcosmic nature ; it established the scientific method of acquiring knowledge ; it fixed the experimental method of research, in which inference founded on firm facts of observation is projected forward in definite prevision, and is verified by voluntary control of nature through prearranged conditions ; and it founded that pillar of science defined in the formula, *The indestructibility of matter*. This first pillar of systematic science may be deemed the gift of astronomy as to material, but must be credited to chemistry as to finish and useful setting ; and its erection may be fairly held to mark the full birth of science as consciously organized knowledge.

The principle of the indestructibility of matter was at once the fruit of a philosophical renovation and the seed of an intellectual reformation ; for, as it ripened in mind after mind, and was sown broadcast by the slow, but persistent, processes of the times, it bred new inquiry and experiment which at the same time sustained many hungry minds and furnished fresh seed for yet other minds. Among the consequences of the intellectual quickening were the physical experiments of the American Count Rumford (Benjamin Thompson). When these were described in 1798, they at once transferred the discussion of temperature from the domain of metaphysics to that of physical inquiry, and demonstrated that heat is a manifestation of motion.

Rumford was followed by Sir Humphry Davy, and half a century later by Dr. Joule, who repeated and extended the experiments, and fixed the mechanical equivalent of heat. Then came a brilliant coterie of physicists—Grove, Faraday, Helmholtz, Tyndall, and others—who verified the earlier determinations by means of special experiments ; supported the work by comparison with general human experience ; established the interchangeability (or correlation) of forces ; and gradually organized growing knowledge in a system defining the sec-

ond pillar of science—that commonly defined as the conservation of energy, or, preferably, in view of Thompson's terminology and of later researches, *The persistence of motion*. Originally the gift of physics, this principle was soon extended into the realm of organic life by Liebig and others in Germany and by Carpenter in Britain ; and a few years later it was pushed into the realm of mental action by Le Conte and Barker in America.

The new principle met a mental need, and found so many applications that it came to be regarded by many as the most important discovery of the century. For a generation, the inconstructible and indestructible motion enlivening the universe was assumed to be constant only in the universe as a whole, and constantly variable in the constituent bodies. This assumption served to pair fundamental notions of matter and motion—the one persisting only in the particle and the other only in the sum of particles—in such manner as to satisfy the dualistic instinct expressed in most earlier philosophies. But, at the same time, it introduced an indefinite, if not forever indeterminate, element into the formula ; for, under the assumption, the finality of the formula cannot be ascertained until the universe is measured and weighed to its uttermost limits. An alternative assumption, recently proposed by Powell, is, that motion, like matter, is persistent in the ultimate particle. This assumption has the merit of harmonizing principles which otherwise are apparently discordant, and the special excellence of integrating general human experience ; but it still awaits direct demonstration, through laboratory experiments so prearranged as to test all possible inferences.

As Lavoisier's law of indestructibility spread, the method of observation under voluntarily controlled conditions was extended into new fields ; and even while Joule's mechanical experiments were still progressing at Manchester, Darwin was arranging a series of vital experiments at Down, and comparing his results with the voluminous observations recorded by naturalists in all parts of the world. Meantime Alfred Russell Wallace and Herbert Spencer were also seeking to organize anew the facts collected on the Linnæan plane, which had already become chaotic by reason of their very number ; and when the three thinkers independently generalized the teeming experiences of organic life in terms of sequence, the coincident opinions and the incomparable thoroughness of Darwin's methods combined to force a new principle on an unwilling world of contemporary thought.

At first the Darwinian doctrine was burdened by its own infan-



tile feebleness—for there is no Minervan birth in science—and bound by the swaddlings of scholasticism. But support came from all sides ; and it grew apace and soon became the sturdiest of that trinity of scientific principles recognized up to the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. For some years the doctrine was largely limited to the organic realm, and was held applicable solely to the evolution of animal and vegetal species ; but later it was extended to other realms of nature, at first intuitively and then purposively. As the research progressed it was found equally applicable to species of the sub-organic realm (ranging from minerals to mountains), and to those of the super-organic realm (ranging from knives to nations) ; and it gradually became evident that the law involves involution as well as that evolution so conspicuous in the organic world. With this extension the principle becomes *The development of species* ; and this formula denotes the third pillar in the superstructure of science, the richest gift of biology to the sum of consciously organized knowledge.

Naturally, the promulgation of three revolutionary doctrines within a century (1760–1860) produced an intellectual surfeit. The principle of indestructibility had lain germinant for two millenniums, and so found men's minds ready for the final planting ; even the principle of persistence met a need of thought and encountered little opposition ; but the principle of development found most mental fields already stocked with long-set growths and little prepared for the latest seeding. A consequence of the indifference or antipathy of the average mind was voluminous discussion, with the spontaneous separation of thinkers into opposing schools ; and in due course science became a cult, and Thomas H. Huxley its most vigorous exponent. As the discussion proceeded, the principle of development was rounded out and applied to new problems ; and as the applications multiplied, it was found to present many analogies with the principles of indestructibility and persistence.

Meantime, a Science of the Earth was rapidly crystallizing about Sir Charles Lyell's idea of uniform process in earth-building, the “uniformitarianism” of that day of redundant doctrines ; while under the masterly interpretations of Huxley and others, paleontology was resurrecting the record of early life on the earth. The several movements eventually joined in the formulation of a fourth law, complementary to those of earlier decades, and so harmonious with them as to facilitate the apprehension and adoption of the entire series. This fourth law has ever since been regarded as a—if not *the*—cardi-

nal principle of science. In Huxley's happy phrase it is *The uniformity of nature*. This pillar of science must be credited largely to geology, but partly to all the older branches of organized knowledge.

At this end of the century, these four principles form the commonly accepted platform of science : the indestructibility of matter, the persistence of motion, the development of species, and the uniformity of nature. There may be, indeed there is, a question as to whether they constitute the entire platform of human knowledge ; but in the minds of scientific men there is no question as to the validity of these principles so far as they go. True, the temperate scientist must admit the possibility that any or all of the principles may be erroneous ; but he does so, if at all, in full realization that the admission is tantamount to denial of the truth and trustworthiness of experience as a source of knowledge.

The scientist cannot deny that the cosmos may be shrinking toward nothingness, or growing by miraculous accretion toward greater magnificence ; he is very far from denying that the universe may be kept in motion by some extra-cosmic source of power ; he hardly ventures to dispute the transitional halting-place held by those who claim that at least the first life and the highest mind transcend natural development and demand special supernatural explanation ; in certain circumstances he is deterred by the tolerance of good breeding from denying that the world was made from a lump of mud brought up by a muskrat from the bottom of the sea, as solemnly taught in aboriginal philosophy : he can only say that all such explanations of nature lie outside the range of experience, and hence beyond the domain of science.

It is also true that the unscientific thinker—whose name is Legion—is free to reject any or all of the principles ; and it can only be said that thereby he keeps without the straight-laid fields of science and within the broad and often attractive purviews of not-science. Yet, it is a significant sign of the times that most civilized and enlightened men already appreciate the coin of experience above the dust of tradition, and are gradually entering, whether intentionally or not, into the ways of science. But a generation past the very name of science was the symbol of a cult to one class of thinkers and a juggler's gaud to another class ; to-day the very substance of science has gone into the everyday life of all enlightened folk. So, at this end of the century, the four principles form the superstructure of science as held



implicitly or proclaimed explicitly throughout the leading nations ; and the adherents of the principles justify their confidence by the unimpeachable testimony of experience.

On summing up the principles forming the present superstructure of science, it becomes manifest that they are interrelated in such wise as to form a harmonious series ; each dealing with an aspect of nature, and the whole covering all nature in its more conspicuous aspects. It becomes manifest, too, that the four principles are alike in two respects : in the first place, they are each and all integrations of experience along the lines to which they respectively pertain ; in the second place, they each and all rest on the postulate that experience furnishes a key—and the only key—to nature. This correspondence would seem to indicate that the four principles might themselves be integrated in terms of their common attributes ; it also suggests that the principles may have been really integrated, albeit intuitively or subconsciously only, even before they were finally formulated.

Thus, the principle of indestructibility was but a generalization of experiences of indestructibility ; yet it could not have become clear to any mind devoid of the assumption—howsoever implicit or vague—that experience accurately reflects actualities. The principle of persistence was merely a generalization of experiences ; yet it could not have been grasped without the assumption that experiences of motion and duration are veritable. So, too, the principle of development involves the postulate that the sequence pictured in the mind is the reflection of a real sequence in nature ; while the principle of uniformity demands the assumption that the mind of man is a faithful mirror of nature.

Doubtless, the essential postulate remained unformulated and half unrealized because of the preoccupation of the knowledge-makers. Lavoisier was too busy over chemical reactions to give much thought to the mechanism of his own mind ; Joule confined his apperception to extra-mental phenomena ; Darwin remained naïvely negligent of his own admirable mentations ; and even Huxley deliberately dropped the veil of unthinkableness between his conscious self and the mysteries of his subconsciousness. Yet these men made no observations, formed no generalizations, framed no inferences, without constant realization that experience is a reflex of nature ; and it seems evident that without this realization the signal advances in knowledge summed in the principles could not have been made.

On analyzing the constantly implied, but never explained, confidence reposed by the knowledge-makers alike in experience and in their own mental operations, it is soon seen that the two bases of scientific procedure are closely akin ; for the evident source of confidence in experience lies in experience itself, while the source of confidence in mentality just as evidently lies in experience of mental working. Now, in every stage of culture the physical and psychical faculties of mankind are coördinated, at least to the extent that bodily activities affect thought while thinking dominates action ; whence the suggestion naturally arises that the intuitive confidence of the knowledge-makers in external realities, and in the ability of the mind to grasp and interpret them, was a normal sequence of that Renaissance following the Dark Ages in which men turned to the most inspiring duties of their kind—the twin tasks of nature-conquest and nation-building. And it would seem to follow that the confidence in Nature and Mind inspired and constantly renewed by successful effort was rather a forerunner than a mere attendant of those advances in knowledge marked by the framing of the four principles.

Fortunately, the suggestion that confidence in Mind was really, albeit unwittingly, the first-fruit of the Renaissance and the seed of confidence in Nature is corroborated by contemporary testimony: Nearly two centuries before Lavoisier, Francis Bacon laid a foundation for definite knowledge, the cornerstone of which appears in the initial aphorism of the “*Novum Organum*.”<sup>1</sup> Divested of immaterial qualifications, and interpreted in the light of the other propositions and elucidations making up Bacon’s ever-memorable essay, this aphorism is a specific affirmation that the human Mind is a mirror of Nature, faithfully reflecting observations of Nature and nothing more ; *i.e.*, the aphorism is an explicit definition of the platform implicitly occupied by Lavoisier and Joule and Darwin and Huxley in their epoch-making researches. True, these men made little if any acknowledgment to Bacon, and at least one of them mildly decried his work ; yet the “*Novum Organum*” was one of the most notable treatises of a notable period, and must have been read widely and assimilated deeply into the common knowledge of succeeding centuries ; so that the framers of the four principles of science must have been debtors

<sup>1</sup> “ Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more.” The aphorism was defined as “The Foundation of Science” in *THE FORUM*, for April, 1899, p. 168.



to Bacon, and none the less that the debt was not consciously recognized.

While the Baconian concept of the Mind as a reflex of Nature long lay germinant, much like the Greek concept of indestructibility, though for a lesser interval, it would now seem that it but awaited the vernal sun of advancing knowledge to warm it into burgeoning life. True, it formed a background for thought during the formative period of science from Lavoisier to Huxley, and must have exercised no small influence on intellectual production ; yet, just as the metaphysical axiom of Empedocles and Democritus demanded the development of the experimental method to force it into full vitality, so the Baconian axiom required the extension of scientific methods to mentality and physicality, in their joint aspects, to force it into active blossom. This advance came as the Science of Man assumed shape—long after Bacon, and even after the physical and biotic and geologic sciences bore their principles.

In anthropology, as in other sciences, research began with the rare and the abnormal, and gradually proceeded toward the near and the normal ; and as the observations became chaotic by reason of their number, they were generalized successively in terms of formal relation, structural relation, serial relation, and last of all genetic relation ; *i.e.*, they were integrated in such manner as to raise the system of knowledge to successively higher and higher planes. A quarter century ago, the leaders of the science were beginning to classify mankind in terms of mind-shaped activities and activital products, including arts and industries, social institutions, languages, and beliefs, with their attendant symbols and ceremonies. A consequence of this classification was the discovery that the human activities and their products are so frequently alike in widely separated provinces as to indicate that they must have sprung up spontaneously and independently among unrelated peoples ; and twenty years ago Powell formulated the discovery as a law of activital similarities, or cultural coincidences. The recognition of this law stimulated and guided research ; and the rapidly extending observations soon warranted the inference that the human mind mirrors its environment with striking fidelity, up to a point varying inversely with cultural development, and that beyond this point the mind, wheresoever placed, reflects environment chiefly in its spontaneous efforts to rise above and dominate the lower materials and forces of the physical world.

Brinton, one of the leading expounders of this significant inter-relation between Man and Nature, held that it expresses a unity of the human mind imposed by extraneous power ; though the fact that the relation varies with the degree of cultural development—*i.e.*, that savage minds respond alike to like stimuli, that barbaric minds are much alike in their responses to environmental stimuli, that civilized minds work in measurably similar ways under similar conditions, and that all enlightened minds are alike in their efforts to control the lower world, yet that minds of the different culture grades do not respond alike—indicates that the interaction itself conforms with those lines of serial development characteristic of both the inorganic and organic realms of nature ; so that the present-day anthropologist is impelled, at least provisionally, to class intellectual development among the strictly natural processes with which it is the province of science to deal. Thereby he is able to integrate the sum of experiences concerning intellectual mankind in a formula expressing the relations of psychic and non-psychic interactions, framed in conscious accordance with the Baconian foundation which so well, albeit so unwittingly, served to support the earlier pillars of science ; and in conformity with these it may be denoted *The responsivity of mind*.

On weighing this integration of experience, the sweeping question at once arises as to whether it is all-comprehensive—whether it covers the entire field of human thought. In the present stage of knowledge an affirmative answer may not be given with full confidence : but it may be noted that all lines of thought traceable to their sources seem to originate in natural interaction between Mind and external Nature ; that these lines are complexly interrelated with multifarious other lines of thought which may not unreasonably be inferred to be of similar natural origin ; that the tendency of modern science is to eliminate those thought-lines of doubtful origin involved in primitive mythology, crude speculation, etc. ; that every step in such elimination tends to simplify and clarify notions concerning the characters and relations of both Mind and Nature ; and that science is unable, without abandonment of its distinctive methods of acquiring and organizing knowledge, to take cognizance of interpretations of things arising in any other way than through the interaction of Mind and Nature. The question presents the most alluring of the unsolved problems of anthropology ; and many investigators of the psychic aspect of this science are contributing to its solution.

In that provisional weighing of responsivity required as a basis



for immediate opinion, it is to be remembered that it stands for much more than a generalization of special observations along a single line ; it is the first, and, at the same time, the most brilliant, intellectual gem of the Renaissance, the unformulated complement of that quartet of principles so evidently framed through its unacknowledged aid, and the most comprehensive generalization of the youngest of the sciences, which depends on all the others for its methods and fundamental laws. True, the formula is new ; it has not yet been tested by generations of thinkers, like the four formulas already crystallized in the speech and literature of science ; yet it is so harmonious with these, and its principle is so essential to their integrity, that it gives promise of finding a place in the group. If so, it must be considered to represent, at the same time, the earliest and the latest of the principles of science, the original foundation and the final support for the superstructure of consciously organized knowledge.

W J MCGEE.

## A TUBERCULOSIS QUARANTINE NOT PRACTICABLE.

THAT tuberculosis is transmissible, that the bacillus tuberculosis is the specific cause of the disease, and that this bacillus exists in tuberculous sputum, carrying the infection through that medium, are statements which at this date are regarded as axiomatic by the vast majority of well-informed persons, whether advocates or opponents of a quarantine against this disease. And so widespread is the infective agent, that the disease exists endemically in practically all civilized countries ; no city or village being free from cases of tuberculosis in some form. Consumption, or pulmonary tuberculosis, is the greatest single cause of death in modern times. In recent years, we have been accustomed to hear that more than one-seventh of all deaths are due to it. There are some cities in which the proportion rises even higher, approximating one-fourth.

That the number of deaths from this disease is enormous is very generally appreciated by the public. What is not appreciated is, that the number of deaths is far from representing the actual number of cases, or, in other words, that tuberculosis is far from being uniformly fatal. Indeed, a very large proportion of those who are infected make a complete recovery ; many of them never knowing that they ever suffered from the disease. This statement is based on the evidence of post-mortem examinations where traces of a once existing tuberculosis are accidentally discovered. In such instances, death was due to an entirely different cause, perhaps many years after the tubercular attack.

Such pathologic facts as those just indicated must be thoroughly appreciated in considering the propriety of quarantining cases of tuberculosis. Certain clinical facts must also be borne in mind when the question of quarantine is discussed. Chief among these is, that the disease is slow in manifesting its presence, and sometimes very slow indeed in causing death. It is fair to say that the average length of a tuberculosis infection is not less than three years ; probably 50 per cent of the cases last as long as five years ; and a very respectable minority last ten years or more before recovery or death. It is certain



that many of the long-drawn-out cases fall into the category of those patients who never know the nature of the chronic cough from which they suffer. It is also very certain that even where the disease is finally recognized by physicians, and, perhaps, by the patients themselves, the cough and infective expectoration have existed, in fully 90 per cent of the cases, for months or years before such recognition. In other words, the nature of this disease is so chronic that it may exist a long time before a diagnosis is made, and before the general health is impaired to such an extent as to render the sufferer an actual invalid.

I have said that the clinic facts must be most carefully considered when preventive measures are discussed, because quarantine, isolation, restriction—whichever name we may choose to apply to coercive measures—to be effective, must rest upon a practical basis. From the practical standpoint, the following conditions especially must be regarded, as efforts at quarantine cannot otherwise meet with success :

First : The disease must always be readily identified early in the infective period.

Second : The period of proposed isolation or quarantine must be reasonably definite and short, so that the individual or the community may properly provide for maintenance during that period.

Third : To make the measure practicable, the number of persons to be isolated must be small when compared to the rest of the population.

I feel convinced that practical sanitarians will agree, that unless we are able to comply with these conditions, quarantine restrictions must be abandoned, whatever the disease may be. When the proposal is made to enforce a measure of isolation upon one-seventh to one-fourth of the population, for a period of at least two years, and possibly more than ten, no reasonable sanitarian will look upon it as practicable.

It is to be regretted that the educational campaign in regard to this and kindred diseases should be obstructed by unwise and impracticable proposals. The opponents of scientific advance have their weapons ready for injudicious advocates of coercive quarantine. It is necessary, therefore, to call a halt. Enthusiastic volunteers in this movement must not be permitted, by hasty and ill-advised actions, to imperil advances in sanitation, which, if successful, will accomplish marvellous results. The recent publications in regard to certain proposed discussions by the California State Board of Health have but

served to accentuate the prejudices of the ignorant, and to strengthen in advance the opposition of the pugnacious.

It must be distinctly understood that California has enacted no quarantine measure. Nor is it at all probable that such a measure, if enacted by any State, could stand the test of judicial consideration, unless the enacting State had already in existence a stringent quarantine and isolation law for its own tuberculous citizens ; for the Constitution of the United States provides, that the citizens of all the States shall have the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any one State. From the standpoint of the working health officer this is a practical statement, especially in view of the fact that local quarantine has already proved itself impossible.

All things considered, the remedy does not lie in quarantine, but in education ; and medical men should regard it their duty to carry on an educational propaganda such as will widely spread the knowledge that tuberculosis is infectious, and that there are certain definite methods of destroying or rendering inert the infective secretions and excretions. It is, indeed, already believed by many that it is the duty of public health authorities to see that these measures are carried out to the greatest possible extent. To attempt more than this at the present time is merely to run the risk of sacrificing all that has already been gained. Opposition to legitimate endeavor will die out when a new generation of men and women has been properly educated in the matter from childhood. Attempted legal coercion will but embitter and unify the opponents of truth, and precipitate a battle at a time utterly unsuited for such a trial of strength. In such a battle at this time one can foresee, for the advocates of quarantine, only disaster, and a consequent set-back for the more conservative persons who, while favoring rational preventive measures, are not willing to class the tuberculous patient with the victim of smallpox or diphtheria.

While all sanitarians recognize that tuberculosis causes more deaths than diphtheria and smallpox combined, there are yet well-defined reasons why the measures of prevention are not identical. Smallpox and diphtheria are contagious ; tuberculosis is simply infectious. In the case of these contagious diseases no one who remains exposed to them can be certain of escape, while one may live for years in perfect security in company with the tuberculosis infection. Obedience to certain simple, readily mastered rules will suffice to protect one against tuberculosis ; but there are no precau-



tions which will absolutely protect one against the contagions mentioned.

It is as safe to live in a well-conducted hospital for consumptives as it is to live anywhere else. The educated and conscientious consumptive is not a greater source of danger to his fellowmen than is the sufferer from any non-infectious disease. It is the ignorant or careless consumptive who is a source of danger. Consequently, the educational measures assume greater importance than the blindly restrictive ones.

Throughout the world sanitarians are practically agreed upon the educational lines here advocated. In almost every State of the Union the State Board of Health will be found to have issued pamphlets and circulars setting forth briefly, and in language easily understood, the principal facts known in regard to the manner in which tuberculosis is propagated and statements concerning the ordinary preventive measures. If local boards would coöperate earnestly and intelligently with State Boards of Health, in this campaign of education, much good would be done. From time to time newspapers should publish, fully and accurately, the statements made by health boards, so that all could have the actual facts brought before them in an authoritative way, devoid of sensationalism, and without exaggeration. In this way sentiment could be developed, extreme views combated, and needless alarm allayed.

When every sufferer from tuberculosis becomes convinced that his own expectoration is the medium through which infection is conveyed, and that he must so dispose of it that it cannot dry and be blown about to be inhaled by others, the first important victory will have been won. And when the public fully comprehends that fact, and acts accordingly, it will realize that the consumptive who exercises this sanitary precaution is no longer a source of very great danger to his fellowman. Furthermore, when the public has reached that point it will also be ready to insist upon the proper inspection of meat, milk, and dairy cattle, in order to prevent the communication of tuberculosis through infected food. The results of a successful propaganda upon these lines will be to diminish to a very great extent the number of cases of a disease which causes more deaths than any other.

But it is essential to remember that a single statement of the facts of a problem so thoroughly involved from many standpoints—scientific, administrative, and legal—will not suffice. The statement must be iterated and reiterated, and every new generation must learn

the truth for itself. Even when 99 per cent of the people believe, and act upon their belief, there will remain 1 per cent of pugnacious and unconvertible individuals, who, for conscience' sake, or through obstinacy, will continue to oppose the march of progress. Some of them will be ultimately converted by the logic of events, but some will never cease to hold to old and unreasonable views ; and the latter must always be reckoned with as one factor in the problem. There is no reason why, by the use of the policeman's club, they should be converted into martyrs, and thus have their influence increased. Science, in this instance at least, does not require the aid of a policeman. Acute outbreaks, moral, physical, and infective, need to be overcome by the strong arm of the administrator of the law ; but a chronic state of infection, like a chronic state of unrest, is best benefited through the soothing and ennobling methods of the schoolmaster—in this instance the physician acting as a sanitarian.

WILLIAM P. MUNN.



## THE PARADOXICAL PROFESSION.

It would be pleasant indeed if one could dismiss the subject of the clerical profession by simply declaring that a minister is a man who has pledged his honor to perform at one and the same time two mutually exclusive tasks. One would then have made a friend and ally of every clergyman by publicly stating his grievance. So this is the first paradox—introduced early by way of amiability, and as a means of clearing the deck for more serious action.

Theoretically, a minister is preacher and pastor combined ; in practice he is either, or neither, but not both. At best you have the Rev. Dr. Jekyll, preaching like a seraph, and the Rev. Mr. Hyde, neglecting his parish calls ; or you have the Rev. Dr. Jekyll, the affectionate friend of every immortal soul intrusted to his care, and the Rev. Mr. Hyde, expositor of hackneyed platitudes. Meanwhile the hungry sheep look up unfed and murmur a dismal plaint. “ We paid for two Jekylls ! ” say they.

The protest, I think, should proceed from the pulpit, not from the pew. The mere business of sermon-making—uninterrupted by other concerns—would be enough to stagger any conscientious literary craftsman. To write one address each week, and allowing for two months’ vacation, one has produced three volumes a year. Relying wholly upon manuscript, as some clergymen do, one will achieve an annual output of six volumes. And the writing, though designed continually to present the same theme to the same people, is to be profound without being wearisome, scholarly without being pedantic, brilliant without being sensational—though produced at a rate which would have appalled Alexandre Dumas or Lope Felix de Vega.

Such being the outgo of intellectual material, what of the income ? It is sometimes said that there are two classes of preachers : those who have something to say and those who have to say something. Practically, however, there is only one class, and that the latter. Every minister who has been two years in orders is crazing the faculties of his soul trying to think of something worth preaching which he has not already preached. How shall a clergyman feed his brain while

his brain feeds him? Nowhere under heaven can you find a man who is more in need of leisure for study and reflection and undisturbed personal and intellectual growth than the preacher. Results depend quite as much upon the preparation of the man as upon the preparation of the discourse. Good sermons are not constructed; they evolve. It is best that the mind should at times lie fallow. Though writing in prose, the preacher is the bard of the spiritual highlands, and his mental movements resemble, or should resemble, those of a poet.

And this being his ideal vocation, what is the actual professional routine? I find, as a matter of sober fact, that, irrespective of impulse or inspiration, he turns off weekly job-lots—perfunctory, mechanical, sometimes even somewhat soulless. He tells himself that if it were not necessary to write, there would be time to gather a store of really valuable homiletic material; also that if it were not necessary to gather material, there would be time to write an admirably good address. As it is—well, he asks our indulgence, somewhat after the fashion of the proprietor of a Colorado music hall, who posted a notice, “Don’t shoot the piano-player: he’s doing the best he can.”

But suppose it were possible to write from three to six devotional volumes each year, just look at the conditions under which that monstrous task is attempted! This tireless author of ours is meanwhile to journey from mansion to cottage and from cottage to mansion, ringing our door-bells, and inquiring after our health. He is “not to spend too much time in the study;” he is to keep open house all day and every day to all the world; he can never be spared at dinners and receptions; he is indispensable at weddings and funerals. From time to time he must address the Young Men’s Christian Association, preside at temperance meetings, attend missionary conventions, raise money for hospitals, go sponsor for all sorts of philanthropies, figure prominently on school boards, take an active interest in municipal reform, and read papers at the conferences of learned societies. Ecclesiastical parlance has at last excogitated a name for the ideal clergyman. He is to be a “hustler.” And now, to heighten the humor already involved in a clergyman’s absolutely paradoxical effort to be two incompatible men at once, the cold world looks on and calls him *lazy*!

I have learned that the main element in ministerial success is not the sermon, nor the man behind the sermon, but the wife behind the man. Amongst our clergy the sacraments of marriage and ordination



are practically interdependent. It is only by sheer luck that an unmarried or unengaged theologian gets a call to a pulpit. Aware of this fact, many a divinity student has already persuaded some devoted girl to promise to share his highly problematic fortunes. It is, therefore, an exceedingly anxious moment when he emerges, penniless, from an institution of sacred learning. No wife, no church ; no church, no wife ! What marvellous things were accomplished by the Reformation ! Formerly the Benedictines were a celibate order ; now our Protestant clergy are an order of Benedicts ! Luther said priests might marry ; but we, in our day, have out-Luthered Luther and said that they must, and then we have set their salaries at such a figure that they can't. A delightful paradox—unless you happen to be a minister !

Quite obviously there are two factors in this problem, the church, on the one hand, and the preacher, on the other. The church desires first of all that the parsonage should be "occupied." It also desires to secure an unsalaried assistant pastor, who will teach a Bible class, lead a mission band, manage a sewing-circle, preside over the Women's Christian Temperance Union, play the organ in prayer-meeting, and make friendly calls from door to door. But the chief insistence is less that the minister shall be married than that he shall on no account be single. Here and there a few single men have cut uncanonical capers in a few isolated parishes, and by an unwarrantably sweeping generalization the church at large has drawn the conclusion that single men are an insecure investment. And even if the Little Minister preserves his dignity—and, of course, he sincerely desires to preserve it—there are not a few playful Babbies who menace his peace of mind and sobriety of demeanor. Besides, a clergyman is "a marrying man," and his people know it. Consequently, they watch his manoeuvres intently ; they invent myths to account for him and legends to relate him ; a dozen expectant caps are set to catch him ; and he is presently in a strait betwixt two alternatives—to marry within his parish and incur factional strife, or outside of it and incur wholesale rebellion. It would, therefore, be well, if his domestic future were determined before he undertakes his first pastoral venture.

Happily, there is nothing a young gentleman is more willing to do than to enter the blessed estate of matrimony. Having early decided to take holy orders, your stripling theologian will fling himself with a delicious abandon upon the tide of youthful (and in this case also utilitarian) sentiment. A wife is stock in trade ; moreover, she is

an emblem of consecration. Some men marry for money, others for mere romantic love, this man for the church. Regarding himself as a special pet of Providence, he ignores those economic laws which, if rightly heeded, would eventually empower him to pay bills. Every calling and profession, save only the one which above all the rest demands that a man be free from worldly entanglements, permits the beginner to go single until he is at least independent. Who ever thinks of insisting that gosling barristers or tadpole physicians shall get themselves wives? Who will call it anything but a mingling of folly with sin for a young merchant or salesman or accountant to signalize his initial experiment in commercial life by assuming responsibilities beyond his power to fulfil? And yet our youthful pastor must begin his career as a self-supporting citizen burdened precisely thus. The Lord will provide.

Now it would seem rather appropriate that an institution which asks a man to mortgage his future at the very outset should give him unusual assurance of financial support. During the first five years of his ministry he ought to be better paid than the young men who in other professions are permitted for a season to live single. But no; the minister receives far less.

“ Shillin’ a day,  
Bloomin’ good pay,  
Lucky to touch it,  
Shillin’ a day ! ”

And the shilling is seldom promptly paid. Few churches regard their contract with a clergyman as a business agreement. His monthly stipend is not considered a *quid pro quo*. His salary is not intended to pay him for preaching, but to enable him to preach. His position rests upon a poetic, rather than a practical, economic basis. The man of God is our guest.

A large and wealthy city church is the most considerate host in the world. Consent to receive \$6,000 a year, and you get it. You get it all, and you get it promptly. But rare is the man who begins his ministry under such favorable circumstances. The usual thing is to undergo an apprenticeship in the country, where, promised \$600 per annum, you get it in tiny, unreliable quantities, tardily paid you. Single, you could fight the dragon; married, you succumb. Debts accumulate. You are marked among your own parishioners as “slow pay.” Business men comment upon your laxity of conscience. They



despise your acceptance of "clergymen's rates," half-fare tickets, and other devices for tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. Meanwhile, the fault lies not with the clergyman, but with the church. Like people, like priest. Half-paid at best, and for long periods not paid at all, the clergyman is forced to adopt the business methods of his employers.

It is an axiom of the laic philosophy that a minister ought to be poor. That is, no doubt, a very amiable maxim; but I am moved nevertheless to ask, "*How* poor?" Too poor to pay his debts? Too poor to provide for the comfort of the wife the church has bidden him to take? Too poor to provide for his own old age? Too poor to be fearless in such an hour as a candid word from the pulpit may throw him into temporary unemployment? Lowell was not far wrong when he said that no man had a right to preach until possessed of an independent income; for Lowell's pardonable hyperbole laid bare the ethical problem of the modern pulpit. Put a man in a position of miserable dependence, and you make him a craven. He will preach what is "best for his people." That man is "sound." He is "reliable." "You always know where to find him." Bishop Potter, who speaks of the pulpit as a throne, may well reverse the figure. The real throne is not the pulpit. It is the pew.

A minister is a teacher, but he is very commonly afraid above all things really to teach—that is, to teach anything at all new to his hearers. Apparently, the bulk of his people do not come to church to learn; they come to hear their own convictions officially concurred in. At least, this is what the minister logically infers from the frequent congratulation, "A splendid, splendid sermon! It has done me a world of good. You have said just what I have always thought." On the other hand, evidence is not wanting to show that any departure from beaten paths is regarded with suspicion. Inasmuch as the educated clergyman is almost sure to be in advance of his people, this situation involves a distressing moral dilemma.

Formerly, preachers could be candid. In the days when clergy and laity were equally distrustful of theological innovations, equally indifferent to the historico-critical analysis of sacred documents, equally hostile in their attitude toward "science falsely so called," nothing in particular was concealed, because there was nothing in particular to conceal. That time, however, is swiftly passing; and in most quarters the old security is at an end. There is, therefore, the danger that the preacher will learn "the caution of his convictions," maintaining

(whether consciously or not) two hardly reconcilable creeds—the one for the study, the other for the pulpit. This is not entirely honest, neither is it entirely dishonest. Regarded as a minister is tempted to regard it when he finds it necessary to preach his gospel to a congregation more conservative than himself, it is tactful and diplomatic.

But when one views the ministry in the light of its own high idealism one cannot but demur. What business have tact and diplomacy in a Christian pulpit? Mental reservations neutralize ministerial power. The balancing-pole is so much in evidence that we begin to fear that the man distrusts his own footing. Not a few of us are already asking ourselves whether the preachers preach what they believe, or “what they believe the people believe they ought to believe.” And although a man preaches nothing he does not believe to be true, we wonder sometimes whether he is preaching all he believes to be true. See the books on his study shelves—Andrew D. White’s “Warfare of Science with Theology,” Gordon’s “New Theodicy,” McGiffert’s “Apostolic Age,” and a row of critical treatises—Cheyne, Driver, Wellhausen, Keim, Cornill, and the rest. You would never guess it from his pulpit deliverances.

His position, ethically anomalous as regarded by the outsider, finds a certain more or less reasonable justification before the minister’s conscience. He tells himself that he is called to preach his beliefs, not his doubts; that the disputed dogmas of formal theology are, after all, very unimportant; that there is abundant pulpit material at hand without reaching out for disturbing themes; that the way to bring people to a broader faith is to lead them so gradually that they will not know they are being led; and that there is danger of so unsettling the foundations of belief that your parishioners will be lost in the quicksands of agnosticism.

To superficial minds this seems a very satisfactory defence; but look closer. A minister is not to preach his doubts. Of course not; but quite evidently these novel opinions are not doubts. If a man accepts evolution, he does not doubt the Biblical cosmogony, he denies it; if a man accepts the Higher Criticism, he does not doubt the traditional theory of Scripture, he denies it; if a man believes in restoration, he does not doubt the doctrine of eternal retribution, he denies it; and every denial is conversely an affirmation. The tenets of the New Theology are not held by liberal clergymen as tentative, hypothetical, or even merely negative statements; they are settled convictions. The preacher confesses to his own reason that these radical



opinions are so vitally and so fundamentally related to his whole scheme of religious thought that to relinquish them would be to lose his hold upon the foundations of belief. His doubts are really the strong defenders of his faith. If, then, he has found the way to a more stable trust in the unseen, why should he not tell us about it?

Are these matters of no importance? Is it a trivial affair that a great religious body should teach young people that their souls' salvation will be jeopardized if they accept the theory of evolution? Is it a trifling circumstance that the brand of heresy should be put upon those self-sacrificing scholars who have endeavored with infinite toil to discover the truth about the Bible and its origin? Or is it a matter of no consequence that these unimportant doctrines should be made the shibboleths of denominational discord? Surely, we have not acted as if debated questions were unimportant. There is in all this world no intensity of feeling in any way comparable with the *odium theologicum*, whether clerical or laic.

Again, some ministers, and, for that matter, some pew-holders, are saying that there are plenty of other things to preach. So there are. A man may preach the essentials of ethics and even the essentials of devotional piety and never trespass upon imperilled doctrinal territory. He may, if he like, leave the circumscribed field of purely religious reflection, and discourse upon secular themes, treating the biographies of lately deceased celebrities, reviewing the course of public events, or commenting upon the trend of social movements. But this is to evade the difficulty. And in the long run that sort of preacher will fail to satisfy a really religious congregation. What is worse, he has put himself in an exceedingly uncomfortable position before the bar of his own conscience. When he has successfully avoided the suspicion of unsoundness, he despises himself for having veiled what he believes to be the truth.

Then, too, we are told that people are best led when led gradually and unconsciously. As the minister is aiming at results, he is not to arouse resentment or to excite opposition. Patience! Take time; be moderate; a little leaven will leaven the whole lump. Nevertheless, it is not irrelevant to compare with this Fabian policy the thoroughly Napoleonic tactics of those daring leaders who in days gone by made converts to liberalism by the hundred thousand. Wiclif cared nothing for conciliation; Huss signed no contract with duplicity; Luther was no trimmer; but all three got results, and got them faster and in greater abundance than the covert apostles of the new

faith are doing. After all, there is nothing else quite so persuasive as martyrdom ; and if our preachers can find any fire of persecution to walk into, they will be surprised to see how rapidly their suffering will win them results.

But of all the excuses for pulpit diplomacy, the last is the best. "Let us have a care," say the hesitant leaders of a trusting people, "lest we shake the convictions of our hearers." To this one is tempted to reply that they take their hearers rather too seriously. Convictions! They never had any convictions. If their religious opinions are mere wind-blown flowers that will shed their petals at the least stir of controversy, what right have they to call them convictions? However beautiful or consoling or inspiring such ideas may be, the clergy will best serve their people by forcing them to call every one of them to stern account. Doubt, unrest, temporary scepticism, experimental agnosticism—these are the black storm-clouds through which the mind must pass on its way to the sunlit summits of an abiding faith. People must be taught to stop acting as if the tenets of the religious philosophy would bear no investigation.

There is at present a widespread opinion among ministers that the new learning is for the clergy and not for the laity ; that it is too subtle for popular comprehension ; that it is dangerously allied with destructive scepticism ; that it is deadening to the higher spiritual perceptions. Yet, even granting that the people are best left undisturbed in the simple faith of their childhood, it becomes a question of serious importance to know what meanwhile is to be the fate of the preacher's conscience. Shall it be counted his duty to maintain a policy of altruistic deception? By a distressing inference one gathers that in certain quarters this is regarded as the supreme act of ministerial abnegation : the priest lays down his honor for the salvation of his people. One hesitates to quote in this connection the memorable lines of Emerson, yet they have a striking significance just at this time.

" I like a church, I like a cowl,  
I love a prophet of the soul,  
And on my heart monastic aisles  
Fall like sweet strains and pensive smiles ;  
Yet not for all his faith can see  
Would I that cowed churchman be ! "

Again, a minister is paradoxically required to preach his highest conceivable ideals, and is then blamed for his inability to live up to



them. People act as if clergymen claimed to be perfect. They seem to think that when once a man has donned a preacher's coat he is exempt from temptation. "We could be good," they say, "if only we were preachers." Then, how deplorable that a man who has taken holy orders should fall short of complete sanctity ; and how surprising that, having himself failed of the goal, he should still recommend the goal to his parishioners ! Physician, heal thyself !

Now in certain respects it is true that a minister is an ethical immune. So far as gross temptations go, he is safe because he is watched. The whole community unites to police him. Their vigilance also extends to trifles. Let a preacher take a hand at whist, let him spend an evening at the play, or let him so much as light a good cigar, and the resultant criticism on the part of his parishioners is likely to make him considerably uncomfortable. Moreover, the man is at the same time policed from within. His zeal for spiritual service permits no peccadillos that will limit or cripple his influence. His first thought is for the effect his conduct will have upon others, particularly upon the young. That is why even the men whose moral teaching is most liberal are likely to assume in practice the *rôle* of the most conservative.

Yet, there are subtle temptations involved in the very profession of preaching, temptations to vanity, to insincerity, to intolerance, and to superficiality—to vanity, because the man is continually before an audience, and before an audience accustomed to express their admiration with fulsome extravagance ; to insincerity, because piety will obey neither calendar nor clock, and the minister must not infrequently preach and pray when the mood forbids ; to intolerance, because the preacher has things all his own way when he speaks from the pulpit ; and to superficiality, because of addressing all his arguments to an audience already fully in accord with his views.

Pastoral duties have also their dangers. The pastoral relation is absolutely anomalous. You say to a clergyman, "Here in these many miles of territory are these many living beings ; proceed to become a devoted friend to every one of them." That is a reversal of the inexorable law which governs all human relations. The principle is, from within out, not from without inward. Friendships are not made, they grow. The pastor, then, is to violate the natural order of things, and to do so without injury to himself. He is to be uniformly cordial and sympathetic, even toward the people who thwart his plans and undermine his influence. What matter that the attempt

occasionally compels him to simulate a regard he does not feel? He is to avoid giving offence, but never by the tactics of the trimmer. Affronted, he is to turn the other cheek, but without lowering his dignity. On all occasions he is to "get hold of the people," yet never by guile. Had the man the rare genius for indiscriminate friendship, he would find pastoral ministration a means of splendid personal development. On the other hand, were people content with a benevolent interest, the clergyman would never run the risk of turning social hypocrite.

Then, too, in both preaching and pastoral work, there is an unavoidable over-culture of the sympathetic emotions. A man may lecture, or a man may act, with complete *sang froid*; but real preaching is more than intellectual and more than dramatic, just as religion itself is more than a philosophy and more than a system of ethics. It is the flaming outburst of emotional expression that lifts the sermon above every other form of human utterance. Perhaps a more common danger is the deadening of ambition. Young men are taught that as ministers they must not seek place, or fame, or fortune. By and by the Lord will call His servant to a larger field. Except on these terms it is wicked to aspire to a higher salary. It is far from commendable to desire increased influence. The strongest passions of the masculine soul, the craving for gain and the longing for power—motives which actuate all commercial enterprise and all professional endeavor save that of the ministry—find only rebuke when they are discovered beneath the conduct of a clergyman.

Moreover, it is not good for a man to associate almost exclusively with women. A clergyman preaches to women, calls upon women, directs the philanthropy of women. He is a woman's hero. What the soldier wins by his bravery, the actor by his genius, the author by his style, and the musician by his art, the minister receives by merit of his sacred calling. It is an unearned increment, and he feels it to be so. Were he to withdraw from the pulpit, the spell would be broken. Ah, but is not such adulation very pleasant under existing circumstances? No, it is only tantalizing. The response which above all else the minister craves—the response of strong men, springing from the appreciation of fine and worthy achievement—is scantily awarded. Instead, the preacher gets the same thing from women. It is a consolation prize.

But suppose a man seek purely masculine associations, then a great gulf is fixed between him and his fellows by the sanctity of his voca-



tion. A crowd of men becomes uneasy as soon as the parson enters the room ; he is always the skeleton at the feast. The fault is ours, no doubt, not his ; but the fact remains. Little good will it do him to dress like a business man, to avoid what he calls the "holy whine," to stave off the "ministerial hand-shake," or to bid us direct his letters plain "Mr." He is better than we are, and we know it. He may not mingle in our vain and worldly pleasures. He never sees us just as we are, but beholds us from the pulpit with our moral and spiritual Sunday clothes on, or at the confessional with none at all. As a result of this painful isolation a minister unconsciously acquires a manner of his own, a philosophy of his own, a point of orientation all his own. He views life through the diamond panes of his study windows. He becomes queer, and it worries him at times to realize that he is not like other men.

These things strike at self-respect. So does the fact that his constituency is not the result of natural selection, but is ready made. If I don't like your book, I throw it down ; if I don't like your lectures, I stay at home or go to the play ; but if I don't like your sermons, I nevertheless come regularly to hear you. Only my religion could compel me to do so. And it is under just these conditions that the average clergyman confronts his hearers.

Few men ever receive a unanimous call. The usual thing is to begin a pastorate in spite of opposition, and to continue it in spite of complaint. That would be an acceptable, indeed even a rather inspiring, condition for an interesting political administration, but hardly for the superintendence of a parish. Think of preaching the gospel of love to a recalcitrant faction who are waiting their chance to oust you ! Think, too, of consciously inflicting yourself upon a lot of people who endure you only because they think it their Christian duty to do so ! Think of taking pay from pew-holders who devoutly wish you were in Borrioboola-gha !

Character is imperilled precisely as self-respect is diminished ; and certain phases of the minister's experience are positively degrading. For instance, there is the experience to which many a clergyman is subjected of the interregnum between two parishes. Sensitive to the point of morbidity, the preacher tells himself that people regard him as little as they do a jilted girl or a grass widow. He suspects that gossip is inquiring whether he left his church because he hated it or because it hated him. Successful men seem to gloat over his discomfiture. Patronizing friends, with kindest intentions, suggest his name

for slum pulpits, or introduce him to the portly, thunderous secretaries of city missionary societies. Denominational deputies search his "record." Here and there a friend advises him to go into business. The procurers of book agents fall upon him and beseech him to peddle their wares. (Unemployed preachers make excellent book agents. You will think twice before turning a minister away unheard.)

Humiliating upon its personal side, the situation presents a serious aspect professionally. The ministerial wage-market is monstrously overcrowded ; instead of churches competing to secure clergymen, the clergymen compete to secure churches ; and hot though this competition may be, the fact of its existence must be veiled from the world. It is ecclesiastical suicide to make direct application for a vacant pulpit. You must tell your bosom friend to tell a little boy to tell his maternal aunt to tell her brother-in-law to tell his type-writer girl to tell the chairman of the standing committee that, if approached with due consideration, you might be induced to accept the position. That is the way to be dignified. It is indispensable that a ministerial Lackland should maintain the mien and state of royalty as he goes in quest of a throne. All would be well if, like King Arthur, he could make a realm and reign. Clerical constituencies, however, are not made but won.

Certain denominations have established bureaus of pastoral supply, which, like little David Copperfield, carry word that "Barkis is willin'." Ideally, that is a beautiful arrangement, but there is danger that in practical operation it will work like the sweating system ; for the poorer churches (and rich churches are rare) demand cheap ministers, and the agency may be tempted to cheapen its applicants by maintaining a waiting list. Keep a man unemployed from January to June and he will be prepared (literally by prayer and fasting) to accept a position inconceivably out of proportion to his merits.

Suppose, now, that by grace of intervention on the part of some influential friend or by favorable recommendation on the part of the bureau of pastoral supply the unemployed clergyman is brought to the attention of a church committee, what then ? He must candidate. There has gone abroad an impression that the candidating system is done away. So it is, in a few city churches ; but in the church at large it still flourishes. A minister is invited to display his stature, his dress, his physiognomy, his voice, his gestures, his rhetoric, his prayers, his piety, and his professional *savoir-faire* before a critical audience composed of possible purchasers. Sometimes the perform-



ance reminds me a little of Fortuny's picture, "The Choice of a Model." At other times it suggests Mr. John S. Wise's account of the slave market—only with this difference, that the minister usually mounts the auctioneer's block with a full consciousness of the degradation involved.

Foreseeing all these difficulties, a preacher is extremely reluctant to leave one parish until he reads his title clear to another, and, if possible, a better. He may feel that the day of his usefulness is past and that he ought in honor to make a change; he may realize that his people dislike him and want to get rid of him; he may even confess to himself that his present field has become so distasteful that he can no longer unfeignedly devote to it his best energies; and yet he is afraid to cast loose. Sometimes a man recognizes that he ought for a season to withdraw from the pulpit altogether. There are times when one is spiritually unequal to the task of preaching. Lacordaire, in such an emergency, fled from Notre Dame in Paris and sought seclusion in Rome. Will any Protestant minister do as much? A pulpit is a treadmill; the man dares not stop. Yet what thinks he, many and many a day, of the ethics of going on?

There comes a time when a man can neither stay in the ministry nor get out of it. He cannot stay in it, because, at the age of forty-five or fifty, he has reached the ministerial dead-line. Churches prefer youthful preachers. They like the young face, the erect figure, the spirited delivery, and the vivacious thought of a boy. Another paradox! They ought to prefer the learning, the experience, the insight, the ripened character, and the chastened spirituality of a man past middle life, for only he can best minister to their real needs. Yet we are confronted with Ian Maclaren's pathetic query, "Shall the old minister be shot?" And whatever answer we make to that query, it remains mournfully true that the old minister is either removed by methods more or less heartless, or deceived into imagining that another parish will afford him an opportunity for continued usefulness. Let him resign, and seek that other parish, and he learns his mistake. A mere stripling succeeds to his pulpit, while he himself remains unemployed.

But it must not be imagined that this unemployed clergyman has left the ministry. The ministry cannot be left. It sticks to a man, whether he will or not. He is regarded as a monarch who has ignominiously abdicated his throne, as a monk who has profanely discarded his cowl, as a soldier who has disloyally repudiated his mili-

tary title. He cannot become a layman. He cannot enter any other calling save that to which he has given his life, because the clerical routine has unfitted him for successful endeavor in other directions. Sometime we shall evolve a system of eleemosynary support for our professionally disabled spiritual advisers.

What name, then, shall we give to the ministerial calling? I insist that it is a mere butterfly existence. A man has not served his apprenticeship in it until he has reached thirty or thirty-five, and his clerical life is snuffed out at forty-five or fifty. This is well known. Would it not be natural to suppose that so disheartening a condition would serve as a very effective deterrent for youthful aspirants toward holy orders? Yet at the very time when the dead-line is drawn with cruelest stringency, behold our theological seminaries thronged with ambitious students! What can possibly tempt them to hazard their all in so perilous a venture as the ministerial career?

So far as I understand these men, they are attracted by the spiritual rewards of the profession. Spiritual rewards! Can one speak of spiritual rewards for work illy done, for bills unpaid, for liberty of speech severely abridged, for a character almost inevitably distorted and, perhaps, even a good deal feminized? The fallacy is distinctly apparent. It is true that there are ministers—and this is the greatest paradox of all—who are so much larger than their profession that none of its limitations seem to affect them. Such men will preach eloquently; will, at the same time, shepherd their flocks with patient, affectionate care; will declare the truth as God gives them to see it, no matter how disastrous the consequence to themselves, or will so completely win the esteem of their hearers that no disastrous consequences are ever to be feared; will thrive morally and spiritually upon the very temptations which menace the uprightness and integrity of their ministerial brethren. These are the big men who kill the little men. These are the conquerors whose dazzling example lures a thousand rash youngsters to their everlasting undoing. And yet they are good youngsters, one and all. They have chosen this sacred calling because of the vast good it would enable them to do. Let them stop and consider whether they might not do an even vaster good by keeping themselves totally out of it!

Pious souls used once to speak of the "divine call to preach." It is time we should begin to hear something of the divine call not to preach. The real trouble with the Christian ministry at the present time lies in the appalling overcrowding of its ranks. As long as it is the easiest



thing in the world for a church to secure a preacher, and as long as that church knows that there are some five hundred starving doctors of divinity lying in wait to secure that preacher's pulpit, should he by any chance become dispossessed of it, we shall witness the melancholy continuance of existing conditions—overwork underpaid, the teacher afraid to teach, the model of morals and religion beset with subtle, yet overwhelming temptations—unless, of course, he is the big man killing the little man.

The question, therefore, resolves itself into a highly Malthusian proposition : Let the clergy thin itself out. In the interest of the cause they devotedly love, in the interest of the profession they have chosen, in the interest of the future of the mighty church they serve, all ministers ought solemnly to examine themselves and inquire whether they are doing right or wrong to remain where they are. The various denominations ought to raise their requirements of admission to their priesthood. The issue is primarily economic. We must restore the balance of demand and supply. It has been the fatal error of the Church that it has rendered the clergyman's labor one of the cheapest of all known commodities.

HENRY J. BARRYMORE.

## CANALS FROM THE GREAT LAKES TO THE SEA.

THE only practicable route for a canal from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard, entirely within the limits of the United States, is possessed by the State of New York. In the early part of the century, the people of the State took advantage of this fact ; and, under the leadership of Morris and Clinton, they built the Erie Canal, which, more than anything else, has made New York the Empire State, and New York City the financial and commercial centre of the Western Hemisphere.

The people most interested in a canal from the Great Lakes to New York are : (1) The people of New York, who reap the commercial and industrial benefits that such a canal brings ; (2) the people of the upper lake region, who want the cheapest possible highway to the ocean and the markets of the world for the products of their fields, mines, forests, and workshops ; and (3) the people engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits all along our North Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Maryland, who desire cheap transportation for the food they consume, the raw materials they work up, the manufactured articles they produce, and the commodities in which they deal. It is not extravagant to say that 20,000,000 people in our country are more or less directly interested in the benefits that accrue from such a canal, and that would accrue to a still greater degree should the canal be rebuilt of more generous proportions, to fit it more fully for their needs.

When the Erie Canal was completed, four North Atlantic seaports were about equal in population and commercial importance—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore ; and each was working and planning in the hope that the mantle of commercial and financial supremacy would fall upon it. But the matter was settled in favor of New York, largely through the Erie Canal ; and to-day the population, importance, and wealth of New York City and its immediate environment far exceed those of all the above-named rivals combined. During recent years, it has begun to lose its relative place in certain lines of business ; and this has been coincident with the decline of commerce on the Erie Canal.



The existing Erie Canal is not up to date ; it has fallen behind in the great march of events ; and the people who are in touch with the subject feel the absolute necessity of its radical improvement or of the building of another and better canal in a different location. If improved, in what shall the improvement consist ? If a new waterway is to replace the Erie Canal, what particular route shall it follow, in order to be of the greatest benefit to the 20,000,000 people interested ? These are interesting questions just now, and it is for the purpose of replying to them that this article has been written.

In trying to find the correct solution of the problem, it early became evident that certain interests demanded one kind of canal while other interests demanded a different kind of canal. A correct solution requires that all factors be carefully weighed—a matter involving considerable study and research.

The different classes of canals from the lakes to the sea which deserve to be considered are :

1. A great ship canal suited to ocean-going vessels.
2. A ship canal suited to vessels navigating the Great Lakes.
3. A barge canal suited to vessels of 1,000 to 2,000 tons burden.
4. A small canal suited to vessels of 250 to 500 tons burden.

#### A SHIP CANAL FOR OCEAN VESSELS.

It is beautiful and inspiring to picture in one's mind the passing of great ocean vessels through our Atlantic ports and into and through the Great Lakes, carrying with them the products of foreign workshops and foreign fields, right into the heart of the continent, and there being loaded with our own surplus products destined for the teeming populations of the world beyond the seas. But such a picture is believed to be an illusion which can never be realized.

Commerce on the ocean is carried on in vessels drawing from twenty to thirty-two feet ; and to utilize these vessels in the manner pictured would require a canal and lake and interlake channels thirty to thirty-five feet in depth. A canal of this depth from New York City—the most accessible of all our Atlantic ports—to Lake Erie, by any practicable route, would cost an enormous sum of money, probably not less than \$300,000,000. If ocean ships could get into the upper lakes their troubles would not be over ; for there are no harbors on the lakes suitable for their accommodation, and the channels between the lakes are not of sufficient depth to permit them to pass.

The United States has been working for years, and has expended many millions of dollars, in the effort to secure channels twenty feet deep between lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Superior. To deepen these channels to thirty feet or more would require years of time and the expenditure of vast sums of money. The cost of constructing a ship canal, together with the needed improvements of lake harbors and interlake channels, such as would permit of the realization of the beautiful picture of large ocean ships going to Chicago, Duluth, and other upper lake ports, would be so great as to be entirely incommensurate with the good to be accomplished thereby. This circumstance is made the more emphatic when we consider that there is a grave doubt whether the ocean ships could profitably spend the time in going through the canal, even if one were built, and if all the other work just outlined should be undertaken.

If ocean vessels limited in draft to eighteen or twenty feet—*i.e.*, vessels suited to lake channels and harbors—should attempt to transact business between the upper lake ports and foreign ports, they would find themselves hopelessly outclassed in carrying capacity and economy of transportation by the large lake vessels on the lakes, the great ocean vessels on the ocean, and cheap barges on the canal ; and it is practically certain that they could not compete with the latter combination, even handicapped as it would be by the necessity of transferring cargo at Buffalo and New York. In the words of a distinguished Senator of the United States, “ A ship canal from the sea to the upper lakes, navigated by large ocean-going vessels, is an iridescent dream which will never be realized.”

#### A SHIP CANAL FOR LAKE VESSELS.

The great vessels on the upper lakes now draw about eighteen and one-half feet of water as a maximum ; and it is safe, and at the same time liberal, to assume, that in the not distant future a draft of twenty feet will be obtained, that all lake harbors and interlake channels will be deepened to accommodate vessels of this draft. A ship canal which will give these lake vessels access to tide water is a very different affair from a ship canal suited to ocean vessels. It is much less expensive, and much more justifiable. However, the expense would still be enormous.

There are three possible routes for such a canal from Lake Erie to New York. One follows in general the line of the Erie Canal from



Buffalo to Albany, and down the Hudson to New York. This route, while possible, is not practicable, if only for two reasons : (1) the cost ; and (2) the length of time required for the passage by vessels. Along the line of the Erie Canal, and very largely due to the canal, there has been built up a chain of cities, which has not its equal in importance in America ; Albany, Troy, Watervliet, Amsterdam, Herkimer, Schenectady, Little Falls, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Lyons, Rochester, Lockport, Tonawanda, and Buffalo being the principal ones. The construction of a ship canal through or around these cities, with their neighboring railways and highways, would be exceedingly expensive. Along this route the distance from Buffalo to Albany would be 350 miles, of which at least 250 miles would be represented by a narrow, artificial waterway, in which loaded ships could not make more than four miles an hour ; so that the time consumed in passage, irrespective of other considerations, would render the route impracticable.

In both of the other possible ship-canal routes the passage is made from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the latter becomes part of the route. In one case, Lake Ontario is left at Oswego, and the ship-canal route follows up the Oswego River to the Oneida River, thence up the Oneida River to Oneida Lake, through the lake and on and over the divide to the Mohawk River, down through the valley of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and down the Hudson to New York. Though this route, also, would be entirely within the territory of the United States, there are several serious objections to it. The first important objection is the great amount of lockage required. To lock down from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario there would be 326 feet of descent ; to lock up from Lake Ontario to the summit level above Oneida Lake there would be 172 feet of ascent ; and to lock down from this summit level to the Hudson, at or near Troy or Albany, there would be 418 feet of descent—916 feet in all in making the passage one way. As every foot of lockage costs a large sum, and consumes time in passage, the objection to an excessive amount of lockage is obvious. Second, the supply of water to the summit level above Oneida Lake, for a large ship canal, is somewhat problematical, and certainly is expensive. Again, the building of a large ship canal through the thickly populated valley of the Mohawk would be attended with many difficulties, and be very costly.

The third ship-canal route follows down Lake Ontario to the St. Lawrence River ; thence down the river, using the main river chan-

nel, to the vicinity of Ogdensburg ; thence still on down by canals, past the rapids, using the river itself where possible, to some point to the northwest of the lower, or northern, end of Lake Champlain. Here the St. Lawrence would be left, and a canal would be built from the river to Lake Champlain, which would be followed to its head. From the head of Lake Champlain the route would be by canal across to the upper Hudson, then down this river, past Troy and Albany, to New York City.

This route has some advantages and some disadvantages. It has less lockage than the Oswego-Oneida route, and a very large portion of it is in the wide, free waters of Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson River ; the water supply for lockage is unlimited ; and the canal by this route is probably much cheaper than by any other. On the other hand, it is the longest route, and it has the marked objection that it is not entirely within our own dominion ; a portion of it on the St. Lawrence River, and the canal from this river to Lake Champlain, being in Canada. And this leads up to the fact that the natural outlet of the Great Lake region, the line of least resistance and the shortest and cheapest route for a ship canal to tide water, is by the St. Lawrence to the seaport of Montreal, which has the distinction of being further away from the sea than any other seaport in the world habitually visited by ocean ships. It is a remarkable fact that it is about ten times as far from the sea as any other seaport.

The question then arises : If a ship canal be built from Lake Erie to New York by the Ontario, St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain route, would it not be more apt to redound to the disadvantage of American commerce than to its advantage ? In my opinion, it certainly would. Such a ship-canal route would follow down the St. Lawrence until within thirty to fifty miles of the seaport of Montreal. It would then branch off to New York, which would be reached only after traversing some 350 miles of canal, lake, and river ; and when at New York commodities destined for most foreign markets would be further away from these markets than they were when they left the St. Lawrence. Such a canal would be of some benefit to our local, and strictly domestic, business ; but it would just as certainly be a detriment to our inbound and outbound foreign commerce, tending strongly to take it away from New York, and to build up the commerce of the port of Montreal. Of course, to reach Montreal, Canada would have to add a short section to our ship canal. But this she would certainly do ;



and then it would be inconceivable that grain, lumber, iron ore, manufactured steel, or other articles, destined for foreign markets, reaching within fifty miles of Montreal, would retrace their steps through 350 miles of a contracted waterway back to the port of New York.

For New York State to build such a canal, or permit it to be built, would, in my opinion, be to commit commercial suicide. There would, of course, be some interests along the route which would be benefited by it ; but the State as a whole would be tremendously injured. The same is true, although to a less extent, in regard to a ship canal built by the Ontario, Oswego, Oneida route. If the Great Lake freighters, carrying 7,000, 8,000, or 9,000 tons of produce, should go into Lake Ontario, they could continue on down the St. Lawrence as far as Prescott or Ogdensburg, only about 120 miles from Montreal, and then transfer into 2,000- or 3,000-ton barges, to be taken through the Canadian canals to Montreal. All foreign-bound commerce would undoubtedly take this course rather than the route from Oswego to New York, through 320 miles mostly of contracted and dangerous waterway, with its 590 feet of lockage. It is altogether probable, too, that, in this event, Canada would soon enlarge her St. Lawrence canals, so as to permit the Great Lake vessels to run directly to Montreal ; and the resultant benefits would in any event be far greater to Montreal than they would be to New York.

While the people of the upper lake region are naturally more or less indifferent as to whether their world markets are reached *via* New York or Montreal, New York cannot afford to be indifferent. She should, therefore, give this matter her serious attention ; and if her people see it as I do, they will fight the project of a ship canal *via* Lake Ontario with all their strength. And the most effective way for New York to fight it, and at the same time obtain enormous benefits to herself, is to build a barge canal upon which business can be done so cheaply that there would be no justification for expending large sums for a ship canal.

There is very serious doubt whether the great vessels of the lakes could be induced by any obtainable rates of freight habitually to use a ship canal from the lakes to New York. Not only would the passage involve much time under ordinary circumstances, but the ship would be subjected both to the danger of accidents to herself in the contracted waterway and to serious detention through accidents to other ships. During the last season there were three incidents in the history of transportation on the lakes having a direct and marked

bearing upon the subject of a ship canal from the lakes to tide water ; illustrating as they do one of the serious and inevitable defects of such a highway of commerce.

In its natural condition, the St. Mary's River, which connects lakes Huron and Superior, had extensive shallow reaches. Through these a channel has been excavated 300 to 400 feet wide and twenty feet deep. In the early part of September, 1899, one of the Great Lake freighters—the "Douglas Houghton," ore-laden—through the giving out of some of its steering gear, went aground ; and swinging around across the channel, completely blocked it. It took five days of the most arduous and unremitting effort to get this vessel afloat and out of the channel ; and, in the meantime, 332 vessels loaded with freight were unable to get by. To those interested this caused a dead loss, estimated, by the Lake Carriers' Association, at nearly \$1,000,000.

In the latter part of November, another blockade of the St. Mary's River channel occurred, due to a collision in which three vessels, two steamers and a tow barge, were mixed up and stranded. This caused a delay of nearly four days to some 167 vessels, and involved a loss to the navigation interests of a very large sum, probably not far from \$500,000.

In the early part of December, a tow barge went aground in the St. Clair Flats canal ; blocking the canal for nearly two days, delaying thirty-five vessels, and causing a heavy loss to the navigation interests. This latter accident, occurring just at the close of the season of navigation, might have produced most serious results by preventing a great many vessels from reaching their destination and home ports.

In spite of all possible precautions, such accidents are liable to happen in a contracted channel traversed by ships of 7,000, 8,000, or 9,000 tons capacity. The longer the channel the greater is the liability to accident ; and it is easy to imagine that in a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and from Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River to New York, such accidents, blockades, and detentions would be of frequent occurrence, if used by many vessels. Vessel owners and managers would naturally take all these dangers into consideration in determining whether or not to run their boats on such a canal, or in fixing rates of freight for carriage thereon. Of course, accidents and detentions are liable to occur on a small canal also ; but, owing to the greater ease with which the smaller boats can be managed, the dangers here are not so marked. Besides, the results of accidents on a small canal are not likely to be so disastrous as those in the case of



the greater canal, and with the larger boats. It is a much easier and quicker matter to lighter and float a small vessel, carrying a few hundred tons, than it is to do so with a great freighter, carrying several thousand tons. Moreover, it is the belief of many men familiar with matters relating to water transportation, that even if a ship canal were built, its business would be carried on not by the large vessels of the ocean or the lakes, but by barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity, which could be accommodated almost as well in a smaller, and less expensive, canal.

#### BARGE CANAL.

Fortunately, there is another form of canal which would serve the people of the upper lake region nearly, and in most instances fully, as well as would the ship canal, and which, at the same time, would be of vast commercial benefit to New York and our whole North Atlantic seaboard. One of the important truths in regard to transportation is, that the cost of carrying freight depends upon the size of the freight carrier. The size of ships on the ocean and the lakes is constantly increasing, in order that the freight may be carried at a lower and lower cost. In view of this circumstance, it is clear that, other things being equal, the larger the boats which the canal can accommodate, the cheaper will be the cost of transportation. But there are other truths regarding transportation that materially modify this view. First, in order to transact the business of freight-carrying in the most economical manner, the vessel must be adapted to the waters on which it moves. One type of vessel is most economical for ocean use, and another is most economical for use on the lakes ; and neither of these could replace the other on its own waters without suffering great disadvantage. The ocean vessel is built with finer lines and deeper draft than the lake vessel ; its machinery is different in many ways ; and its build must be heavier and stronger, to stand the great strain of the ocean storms. Again, the ocean vessel undertakes long voyages, and must be prepared to meet any emergency ; while the voyages of the lake vessel are short, and the ship is seldom more than a few hours distant from a friendly port.

So, too, to produce the most economical results, the vessel which transports freight on a long canal must be suited to the waters which it traverses. Such a vessel is not subjected to pitching and tossing in heavy storms, and can, therefore, be made much lighter and cheaper than boats for the lake or the ocean. Ocean and lake boats have

boilers and machinery suited to drive them at a speed of twelve to thirty miles per hour, while in creeping through a canal the rate of speed is only from three to four miles per hour. Properly built canal boats have their machinery adapted to these low rates of speed. Next, ocean and lake boats must be heavily manned with highly skilled and expensive employees, to meet the constant changes and dangers. Canal boats have no such contingencies, and do not need such manning. Again, the ordinary cost of an ocean steamer per ton of its carrying capacity is from sixty to seventy dollars ; of a lake steamer it is from forty to fifty dollars ; while the cost of a self-propelling fleet of canal boats is less than ten dollars per ton, if built of wood, or about twenty dollars if built of steel.

Another matter requiring consideration is, that it is sometimes more advantageous to divide a large amount of freight into several loads than to carry it all in one. This is exemplified in the transportation of coal, by water, along the Atlantic seaboard. The enormous business of transporting some 30,000,000 tons per year is practically all done in barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity ; three or four of them being towed by a tug. It is found to be cheaper, and in other ways preferable, to do the business in this way, instead of transporting the same quantity in a single steamer. There are decided reasons for believing that it would be more convenient and better for commerce to have nearly all Western products arrive in New York in loads of about 1,000 tons, in place of having them arrive in loads of 6,000 to 10,000 tons. Nearly all our exports are shipped as berth cargoes on vessels carrying diversified loads ; not more than 10 to 15 per cent being shipped in full cargo lots. A cargo of 8,000 tons arriving in eight different loads could go to eight different ships, and be transferred, as is the custom now, directly into the ship, without its leaving its own berth. The advantages of this are obviously great.

Still another factor which has a very important bearing on the subject is, that it is very desirable that the same highway should serve foreign-bound as well as domestic and local commerce. For all foreign commerce a ship canal *via* Lake Ontario would have its real terminus at Montreal, while the domestic and local commerce would branch off and go to New York and the Mohawk and Hudson valleys. On the other hand, a large canal entirely within our territory leading from Lake Erie to New York, without touching Lake Ontario, would confine its benefits to the United States ; serving equally well for-



eign-bound and domestic commerce, the great local population along its line, and the innumerable industries that it would cause to build up.

All points considered, we cannot fail to conclude, that the correct solution of the canal problem lies in the construction of a barge canal through the State of New York, generally along the line of the Erie Canal, of the largest size consistent with the natural and artificial conditions of the route.

#### PRESENT ERIE CANAL.

Leaving this large barge canal idea for the moment, let us glance at the existing Erie Canal. When the Erie Canal was first built the boats carried a load of thirty tons ; but, the locks permitting, they grew in size to eighty tons. This was the maximum capacity until the canal was enlarged, in 1862, when the prism and locks were fitted for the accommodation of boats of 240 to 250 tons burden. This is the condition of the Erie Canal at present. The principal improvement made in late years has been to double the length of some of the locks, so that two boats could pass at the same time. Practically, the canal is in the same condition as it was thirty-eight years ago, although every other method of transportation has in the meantime vastly improved.

In my opinion, it cannot be doubted that the Erie Canal has done a great deal toward making New York the Empire State, and also toward developing the great Northwest. It has paid in tolls to the State of New York far more than all its canals have ever cost it. Fully \$400,000,000 has been paid to the people of the State for freight on goods passing through the canal ; and this money has been the instrument to build up and develop the splendid chain of cities from New York to Buffalo, with their varied industries ; the cities in turn furnishing home markets to the farmers of the State, and producing the most prosperous agricultural community in the country.

But the Erie Canal as it now exists is far from satisfactory ; it is too small ; the boats that are able to pass through the locks do not carry enough freight to be economical. The power used on the canal for propelling the boats is still largely animal power. While it is picturesque to see the boats pulled by mules and horses, the sight is at the same time pitiful and absurd, in the light of modern developments. Steam has to a certain extent been introduced on the canal, but the boats are too small to permit of its use with due economical results. It takes just as many men to run a boat carrying 240 tons as it does to run one carrying 1,000 tons. Moreover, the business on the canal

has never been organized or conducted in accordance with modern methods ; nor can it be, as long as there is a State law prohibiting the use of the canal by any corporation having a capital of over \$50,000. This very remarkable law was passed ostensibly in the interest of individual boat-owners, but in reality in the interest of the railroads, which have always been earnest rivals of the canals, and have done all they could to discredit them.

To meet modern requirements and modern competition, the Erie Canal must be improved and enlarged. Otherwise, it might as well be abandoned. Besides, its business methods must be changed, so that they will be in conformity with those of other transportation routes.

How shall the canal be improved? This has been a momentous question in New York for many years. It was answered some years ago, in 1895, by the adoption of measures looking toward an increase in the draft of boats from six to eight feet, and lengthening all the locks so as to increase the carrying capacity of the boats from 240 to 320 tons. Unfortunately, the money voted for the necessary work, \$9,000,000, was not half sufficient to complete it ; and the problem is again before the State for solution.

Various propositions have been made. One of them is, that the work started under the \$9,000,000 appropriation should be completed at a cost of about \$13,000,000. Another is, that this work be completed, and that, in addition, the locks be lengthened and otherwise improved, so that boats of 400 tons burden may be accommodated. This would cost about \$15,000,000. A third proposition is, that the locks be further lengthened, and that a part of the line be built on a new and better route, on a route which would permit boats to make better time, and at less expense, the boats to have a capacity of about 450 tons. This would cost about \$21,000,000, and, with the canal and boats of the present width, is believed to be the best solution of the canal problem. It certainly represents the least improvement that should be undertaken under any circumstances. Indeed, in the opinion of people who have given the subject most careful study, and who are familiar with present and prospective competitive routes, even such an increase in the size and capacity of the Erie Canal would not be sufficient to insure its highest usefulness. It would not enable it to retain and increase the stream of commerce flowing into, and through, New York, and again take the commanding position which it formerly held in the transportation world. In their minds, the improvement must be a much more radical one. They



believe that the Erie Canal must be so enlarged as to accommodate boats or barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity.

Now, how can we best attain this end, and what will the improvement cost? Before these questions can be answered, it will be necessary to decide upon the kind of boat to be used on the canal. The present boat can be increased in capacity by lengthening it, by making it of deeper draft, by widening it, or by an increase in every direction. To determine the point, it is necessary to consider the natural and artificial limitations and conditions of the route.

If the boats should have much draft, they would, if returning empty, stand high out of water, and require much head room under bridges. As there are between 600 and 700 bridges over the canal, many of them in cities and towns, it is evident that this would be a very serious matter, indicating the wisdom of limiting the draft as much as practicable. If the boat be widened, the canal must be widened to correspond. The bottom width must be at least three times the width of the boats, and the surface width from four to six times their width. Quite a large portion of the canal runs through cities and towns and thickly populated country districts; occupying throughout a right-of-way owned by the State. As buildings of all kinds have been erected just outside this right-of-way, any considerable increase in the right-of-way, for the purpose of constructing a wider canal, would be a very expensive affair. This leads to the conclusion that the larger canal should be so limited in size that it can be built, for the most part, in the existing right-of-way, which precludes much additional width. The boats must be limited in length by the curvature of the canal, and by the fact that strength, stability, and economy require that there should be a certain relation between length, width, and height.

The boats running on the present Erie Canal are very well proportioned; and it is believed that the best type of an enlarged boat, which will best meet all conditions on the canal, will be secured by a proportionate increase in all dimensions. The boat which it is believed will solve the problem is one which will be increased in draft from 6 to 10 feet, in width from  $17\frac{1}{2}$  to 25 feet, in length from 98 to 150 feet, and in load from 240 to 1,000 tons. As it is proposed to make all locks of sufficient length to accommodate two boats, each lockage would pass 2,000 tons, which may, therefore, be said to be the measure of its capacity. The locks on such a canal would be 310 feet long in the clear, 28 feet wide, and 11 feet in depth. They would be furnished with quick-acting gates. All gates and valves would be

operated by water or electric power ; and the same power would be used to haul boats quickly into and out of the locks. The prism of the canal would have a depth of twelve feet, so that there would be not less than two feet of water under a fully loaded boat ; and its bottom should be at least seventy-five feet wide ; *i.e.*, three times as wide as the boat. With suitable side slopes, this would make a waterway having a cross-section about four and one-half times the immersed section of a fully loaded boat, the ratio which has been found by experience to be suitable for such a canal.

The proposed route corresponds generally with that traversed by the present Erie Canal. For about two-thirds of the distance from Buffalo to Troy the two routes would practically coincide, and only such changes would be made as would be needed to reduce curvatures and to concentrate lockage. For the other one-third of the distance an entirely new route would be followed.

When the Erie Canal was built, it was necessary to depend entirely on animal power for the propulsion of the boats, so that a tow-path adjacent to the waterway was indispensable. This partially accounts for the fact that from Albany to Buffalo the canal is almost entirely an artificial channel. Practically, no use was made of the Mohawk, Oneida, and Seneca Rivers, which parallel it, because it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain suitable tow-paths, along the river banks, from which to haul the boats. As the days of animal power on the canal are about over, it would be entirely practicable to utilize the wide waterways of the rivers and lakes, between Lake Erie and the Hudson, wherever it should be found advantageous so to do. For about ninety miles, in the middle of the State, the present route would be abandoned ; the one proposed following the Seneca and Oneida Rivers and Oneida Lake. This would take the canal out of Syracuse and give that city Onondaga Lake as a harbor, which it is believed would be a very welcome change for the inhabitants. The new route would also utilize the Mohawk River as a waterway, certainly from Troy up to Schenectady, and possibly much farther.

A peculiar circumstance in connection with the lower Mohawk illustrates the difficulties that the builders of the canal must have experienced in carrying through their project. For 100 miles, from Rome to below Schenectady, the canal runs along the south side of the Mohawk. Near Schenectady, it crosses by means of an expensive masonry aqueduct to the north side of the river, which it follows for



about fifteen miles, after which it returns to the south side, on another costly aqueduct. It would have been far better if it had remained on the south side all the way. The reason for this double crossing, and apparently bad engineering, is found in the fact that, to secure the legislative action authorizing the canal, the support of Saratoga County was required, and that this could be had only on condition that the canal would be located partially in Saratoga County, which was bounded on the south by the Mohawk River. By utilizing the river itself, the two aqueducts, with the bad, right-angled turns, are excluded.

The principal objects to be gained by utilizing the natural waterways are : (1) to save expense in first construction ; (2) to enable boats to run more freely and more swiftly, at less expense ; (3) to avoid the leaking incident to most artificial channels ; and (4) to obviate the danger of the breaking away of an embankment, permitting all the water to run out of a level, with the result of delaying the boats for days and weeks.

As the cost of the proposed barge canal would be about \$60,000,000, it is only natural that those who are called upon to pay this large sum should desire to assure themselves that the benefits to be derived therefrom would be commensurate with the cost. To enter upon the discussion of this question is, however, beyond the scope of my article.

The proposition to expend \$60,000,000 on the canals of the State will meet with opposition from many sides ; and it is not unlikely that the railroad interests will be among the strongest opponents. But I believe that the people of the State will see that it will well repay them to spend even this large sum of money ; for the building of the canal will mean to them that New York will be permitted to maintain her old-time commercial supremacy, and, perhaps, be enabled to enter upon a new era of industrial development far exceeding anything that she has ever before known.

The State is now in a position similar to that of a manufacturer when he finds himself outclassed by a business rival, who takes advantage of the latest inventions and business methods. He is then called upon to choose between dawdling slowly along the road to ruin, on the one hand, and making certain radical changes, even at a great, immediate sacrifice, on the other. As there can be no question in regard to which course such a manufacturer should pursue, so there can be no question as to what the State should do in the present instance.

THOMAS W. SYMONS.

## SOME THINGS WE MAY LEARN FROM EUROPE.

A FEW years ago, a gentleman who held an official position in one of our large States asked permission of the governor to go abroad for two months to study foreign methods in the line of his work. The governor turning toward him with an air of cynical surprise, asked, "Do you think those fellows over there can teach us anything?" The governor who made this remark was born on the continent of Europe; and, strangely enough, many of those who think we have little or nothing to learn from Europe are to be found among our naturalized citizens. Some years ago Matthew Arnold, and before him Sir Lepel Griffin, named several countries in Europe in which life, they said, was much more interesting than in the United States. Since these statements were made, several millions of people from those most favored countries have come to the United States to live; and it is among these self-elected Americans that we find the most ardent defenders of American life and institutions. I have sometimes been amused by the indocility of our naturalized citizens when they go back to visit the old country.

I recall especially the impatient criticisms made by a young German lady who had come to this country when she was about nineteen years of age. She had learned English well in ten years, and had renounced her allegiance to all foreign potentates, especially to the Emperor William II. Going back to Germany to visit her friends for a year, she became so homesick for Boston that she wanted to return in three months. "Everything here in Germany," she said, "is too slow, too old-fashioned." Argument could scarcely convince her that there was anything over there which we might adopt to advantage, unless it were a few more German citizens. At last I tried to awaken her pride of birth by referring to her native tongue. "Well," I said, "you, at any rate, like the German language." "Oh, German," she said, "is so awkward and clumsy; it is so artificial; English is far better for business." "Well," I said, "when you get angry don't you find German more convenient?" "No," she answered, "I can scold a great deal better in English; it has more snap to it." "Well,



perhaps you like German for love-making?" "No," she persisted, "I think English is much better even for *that*." After this experience I am prepared to believe the story of the German who, after living several years in Boston, went home with his family to live in Germany. Finding that they could get no Boston "beans and brown bread" in that country, life became intolerable, and they returned.

Lowell, in his witty essay, has spoken of "A Certain Condescension in Foreigners." Perhaps it is time that we should cultivate a little condescension ourselves. Everybody knows that Europe has many things to learn from America; but I am persuaded that there are a few things which we may learn from Europe. I have no expectation that half of my readers will agree with me as to what they are. They will be surprised at those I omit as well as at those I mention. This is not only a matter of personal observation, but of personal taste.

Let me begin with those things which first impress the traveller, because they relate largely to his own convenience while abroad. Take the matter of transportation. If there is anything upon which we pride ourselves in this country, it is on the perfection of our railroad facilities. We certainly have much to teach other countries in this respect; have they anything to teach us? The English railway coach is different from our own. You can see in it the evolution from the stage-coach. With habitual conservatism the English wished to keep as much of the old-fashioned coach as they could. So they took off the pole and harnessed a locomotive to the coach; then they coupled a number of coaches together and called it a train. There are doors at the side instead of at the end; and each coach will hold from eight to ten persons.

To be locked up in one of these boxes, excommunicated from your neighbors in the next car, without any opportunity of promenading from one end of the train to the other, an American is apt to regard as a breach of personal privilege. He secures a certain degree of privacy, but it is at the expense of his liberty. Bad as these cars are, they have one great advantage for suburban traffic. Having so many doors they can be emptied almost immediately. Immense crowds of people go in and out of London every day. No sooner does the train stop than the doors swing open; and in a few seconds the whole train-load is upon the platform, and the car is ready to move out. I observe that the managers of the Brooklyn Bridge cars have at last concluded that it is a good idea to put some side doors into their long box cars.

In England and on the continent they have wisely adopted the

American longitudinal aisle on one side of the car, and by the addition of lavatories have made one of the best long-route trains. One of the finest trains in the world runs from Budapest to Vienna and the north ; and there is excellent service from London to Aberdeen. We have good sleepers in America for night travel ; what we lack is the day-sleeper. By stuffing your coat between your head and the window pane in an American car you may catch a nap, and you are somewhat better off if you can hire a chair in a car. The European car has the great advantage of a high back for your head and a cushioned corner. By pulling down the arm of the seat you have a good pillow, and by pulling down the hood over the lamp at night you have a comfortable sleeping-car. Our own Pullman cars have one great defect, the overhead racks are inadequate ; so that there is no convenient place for hand baggage. The electric light has been introduced to some extent for lighting steam trains abroad. Our Pullmans would be greatly improved if each section were lighted in this way ; also the terrible heat which makes them travelling ovens in summer would thus be much reduced.

On the continent a slip of paper takes the place of our baggage check. If the English system does not equal ours, the porters partly atone for it by the mercifully tender way with which they handle "luggage." The American baggage smasher and his ravages are apparently unknown. The English baggage system must be taken in connection with its cab system. It is expected that you will take your luggage away with you on reaching your destination ; this has great advantages when you arrive at night. The porters furnish the connecting link between the train and the cab ; there is always some one to carry your hand or heavy baggage. The absence of a good cab system in America obliges us to depend upon the express companies, with the trouble that we often have to wait until the next day, and, if arriving Saturday night, sometimes until Monday morning, before we get our baggage.

Not long ago, at a railroad junction in New England, a young lady of diminutive stature was wondering how she could climb from the ground to the lower step of a car. A brakeman saw the difficulty, and, with a gallantry worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh, promptly dropped on one knee. The lady stepped on the other, and easily mounted into the car. What is it that disturbs the old lady travelling in a Pullman car ? It is not the fear of an accident when the train is going ; her trouble comes when it stops ; it is her perilous descent down the



staircase to the little footstool which the porter has placed at the bottom. In Europe railroad grooms are not necessary to mount ladies into cars, nor is it necessary to have a porter carry a step-ladder under his arm. At every station, even in country places, the platform is nearly on a level with the floor of the car.

In New England, a few years ago, a terrible accident occurred at a grade crossing, under the most pathetic circumstances. It was not the fault of the engineer nor of the driver of the team, and only partly that of the gateman ; it was the fault of the community in permitting such a crossing to exist. The accident was apparently forgotten, until another tragedy occurred at precisely the same place. Such accidents could not happen in England, because grade crossings do not exist. That they continue to happen in this country is because we have not learned, as they have in England, the art of compelling things to be done which the public needs and demands. With our complacent democracy we permit abuses to exist which the English will not stand.

As for urban transportation, our large cities with their electric cars are ahead of London and Paris. The Paris omnibus system always insures a passenger a seat, and, as in London, the vehicles cannot be overcrowded ; but you will frequently reach your destination much more quickly if you walk. Our electric cars are incomparably better for a fixed route ; but for a variable route we have nothing to equal the French or English cab system, or that of Berlin. They are all under the supervision and management of the police ; no extortion is permitted. You go just where you want to go. I was struck, in Paris, with the great convenience of the cab method when attending a presidential reception at the Champs-Élysées. You take a cab to the presidential mansion ; you dismiss it when you get there. When you come out, at the end of the reception, there is a long line of cabs. A coachman is waiting for you ; you do not have to wait for your coachman. You step into the cab immediately in front of you, and off you go. You have not waited thirty seconds. Contrast this with the crowd and confusion on the portico of the White House when thinly clad ladies are waiting fifteen or twenty minutes in a cold blast, till, by means of a megaphone, coachman No. — may be found.

It looked at one time as if our American tramway system would displace other methods in large European cities ; but the whole aspect of the situation has now been changed by the introduction of the automobile. The horse may now die, but the cab will increase and multi-

ply. We pride ourselves upon the quickness with which we take up new things, and in inventive genius we may challenge the world; but in this matter of automobiles we have been far outstripped in enterprise by the French. Forty years ago, Richard Dudgeon, an enterprising inventor, built a steam carriage in New York; but horses were superstitious, and the carriage was too heavy and noisy. Now we have to go to Paris to see what has been practicable in this direction. Motor power is applied to bicycles and tricycles to an extent unknown here.

One reason why France is ahead of us in this direction is because we are behind in the matter of roads. England, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Norway are all ahead of us in road-building. Not that we do not know how to do it, but that we have not thought it worth while. The bicycle and the automobile will contribute to our regeneration in this respect, and a great improvement has been made in recent years; but we need to reform thoroughly our system in the rural districts. The fashion so common in this country of allowing taxpayers to work out their road tax has not proved a success. Men work with little vigor in paying their debts to the community in this way, and the laws are seldom strictly enforced.

The traveller is also interested in getting his letters promptly. At his London hotel there are fifteen deliveries a day. He may drop a card in a post box at eight in the morning, get an answer at noon, and mail a reply which will get to his friend before evening. Within the last three years, whenever the Post-office Bill has come up in the House of Representatives, there has been discussion as to the practicability of the pneumatic dispatch. One might as well discuss the practicability of the telephone. They would smile at such suggestions in London or Paris, where a slight addition to the postage will secure a rapid delivery by pneumatic dispatch. Another great convenience in the postal system abroad is the method of paying money orders. One is not obliged to go half a mile to a branch, or three miles to the central post-office, to get his money. The postman who brings the order brings the money with him. You receipt for it, and that is the end of it.

As to postal savings banks, I am not wholly convinced that it is best for us to adopt them. Not everything that is a success abroad can be transplanted advantageously to our own country. As to the postal telegraph, the weight of argument, if one is considering the advantage to the public, and not to the stockholders, seems to be in favor of government ownership and control. We have not learned this in the United States on land; we may learn it under water. We shall soon



have to lay a Pacific cable from San Francisco to Honolulu, Guam, and the Philippines. If we give heed to the whole weight of English experience set forth in a Parliamentary report, that cable will be built and operated by the Government of the United States. Later we may adopt Government control for land lines, but not, let us trust, until our civil service system is more thoroughly developed and applied. The question of State control here is not to be decided by abstract principles of State socialism, which may be totally misleading, but solely by the teaching of experience.

Though the telephone was invented in the United States, one must go to Sweden and Norway to find the cheapest and most generally adopted telephone systems. In Stockholm there is a telephone for every 100 people. It costs less than ten dollars a year. Likewise in Christiania there are frequent public telephone stations, where one may talk for five minutes for two cents. I was told that the cheapening of the telephone had enriched the stockholders instead of impoverishing them.

A source of some annoyance to the American traveller on the continent is the use of the metric system. Unless he has had a scientific education he is hopelessly at sea with metres, centimetres, kilometres, and kilograms; and when he tries to read the temperature by European thermometers he is equally lost. Is all Europe wrong, or are we wrong in the United States and in England? It is nothing, I believe, but our English heritage which prevents us from adopting the metric system. England has the most awkward method of counting money in the world. It may be derived, as Max Muller says, from Assyria, but this constitutes no justification of the system; and in spite of the fact that you can divide it by four, which a member of Parliament assured me was a great privilege, the method is too clumsy for this age. We have wisely abandoned it for the decimal system. There is no reason why we should wait for England to adopt the metric system. Nor need we wait for England to adopt the normal, continental pitch in music. We have happily broken away from English tradition, and it ought not to be long before it would seem as ridiculous to have a piano-maker ask us, "To what pitch will you have your instrument tuned?" as for a salesman to ask us whether we prefer a Fahrenheit, Centigrade, or Réaumur thermometer. In measures, weight, temperature, and pitch we ought to conform to the continental standard.

A traveller cannot be long in London before needing the services of a policeman, either to pilot him across the street or to direct him when

he has left his map behind. If a vote could be taken by American travellers a shout of gratitude and admiration, especially from the ladies, would go up for the courtesy, intelligence, and efficiency of the London police. Those who were present at the Queen's Jubilee had an opportunity to admire the wonderful ease, tact, dignity, good judgment, and good nature with which the London police handled the enormous crowds.

The traveller gets the impression that this is no accident, but is due to an admirable system of administration ; and he is right. After a thorough examination of the whole London police system, with the help of a friend who is an expert in such matters, I am convinced that it is the system that secures and trains and regulates an excellent personnel ; and it is the personnel which illustrates the excellence of the system. This is due partly to freedom from all political influence in appointments, and partly to a system of checks by which it is almost impossible for a policeman to yield to bribery and corruption without being detected. The police show remarkable self-restraint in exercising their power and authority ; and one reason for this is, that arrests are not stimulated by the wretched system of fees which has prevailed in so many parts of the United States. "We are taught not to interfere too much," said a patrolman ; and if an emergency had arisen, I am sure that this brave fellow would not have made the mistake of interfering too little.

The Berlin police are likewise appointed on the merit system ; and candidates are put through a thorough course of schooling for six months before they can enter upon active duty. I attended one of these schools, and was surprised at the range of study and the severity of the examinations. To Americans it seems, perhaps, an invasion of personal liberty to be required to give your name, age, occupation, residence, and destination ; but in Berlin this method of registration applied to the residents is not only convenient for the police, but is a convenience to the public. About one-third of the population changes its abode every year. The movement is going on continually. A large bureau where residences are recorded serves as a living directory, revised every week ; and some 300 people a day, including the letter-carriers, consult it to hunt up people whose addresses have been changed. An American consul in Switzerland told me he had consulted this bureau with great success in trying to find a poor woman who had become heir to property in the United States. But, if Americans want to copy the extreme of personal liberty in withhold-



ing their identity they must go to England. One is not even asked his name at the hotel ; he is simply No. —, and when his bill is made up, he is designated by his number.

As for detective efficiency, we have a vast deal to learn from the Paris police. A central feature of the system is the Bertillon method of identification. It has been introduced into a few cities and a few prisons in this country ; it ought to be universally employed. Let a man be arrested in Lyons or Rouen, his measurements are sent to Paris ; and in half an hour it can be told whether he has been arrested before. As a system of anthropometry it ought to be introduced not only in every police system in the United States, but should take the place of the very loose and inaccurate system of identification employed in the army.

The police system naturally suggests the prison system. Prisons are outside of the travellers' usual route, and I have no space in this article to refer to them in detail. But, after an extended examination of European prison systems, I may name four things which we might borrow from them to advantage. The first is in relation to economical and scientific dietaries. Though specialists like Prof. Atwater, Mrs. Ellen C. Richards, and Miss Sarah E. Wentworth have studied the question of the nutritive values of food in this country, the knowledge thus derived has not been applied to any extent to prison dietaries in the United States. One of the best applications of such knowledge has been made by the Scottish Prison Commissioners in a recent report. In this country, dietaries are constructed more or less at haphazard.

A second thing we might adopt more widely is the custom which prevails so generally on the continent of Europe of giving prisoners a portion of their earnings ; a part of the allowance being available for the assistance of their families, and a part reserved to aid them when they leave prison. Thirdly, England and the Continent have paid much more attention to the care of discharged convicts than the United States. Where we have one society for that purpose in the United States there are twenty abroad. Especially would I commend the method in use in Switzerland under which convicts are visited some weeks before they leave prison, and patrons are appointed who shall advise and guide them when they are discharged. The schools in Paris for the instruction of prison officers are of great advantage in a centralized system. The fourth point I would note is the freedom of prison administration from political influence.

Concerning general municipal economy, there are not a few cities in England and on the continent which could give us lessons. No city that I know of on this side can equal London in the general, public determination to have clean streets. Nowhere are people so well trained not to throw things on the pavements. Abundant provision in the way of boxes for the collection of dust, paper, and refuse renders the throwing of rubbish on the street unnecessary. The sanitary conveniences and lavatories for travellers in Paris and London are admirable ; in this country they are almost unknown. In the whole matter of economical and effective municipal administration, I suspect we have many things to learn from Europe. In the matter of saving waste and of the safe and profitable disposition of sewage, one of our best sanitary engineers assures me that we can study and adopt, with profit, the results of European experience. The same is true of economy in household management. We have scarcely learned what that is, in this country. The waste that is permitted in a well-to-do American family in a week would serve to keep a French family nearly a month. A gentleman who has investigated the subject of waste in American families describes it as simply appalling.

While we are legislating against trusts, in this country, and all combinations to keep up prices, it is strange that the people have not formed combinations among themselves to reduce prices. In England, though productive coöperation has not been successful, distributive coöperation has long since been accepted as a practical success. Leeds has a society with 40,000 members doing a business of \$6,250,000. Fifty years ago, the coöperative movement began in England; now there are some 1,600 societies, with a membership of 1,600,000. The aggregate trade of these societies in 1898 amounted to no less than \$327,300,000. Who shall say that distributive coöperation is not a success, and that it might not be carried on successfully in this country? An Edinburgh trader assured me that he could undersell the coöperative stores ; but he admitted that they had exerted a remarkable influence in one direction on the working people of England : they had taught them to pay cash for what they buy instead of running in debt for it.

Ruling out lotteries as illegal and pernicious, in which respect Europe has something to learn from us, more seems to have been done there, especially in France, to encourage small investors. There is also ample provision, which scarcely exists in this country, for loaning



money to the poorer classes at comparatively low rates of interest. This is provided for, notably in France and Italy, by that union of business and philanthropy which is seen in the great *Monté di Pietà* of Milan, and similar institutions in France. In some places it is under government control; in others, as in Milan, it is operated by a corporation. In Milan it was organized forty years before Columbus discovered America, and to-day some \$8,000,000 are invested in various activities. The institution receives more than half a million pledges every year, all but 10 per cent of which are redeemed. I did not discover that this exercises any demoralizing effect on the community.

In American cities poor people sometimes pay interest on chattel mortgages at the rate of 200 per cent per year and more. In Milan they pay 8 or 9 per cent. The provision enables poor people to change something which they do not immediately need for something which they do need, and there is no disgrace about it. A poor man may borrow money and furnish personal security with no more discredit than attaches to the rich banker who does the same thing. Indeed, people who are comparatively well to do often avail themselves of the convenience of this loan establishment, and a Russian nobleman once received \$16,000 on the jewels he deposited. Others use these great warehouses for the temporary deposit of articles not needed. Thus a gentleman will pawn his fur overcoat in the summer; it will be wrapped up in camphor and taken care of, and he will redeem it in December. Dr. Greer's church in New York has established such a loan and pawnbroking society, conducted on strictly business principles; and I believe another has been established on a comparatively small scale. As for the dependent classes, we are notably humane in this country; but Mr. William P. Letchworth has just reminded us, in his valuable book on "Care and Treatment of Epileptics," that there are 113,000 epileptics in the United States, and that only five States have established separate institutions for those requiring special care and treatment. "More has been done on the continent, especially in Prussia, where by a law passed in 1891 it was made mandatory upon public authorities to provide institutional care for this afflicted class."

Our system of local government in this country which separates the ship of State into forty-five compartments makes it difficult for us to adopt certain European methods which have obvious advantages. With a uniform civilization and rapid intercommunication we ought

to have uniform laws. To secure this in the French Republic is comparatively easy ; in the United States it is extremely hard. Some twenty-nine States have appointed commissioners to help bring about such uniformity, and nine national conferences have been held. The organization has already done effective work, but has thus far confined itself to the Civil Code. Though we cannot yet have uniformity in laws and methods in the different States, we can at least secure uniformity and economy in each State by establishing State control for our penal and other public institutions. England and France have both been able to effect this by substituting State control for local administration.

Whether the highly centralized system of education in France should be introduced into American States is a question for experts ; but the French system, costly as it is, has the great advantage of securing a high grade of instruction in the rural districts. I have visited schools in out-of-the-way places in the very centre of France, and have been surprised to find what excellent teachers were conducting these schools. If it be a little rigid to have the same lessons taught in all the schools of France at the same hour of the same day, there is a great gain in paying teachers in the rural districts the same price which they would receive from the State in the cities, as it secures better teachers than otherwise would be possible. The cities, to be sure, pay an additional amount raised independently for their own teachers ; but the result of uniform salaries for the same grade of work in the rural districts is, that there is no country school problem in France. Women are paid the same as men for the same grade of work. In Paris, at one of the most prominent public schools, I heard a lady principal give an admirable address at the distribution of prizes. She was the mother of two or three children, and her husband was principal of another public school in Paris. In France, marriage and motherhood are not held to be disqualifications for teaching. Great attention is paid in Switzerland to civic education in the schools. We are beginning to feel the importance of this instruction in American schools.

With regard to electoral and parliamentary methods, the comparison can be made better in a volume than in a paragraph. But one practice which exists in this country, under law and usage, seems to be unpardonably stupid ; it is the practice of electing a man to Congress thirteen months before he is to take his seat. By the time he gets there the issue upon which he was elected may have wholly changed



its aspect; and the question of renominating a member comes up again after he has served but six months in Congress. The fact that our Hall of Representatives at Washington is one-third larger than it ought to be is a physical difficulty which can be corrected; and why should we not adopt the practice, which exists in some European Chambers, of having a desk in front of, and lower than, the speaker's desk from which a member who has the floor can deliver his speech, thus commanding the whole auditorium? As to municipalities, there is no necessity of a second chamber. [Australia has taught us better methods in casting the ballot; and it is possible that New Zealand will be able to point to the practical results of experiments in directions which we have merely discussed.] As for civil service reform, and compulsory insurance as a feature of the merit system, we look to Europe for the best exposition. Other countries have succeeded better in applying business methods to political administration.

Concerning business methods in general, our consuls abroad report that Americans have a great deal to learn from Europe in regard to the introduction of goods into new markets; and from no country have we so much to learn as from Germany. This is of special importance now that China and Siberia furnish a new field for American enterprise, for the products of our brain and soil. The peddler in rural districts has a great advantage over the man who paints his advertisement on a fence and expects his customers to come to him; he has the advantage of showing his goods and talking them up. This is as true of China as of New England or the Black belt; it is not enough to advertise American goods as we advertise them in this country; they must be shown and they must be talked up. A gentleman who is familiar with Siberia assures me that the Germans are making an immense headway, because they learn the language and go into every new settlement with their wares. We must also learn to pack our goods as attractively as goods are packed abroad.

As for art, it goes without saying that we must turn to Europe for our models and our inspiration. It hardly seems to me worth while to dwell upon a point so obvious. What is more pertinent to consider is, can we adopt European methods which will lead to greater development in this country? Let me take one department, that of dramatic art. The old English dramatists are as great as any that Europe has produced, if not greater. Nevertheless, it is a little curious, is it not, that having William Shakespeare as our ancestor, we should be borrowing our best plays to-day from the descendants of Molière? Take

the three plays which in the last four or five years have most profoundly interested us, and which have had great runs at American theatres. One was "Madame Sans Gêne," the second, "Cyrano de Bergerac," and now Mr. Irving has turned to Sardou for his "Robespierre."

What have American playwrights produced in recent years which in literary character will compare with "Cyrano"? And when I ask some of my dramatic friends what is the matter, they say that we need in this country the endowed theatre as it exists in France; that dramatic art must be held up to rigid standards, and be fostered by schools of dramatic expression and by the reëstablishment of something corresponding to the old stock system. Unfortunately, in this country a large part of the Christian Church has denounced every form of dramatic art, just as it ignored music and forbade dancing. Thus, the Church, instead of contributing to the development of art in morals and morals in art, has forbidden beauty to lend its charm and dramatic art to give power to goodness and truth.

We get our fashions from London and Paris; would it be any improvement to get our manners from the same centres? The keynote of our nationality is democracy. I do not want to change it for any of the graces of servility. Lowell reminded us that we are truly democratic when we can say, not only, "I am as good as you," but "You are as good as I am." We often obtrude the first in this country; are we as certain to emphasize the second? But I scarcely know any country which lives up to Lowell's ideal. If I could find one, I should say that the millennium of brotherhood in that part of the globe had already come.

These suggestions are simply the suggestions of a traveller. That they are superficial is partly because the traveller sees rather the surface than the foundation, and partly, also, because I have seen nothing abroad to disturb my convictions that at bottom and at heart American life and American institutions are sound and true.

S. J. BARROWS.



## THE TRUTH ABOUT ZIONISM.

THE aims and objects of the Zionist movement are most clearly shown in the articles of the constitution of the English Zionist Federation. They read as follows :

(a) The acquisition of a legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

(b) The fostering of the national idea in Israel.

(c) The supporting of a regular international congress of duly accredited representatives of the Jewish people for the consideration of the condition of Jews in the different countries of their dispersion, and for taking such measures as may be conducive to their general welfare.

(d) The supporting of existing colonies, and the founding of new colonies, by placing as many Jews as possible living in Palestine as settlers on the land, and encouraging, guiding, and assisting new settlers anxious to establish colonies, or any handicrafts, industries, or arts in Palestine.

(e) The study of Hebrew literature, and the use of Hebrew as a living language.

There was once a time in the history of modern Judaism when, in certain countries, the immediate cares of political and social disabilities had ceased to be acute, and when the Jewish inhabitants of these countries endeavored to obtain similar privileges for their coreligionists in other parts of the world. Hand in hand with this sentimental tendency was the desire to induce the Jews to turn for their livelihood to branches of human activity other than those to which they had become accustomed. For centuries they had been debarred from the sight of the free and open country. Agriculture was almost an unknown word to them, save the reference to it in the Bible. It was felt, and rightly so, that a regeneration of the race lay in the direction of a full and free education, and in fostering the love of nature.

A semi-religious movement on the same lines had for its object the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in the East proper. In the

forties, the famous blood accusation in Damascus served to bring the late Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux, who had successfully vindicated the truth, into close relation with the problem of the Jews in the East, and with the conditions under which they vegetated in Palestine. To attempt a remedy was the immediate object of their solicitude, and one may safely say, that with the work of Sir Moses was begun the movement which is now developing in the colonies, and which is to lead to a far more glorious completion through Zionism ; namely, the regeneration of Palestine, and of the Jewish nation in Palestine.

In the East the political conditions have been much more favorable to the Jews than in Christian Europe. While in Christian Europe the Jews have seldom been allowed to hold landed property, in Turkey they have never been forbidden to do so. Moreover, in most countries they were not even permitted to live outside the towns. Sir Moses bought a plot of ground close to Jerusalem, with the intention of inducing some of the younger generation to live upon it. The idea was too new to be received at once with favor ; so that the generous intentions of Sir Moses were frustrated by the ignorance and fanaticism of the inhabitants, who mistook this generous act for an attack on their institutions and their incomes. For centuries collections have been made among the Jews throughout the world for the maintenance of those who in their declining years retire to Palestine to end their days in devoting their time exclusively to the study of the Law and Hebrew literature. Palestine has thus become the centre of a gigantic system of charity ; and, if the experiment of Sir Moses should succeed, the source of the charity would be cut off—*i.e.*, in the opinion of the recipients of the charity, and also in that of the younger generation, who have been brought up in horror of manual labor. This short-sighted policy has retarded, for at least one generation, the self-emancipation of the Palestinian Jews.

Since the efforts of Crémieux, and, indeed, as a result thereof, the French Alliance Israelite has come into existence ; its avowed intention being to defend Israel against accusations such as those which Crémieux and Sir Moses were obliged to refute in Damascus. At the instance of the late Charles Neter, the Alliance bought a plot of ground in Jaffa, and erected the first agricultural school thereon.

I have dwelt at some length on this early stage as it gives us the key to the later developments, and permits us to form a fair estimate of the progress the work has since made. It represents the beginning



of the attempt to colonize, or rather the first experiment to test the soil of Palestine. Round it many legends had gathered, none so persistent, and none so much believed, however, as the idea that the soil of Palestine, having lain fallow for so many centuries, had become barren, and would not yield any fruit. Put to the practical test, this legend vanished as if touched by a magic wand. This time the wand was the hoe in Jewish hands, in which it had not been seen for many a hundred years.

It must be remembered that all these efforts, made by well-intentioned Jews in Europe, were the result of religious, sentimental emotion ; their only object being to benefit the Jews living in Palestine. It had not yet entered the minds of those taking part in the movement that it could or should apply also to Jews living in Europe, whose disabilities, it was believed, would soon disappear. It was thought that at the end of one generation a complete change would take place in the political conditions of the Jews of Roumania, Austria, and Russia. But things will not always go our way ; and the change has been for the worse, not for the better. It appears that in the complex of ideas which is marking the close of this century, there is no place left for the Jew, that he is even losing the one he held in the old fabric of society.

We are now entering upon the second stage of our development. The primitive attempts of Sir Moses and of the Alliance are expanding into the principle of colonization ; *i.e.*, of settling in Palestine those who come there from countries where the pressure has begun to be intolerable. It is the intention of Zionists to free these people from the bane of beggary in the towns, to enable them to till the soil and live by the work of their hands. The first to feel this pressure were the Jews in more backward countries, such as Roumania and Russia. In both these countries hopes for a better future had been destroyed. The freedom which the Roumanians gained after the Russo-Turkish war was at once utilized to deprive the Jews of the liberties they had previously enjoyed. In Russia, the pale of settlement, a huge Ghetto, was established, and the millions of Jews scattered through that vast empire were squeezed into a narrow space. The economic conditions following upon this compression, and the cutting off, one by one, of every honest means of livelihood, tended still further to degrade the Jews of these countries. The Jews of Roumania keenly realized their unfortunate position. The example of the new-born states, Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, to the establishment of which they had

personally contributed, by serving in the Russian and Roumanian armies, was not lost on them.

Thus began in the eighties a general movement of emigration. One stream set its face westward, and reached the west of Europe and the shores of the Atlantic ; the other turned eastward, toward Palestine. The benign reign of the Turks which the Jews had experienced for centuries in the Danubian principalities contrasted favorably with the growing spirit of hatred and persecution among their new masters. Moreover, a profound religious and national sentiment was forming. Why should not the Jews be able to accomplish what other small nationalities had done ? It was a natural question, and quite in keeping with the spirit of the time. Thus began the silent reconquest of Palestine.

The attention of the philanthropic societies in western Europe was soon drawn to this migration east and west. The Jewry of the West now found itself confronted with a problem that brooked no delay. Advice lavished upon these unfortunate Jews to stay at home and bear their tortures with patient endurance was now a thing of the past. They had to bestir themselves. Money was collected ; the English and American Jews standing in the forefront through the munificence of their gifts and through the work they attempted to accomplish. Men like the late Baron de Hirsch were moved to attempt a rescue. Thus far the results have not been commensurate with the efforts. In one point, curiously enough, all these western philanthropists, with one notable exception, joined hands ; namely, in discouraging immigration to Palestine. The exception was Baron Edmund de Rothschild, of Paris, who may now be styled the father and protector of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The Roumanian Jews had already been warned against the scheme by their well-wishers of the West. But they turned a deaf ear to this unsolicited advice. Sir Laurence Oliphant now came to their rescue. He patiently watched the growth of the Colony Samarin, the first to be founded by the Jews from Roumania ; and he assisted and encouraged them in a manner not easily to be forgotten. Meanwhile, the distress in Russia and Roumania continued to increase, and the necessity for help grew correspondingly.

As soon as it was found that the evil forebodings were not borne out by facts, and as soon as it was recognized that by assisting in the immigration to Palestine not only would a religious sentiment be satisfied, but the pressure of immigrants to the West would be diminished,



the Society of Choveve Zion (the "Lovers of Zion"), first founded in Russia and Roumania, also came into existence in Germany. Its avowed object is merely to foster colonization, pure and simple. While it retains the philanthropic and charitable character, its purpose is simply to assist "the others"; it does not propose identification with them, their hopes and aspirations, in any way or manner. It does not participate in religious or political dreams of seeing themselves once more a free people in the land of their fathers. It encourages none of these "pernicious doctrines," though they were proclaimed by the very first Roumanian settlers in Palestine. The hallucinations of universal, social, and political equality and liberty have held the Jews in a thralldom from which recent events may awaken them.

We have now reached the third stage, the latest development of the colonization scheme. First limited to the Jews of Palestine, then applied to Jews of Roumania and Russia, it is now to be applied to the whole Jewish race. Underlying it is the *national* idea, the idea that whatever political complexion the Jew may bear in his own country, he still belongs to a higher historical unity, testified by unity of language and faith. The new effort is no longer limited to the establishment of colonies for the poor wretches from Russia and Roumania, but for the Jews of all lands; so that all Jews may feel that they have a home to welcome them. This was the message which Zionism brought, and it spread like wildfire. It was first pronounced, though not clearly, by Dr. Theodor Herzl, in a pamphlet, which at first passed almost unnoticed. It was called "Der Judenstaat" ("The Jewish State"). In it Dr. Herzl developed the idea of a state founded for the purpose of permitting Jews to escape from the new social miseries which were growing day by day, and sketched an entire plan for its future administration. The pamphlet is full of crudities; and, as it does not lay stress exclusively on Palestine, it lacks an essential element. Where the Jewish state was to be established was a matter of minor consideration to the author.

His programme has never been accepted by Zionists as the expression of their own aims. It is absolutely necessary to reaffirm this fact; for the confusion of Dr. Herzl's pamphlet with the true programme of Zionism is accountable for much of the controversy to which this movement has given rise. We have only one object: to see the Jewish nation settled in Palestine. There is no substitute for it. Colonies, wherever established, if they tend to alleviate misery

or to help the people to a better life, are assured of our sympathy ; but in colonies hitherto established there has been too much of the weakening philanthropy. They have lacked the element of self-reliance ; there has been no ideal to support the men in their struggles ; nor has there been any great aim beyond that of a good harvest and money-making. We look upon the Zionist movement as the means of advancing a moral and physical regeneration of the masses, of re-knitting the bonds of brotherhood in Israel. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the new movement and the older Choveve Zion societies, which now prove to be a stumbling-block in the way of Zionism. However wide of the mark Dr. Herzl's programme may have been, the Jewish masses, nevertheless, waxed enthusiastic over the man, who had stepped out of the *fin de siècle* civilization to make the people's cause his own. He found willing hearts and active brains to collaborate.

The first appeal to the people brought into relief a strange medley of opponents. Strangest of all was the opposition offered by a circle of rabbis living in Germany ; and these were soon joined by the principal rabbis of the German communities in England. These people made the fatal blunder of failing to explain the difference between nationality and citizenship. They contended that the proclamation of the Jewish nationality lent color to the accusations of the Anti-Semites ; thus placing a weapon in the hands of the latter with which to curtail even the few liberties that the Jews were still enjoying in central and western Europe. That they are mistaken in their views is self-evident ; for no one suggests that the Jews shall abandon the rights and privileges which they enjoy in the countries where they are fully recognized citizens. No one expects all the Jews scattered throughout the world to owe allegiance to any future free, Jewish state. And, as Zionists, we protest against any interpretation to the contrary being placed upon our actions and aspirations. In the face of this opposition, a congress—the first—was held in Basel, in August, 1897. Dr. Nordau had joined the movement at its inception, and I did so in the winter of 1896, at the time Dr. Herzl came to London to expound his views in public—views materially differing from those expressed in his “Judenstaat.” The congress was most enthusiastic ; and it was during that meeting, and at no other time, that the constitutional foundations were laid for the movement which we call Zionism. We feel ourselves bound only by the first two articles of the constitution of the English Zionist Federation.



We look upon as a primary consideration, the acquisition of a legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine. As far as we can see, no country will welcome the influx of millions of destitute, foreign men and women. An outlet must be found for that seething mass of humanity whose life-blood is drained drop by drop ; and the only possible outlet is Palestine. The physical conditions of the country answer all the requirements ; and it is the only place where Jewish colonies may be said to flourish and to justify the most sanguine expectations. The area is vast, and it is fertile enough even now to satisfy the wants of millions, although the total number of inhabitants does not at present exceed 250,000, of whom more than a third are Jews.

The drawbacks to colonization pure and simple did not become manifest until colonization was started on a rather large scale in Palestine. Although the laws of Turkey have been liberal, and although the Jews have never been persecuted to any extent in the Turkish Empire, nevertheless, " friends " have not been wanting to frighten the Porte, and to draw the attention of the authorities to the danger that might possibly accrue to the government through a future Jewish question in Palestine. Consequently, restrictions were placed upon wholesale immigration, which, though relinquished for a time, have often been enforced with great severity ; entailing unnecessary hardships on newcomers, and making the purchase of land extremely difficult.

Nor has too much tenderness been shown to the actual colonists. The law is good, but the administration of the law in Turkey is anything but perfect. In consequence of these difficulties, the colonization of Palestine by Jews has not proceeded on pleasant lines. In fact, it has continued on so small a scale that it must be still looked upon as an experiment rather than in the light of a great undertaking. All the Choveve Zion societies combined have not been able to settle out of their own numbers, on the soil of Palestine, more than from 100 to 200 families. The bulk of the work has been carried on by Baron Edmund de Rothschild, who has sunk at least \$5,000,000 into it. As yet the property of the colonists is not absolutely secure ; and the future is very much a matter of arbitrary good-will, a thing upon which no nation can safely depend. For this reason the words " legally safeguarded " constitute an essential element. Without such security Palestine can never become a true home for the nation.

The next aim, therefore, is to obtain a kind of local autonomy for the Jews settled in a certain part of the country. It is immaterial whether this be gained in the form of a charter or in that of a concession. The absolute, internal freedom of administration is the fundamental feature of the demand put forward in the name of Zionism. We do not wish to obtain more rights than those possessed by any of the States that form a part of the United States of America. In that limited sense, a state is something quite different from the idea of a state with which our opponents have been crediting us. In fact, we wish even less rights than those enjoyed by one of the States in the Union ; for we do not even desire a Jewish militia. We do not ask for more than a police force capable of keeping order within the prescribed limits of territory. Opposition directed against the "political" character of the movement, in so far as a future state is involved, is, therefore, on the face of it, captious. Whatever opposition there may be, the fact remains that the movement is steadily progressing, both in the direction of disarming honest criticism, and in so far as the number of adherents is increasing.

Although the number of adherents to Zionism is difficult to estimate, it may be said that the outward signs are exceedingly satisfactory. Not only does every country now boast of a number of societies, but there is scarcely any country which has not a "federation" of such societies—a proof of the surprising growth of the Zionist movement, and of the hold it has taken upon the masses. And this success is the more remarkable as it has been achieved in the face of an influential, and often unscrupulous, opposition. The good offices of the Great Powers will be required to assure Turkey of our absolutely pacific intentions. It is a public secret that the German Emperor, with his keen political insight, and with his delight in the romantic, has become more than a friendly observer of the movement, and that, under given circumstances, he would lend it his assistance. Other men in ruling positions view Zionism with favor. Even in the highest spheres of Turkey, the fears and doubts are vanishing.

As to organization, the duty of carrying the programme into effect lies primarily in the hands of a Central Committee, whose executive has its seat in Vienna, and at the head of which stands Dr. Herzl. The members of the Committee are elected from the Zionists throughout the world ; the number of representatives from each country being determined by the number of Zionists which that country contains. In the election of delegates women have a right to vote.



The executive in Vienna is in constant communication with the members of the foreign organizations. Each member is obliged to pay one shilling toward the central fund, which stands exclusively at the disposal of the Central Committee. One shilling is the minimum contribution for a member a year, and the payment of this sum entitles him to elect delegates to the annual congress in Basel ; but most of the members contribute a great deal more than the minimum fee, to be used in numerous ways. Meetings are frequently held by the local societies in all countries where such meetings are not prohibited by law ; and in Vienna there is a Zionist weekly, "Die Welt," which has become the recognized organ of the movement.

The delegates have now met three times in Basel. The delegates themselves represent, intellectually, spiritually, and from other standpoints, the best element to be found in Judaism. With one notable exception, however, there is not a single millionaire among them. These facts speak volumes as to whom Zionism has touched, and as to which sentiments and aspirations have found expression in it.

That, in spite of the vast preponderance of theorists among Zionists, the scheme is a practical one is shown by the fact that one of the results of the second Basel Congress has been the establishment of a bank in London, known as "The Jewish Colonial Trust." As the wealthy, Jewish financiers left it severely alone, it was started as the poor man's bank, by the issuance of 2,000,000 of one-pound shares. The results thus far have shown how widespread are the Zionist sympathies ; for more than 100,000 subscribers have been registered at the bank. Subscriptions have been received from every place on earth where Jews are to be found, including Siberia, Argentina, Palestine, and Dawson City. The subscriptions at the time of writing already amount to £250,000 ; and as soon as this sum has been collected in London operations will begin in Palestine. The money may be utilized for any lawful purpose intended to further the interests of Zionism ; and the bank will offer the necessary guarantees, in hard cash, for the concessions to be obtained from the Turkish Government.

Among the means of carrying out the programme of Zionism may be mentioned, then, organization among the Jews, propaganda by word of mouth and through a constantly increasing number of journals, special literature, local meetings, the congress in Basel and the wide distribution of its proceedings. The next step will lie in enlisting the sympathies of the Christian world for a work so grand, and at the same time so important, economically, for the various countries

themselves. The results obtained in three years, in all directions, are unprecedented.

In conclusion, I wish once more to dispel the notion—I am now speaking for myself—that the leaders have in mind the actual settlement of immigrants on the soil of Palestine. This, I must emphatically declare, lies outside the sphere of our activity, and goes far beyond our means. Neither two nor twenty millions of pounds would enable us to purchase the land or defray the expenses needed for the establishment of colonies on any large scale. We merely wish to open the gates far enough to allow a large number to enter. People who expect Zionism to be the means of ridding Europe of the Jewish pauper element, or of converting Palestine into a dumping ground for the Ghetto, will find themselves sorely mistaken. We simply have in mind that Palestine shall no longer be a vast asylum or a huge hospital, for the broken-down and decrepit, but hope that it may become a place where the brain and the muscle shall have free scope to develop.

A new life shall spring up in the old soil of Palestine. The small leaven of Hellenism which was thrown two thousand years ago into the Semitic world has produced the greatest change in the religious conceptions of mankind. What would be the result if the accumulated knowledge of the West should be brought back to Palestine, there to work again as a leaven, but upon a new life, starting with different ideals? What great revolution for mankind has this movement still in store? Lying at the very point where three continents meet, no one can conjecture what a rejuvenated Palestine could do toward the revival of the East, its commerce and its civilization.

The ball has been set rolling ; nothing will ever stop it. It may be checked for a while, but the history of Zionism during the last fifty years has shown unmistakably that it is a forward movement. Beginning in the form of a charitable work for Palestinian Jews, it soon expanded into the colonization of Palestine with Jews from other countries ; and it now seems to be becoming the aim of the whole race of Israel to found a permanent home in Palestine. Started by a few philanthropists of a small section of the globe, it has now become a great national movement, resting firmly upon the masses. It will henceforth be an abiding factor in the destinies of Judaism ; and it is sure to lead to one of the grandest episodes in the evolution of mankind. For “the Law shall again go forth from Zion and the Word of God from Jerusalem.”

M. GASTER.



## THE NEED FOR ADVANCED COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

THE expansion of the United States into the tropics has given a new importance to the question of commercial education. It indicates that we are on the eve of important changes in both the political and the commercial world, and also that the struggle for the control of new markets is becoming sharp. The tropics are the only regions whose products are not well developed, and in which competition has not reduced the margin of profits toward the vanishing point. It is true of the tropics more than of any other part of the world, that its trade depends upon a knowledge of the conditions of life and of the habits of people who are beyond likelihood of immediate change. The rest of the world is so closely united that articles in demand in one land are likely to be desirable in all. This is not true of the tropics or of the Orient. Their long isolation from the rest of the world and their ancient and unchanging forms of society have fixed the needs of life within certain lines, causing successful trade to depend upon exact knowledge of local habits. As a consequence, there is need not only of a thorough understanding of the laws of trade and of the ways of doing business which are of universal application, but also of that particular and technical knowledge which will enable a merchant to undertake particular lines of trade with special countries, without liability of destructive mistake. This need, which the recent exploitation of tropical lands for commercial purposes has only served to emphasize, has for half a century been recognized in European countries, which found themselves distanced in commercial pursuits, or called upon by the exigencies of their national life to enter upon new ways. It has resulted in the planting of certain schools for commercial education of the higher grade, which have already become distinguished, and in the establishing of some systems of commercial education, which are new and important.

The movement has so far attracted attention in this country that the Universities of Pennsylvania, California, and Chicago, as well as Columbia University, have inaugurated or announced special

courses of instruction in this direction ; but it has gained so little genuine recognition, that even these courses seem to be established rather for the benefit of the local institution than because of any conviction on the part of the principals in the matter that the need is a permanent one. Indeed, in a recent article in the "Independent," President Thwing, of the Western Reserve University, writes somewhat deprecatingly of the movement ; implying that a good education in law is perhaps the best special training to which a merchant can subject himself, outside of the counting house, and that what is known among us as the ordinary business college is sufficient for present needs. This opinion rests upon a complete misapprehension of the real situation, and the failure to understand what other countries with whom we are to compete are already doing. It is not a question as to what constitutes the quickest way in which young lads who are obliged to support themselves can enter successfully into a business career ; this question, in the minds of some, being sufficiently answered by the business college. It is a far larger question, and demands a much more thorough and scientific solution. The situation is by no means one in which the slipshod method of "something just as good " will serve. The rapid development of the business life of our country and the wide diffusion of wealth in the business world, have brought into the field a large number of young men destined to become the successors of their fathers, who have developed large and successful enterprises out of the exceptional conditions which hitherto have obtained with us. The question now is, How can this large number of favored young men most successfully fit themselves, not only for the local administration of business, but for the wider competition in the markets of the world, and to take charge of some of the largest trusts that have ever been known ?

The day of the rule-of-thumb has gone by in business no less than in mechanics. It is only the man of science, trained in the technical school of the highest grade, who, in every department of industry—the mine, the laboratory, the electrical plant, or the steam railway—finds his opportunity and is imperatively needed. It cannot be that other conditions will be permanently maintained in the business world. The merchant who, through years of labor and intelligent industry, has built up a great commercial house cannot see his successful neighbor, the manufacturer, send his son to the technical school, and then to other lands for a year or two of study of manufacturing similar to his own, without feeling grave anxiety for his



own business, unless he furnishes his son with a similar intellectual equipment.

Recognizing this need, the ancient Merchants' Guild of Leipzig established, more than fifty years ago, its Commercial Institute, which has long been the model for similar institutions in Germany. At last report it had no less than 700 pupils. To-day, there are in Germany fifty-five high commercial schools, with 6,000 pupils ; in Austria there are thirteen, with 3,000 pupils ; in France there are seven, besides many schools of a lower grade. The movement began in Austria in 1857, with an association composed of 560 merchants of Vienna, and a subscription fund of 530,000 florins. In thirty years this school reported having had 17,000 students, and having graduated more than 5,000. Its graduates are in great demand in commercial houses. It early instituted the custom of travelling scholarships, by which it sends out those of its young men who have had a certain practical experience, to make a careful study of foreign centres of trade. There are forty of these scholarships ; and their possessors are to be found in all the important trade centres with which Austria is connected. The course covers three years, and embraces the following subjects : three modern languages ; commercial geography, including a knowledge of the products, population, history, trade, and means of communication, of different lands ; mathematics, including commercial arithmetic, with computation in the currencies of all countries, and the various methods used in accounts of every form ; physics ; chemistry ; commercial law ; the laws of international commerce and transportation ; political economy ; and much actual practice in business methods. The Superior School of Commerce in Paris has a staff of some seventy men, with an annual outlay of 230,000 francs ; and the School of Higher Commercial Studies, designed especially for training the sons of merchants, occupies splendid buildings on the Boulevard Malesherbes, and has a course of three years, with a faculty of forty-four instructors. While it admits pupils who have had only secondary instruction, it is designed especially for college graduates. Its curriculum covers a vast variety of subjects, the aim being to supply a very broad theoretical training, together with exact and definite instruction in methods in actual use.

The purpose of these schools is thus defined in an address issued in 1856 by the Commercial Council of Prague :

“ At first, commercial institutions belonged in the same category with technical institutions, in so far as the common principles of both have been to promote our

material development ; but, fundamentally, they are distinguished from them. In the case of the earlier institution, it is the method of natural science training by which the technical training is accomplished. In the case of the other, on the contrary, the theory which runs through the curriculum, coördinating and uniting its various parts, is not higher mathematics, not natural science, but that thorough and general culture which includes the application of social knowledge to experience, which relates to a knowledge of the earth and of the economic nature of its inhabitants, with special reference to one's native country. Justification of these schools is to be found in the necessity for the higher scientific training of the merchant. This appears more and more imperative every day, as this alone qualifies him to work with such foresight and certainty as are rendered necessary by the advance of our social relations."

The course of instruction which the high commercial school should pursue has received much attention in these foreign schools. Pupils are to be taught to become good employés—good buyers, good sellers, good cashiers, good accountants. But the art of buying and selling and of recording these operations does not constitute the whole science of commerce, nor would it insure the success of any enterprise. The art of organizing, administering, and directing is fundamental, and must be based on economic science. The programmes of the higher schools are intended to embrace courses upon the various kinds of industries, and upon the commercial qualifications determining the capability necessary for the various enterprises. Among them may be mentioned the establishment and conduct of business, the laws of commerce, raw materials, markets, workmanship, general cost, commercial and industrial action and administration, accounting, the exact determination of the selling price, credit, corporations, liquidation, the duties of the employé, etc., etc. Added to these are advanced courses, laid out with the same minuteness and care, in mathematics, industrial and commercial geography, transportation, tariffs, history, political economy, foreign languages, the art of public address, and so on.

In view of all this, it is not surprising that German merchants should be found coming to the front in many Oriental markets, or that foreign governments are in some instances selecting their consuls exclusively from graduates of these schools. The director of the Leipzig school, in a recent report, makes the following statement : " The extraordinary ability of the young German merchant, who is coming to be recognized in foreign countries—though in many cases with great unwillingness and with considerable envy—is no result of routine work. It is the consequence of careful and thorough training of our young people. The nation whose commercial relations are ex-



tending throughout all continents, whose mercantile and naval marine is well equipped for the very best service, whose banner waves over many continents, needs merchants of intelligence, financiers of wisdom, and inventive and enterprising organizers.”

This being the model which is adopted by the countries with whom we shall have to compete, and the standard of the higher education of the business world among the most civilized communities, it may be accepted as indicating the kind of education which in the near future will be demanded for our most ambitious young business men. Similar courses will be provided in this country when the demand for them is realized. That demand will first appear in the minds of the young people who are influenced by the thoughtful principals of the secondary schools. As the boys begin to inquire of them what special courses are best adapted to fit them for their subsequent careers, it will be the privilege of these intelligent counsellors to point out to their pupils the new demand for education of this kind, and the new opportunities which are opening for those who will be found to possess it. The American community may be trusted promptly to supply that for which it has come to feel the need. And those universities that first recognize this need, and seriously and amply provide for it, will have a great advantage over all their rivals. In view of the many burdens which are forced upon our growing universities, it is quite possible that commercial centres will find it necessary to provide such schools for themselves, as they have widely done in Europe. That the demand is already appearing, and that this special commercial training will soon be regarded as an essential in business life, is already clear.

Quite beyond its mere economic value, when its advantages are understood, ambitious business men will demand for themselves and their associates the privilege of living in the spacious air which now is looked upon as the special prerogative of the men of the professions, and of those who with broad and definite courses of study have been fitted for their life work.

HENRY A. STIMSON.

## LITERATURE AS A PROFESSION.<sup>1</sup>

THE best basis for a profitable discussion is nearly always to be found in an early agreement in regard to the exact meaning of the words we intend to use ; and in any inquiry into literature as a profession we had better begin by trying to find out just what meaning we wish to give to each of the words thus united. To define a *profession* is easy. A profession is the calling or occupation which one professes to follow and by which one gets one's living. To define *literature* is not easy ; for the word is a chameleon, meaning all things to all men, calling for one interpretation to-day and for another to-morrow. But with the aid of the dictionary we may hit on a rough-and-ready definition not unfit for our present needs. Literature, then, is the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions by means of books. If we combine these definitions we see that the profession of literature is the calling of those who support themselves by the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions through the medium of books.

No searching examination guards the entrance to the profession of literature, and no special diploma is demanded of those who wish to practise it. Unlike medicine and the law, literature seems to call for no particular schooling. Apparently, the possession of pen and ink and paper is enough ; and the practitioner is then free to communicate by means of books whatever facts, ideas, and emotions he may happen to have stored within him ready for distribution to the world at large. Every one of us is more or less trained in speaking—which is the earliest of the arts of expression, as writing is one of the later ; and to do with the hand what we are accustomed to do with the tongue seems as if it ought not to be a feat of exceeding difficulty. Perhaps this apparent ease of accomplishment is one of the reasons why literature has only recently got itself recognized as a profession. Congreve and Horace Walpole and Byron all affected to look down on the writings by which alone they are remembered to-day.

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered before the Federation of Graduate Clubs, at Columbia University, December 28, 1899.



Even now the boundaries of the profession of literature are not a little vague. Is a college professor a man of letters? Is a lecturer? Is an editor? And, more particularly, is a journalist a literary man? Any one who is thrown much with young men about to make the choice of a calling is aware that much confusion exists in their minds between literature and journalism; and they will talk of "going into literature" when what they really propose to do is to get on a newspaper. Even when they do perceive some difference between literature and journalism, they are inclined to hold that, although it may be journalism to write for a daily or a weekly paper, yet to write for a monthly magazine is "to contribute to literature." But it ought to be obvious that this is a distinction without a difference, and altogether misleading. The articles dealing with temporary themes so frequently found in the monthlies are frankly journalistic in their intent; and as emphatically literary are certain memorable poems first printed in the dailies—Drake's "American Flag," for instance, originally published in the "New York Evening Post," Holmes's "Old Ironsides," sent to the "Boston Advertiser," and Kipling's "Recessional," written for the London "Times." And just as these genuine contributions to literature appeared first in newspapers, so mere journalism very often nowadays gets itself bound into books—the war correspondent's letters from the front, for example, and the descriptive reporting that enlivens our magazines.

Far deeper than any classification of periodicals—the daily and the weekly in a lower group and the monthly in a higher—is the real distinction between literature and journalism. The distinction is one of aim and of intent; and there is a total difference of temper and of attitude. The object of journalism is almost the opposite of the object of literature; and the two arts are in reality incompatible and almost hostile, the one to the other. The work of the journalist, as such, is for the day only; the work of the man of letters, as such, is for all time. Now and again, no doubt, what the journalist does survives longer than its allotted twenty-four hours; and, more often than not, what the man of letters does fails of immortality. But none the less was the one done in the full consciousness that it was ephemeral, and the other in the high hope that it might be eternal.

In so far as the journalist is a leader of public opinion, he seeks to accomplish his immediate purpose by arousing and by convincing his readers until they are ready to do as he bids them. His chief weapon is iteration. He says what he has to say again and again and again,

varying his form from day to day, indeed, but repeating himself unhesitatingly and of necessity. He keeps on hammering until he drives his nail home ; and then he picks up another nail, to be driven home in its turn by another series of incessant blows. In one article he touches only one side of the case, reserving the other aspects for the other articles that he knows he will have to write. He lives in an atmosphere of controversy, and breathes freely as though it were his native air.

He plans no element of permanence in his work, and, indeed, never allows himself to think of such a thing. As the origin of the word journalism implies, the journalist seeks only to be sufficient unto the day—no more and no less. The result of his labor is to be sought in a movement of public opinion, having its record, perhaps, on the statute book of the State and even in the history of the whole country ; but his work itself has perished. Horace Greeley is the most famous of all American journalists, and his was a daring and a trenchant style. But whatever may have been his share in bringing about the abolition of negro slavery, not one of his assaults on the slaveholders survived to be read by the generation that followed his—a generation to whom Greeley was but a name and a legend. It is the essential condition of the best newspaper writing that its interest should be temporary ; and no sooner has the journalist done his work than he must expect to see it sink into the swift oblivion of the back-number.

The man of letters is almost the exact antithesis of the newspaper man. He seeks above all things to express himself—to give form to a something within him that is striving to be born, to body forth his own vision of life, to record once for all his own understanding of the universe. He toils joyfully, without haste and without rest, never quitting his work till he has done his best by it, until at last he knows it to be as perfect as he can make it, however dissatisfied he may remain with his final achievement. The object of his effort may seem but a trifle—a little lyric or the briefest of short-stories ; yet he never relaxes his standard, believing that the Tanagra figurines called for as keen a conscience in the artist as the Attic marbles themselves. Though he may work swiftly when the mood is on him and the Muse inspires, he is never in a hurry. And where the journalist writes every night what must be forgotten before the next new moon, the man of letters may keep to himself what he has done, even for seven years, as Horace advised ; and in all that time again and again he may bestow on it ungrudgingly the loving labor of the file.



Thus we see that journalism is a craft while literature is an art ; and that the two callings are almost irreconcilable. The practice of one of them tends to unfit a man for the practice of the other. There are journalists, not a few, who have become men of letters, and there are men of letters who have gone on newspapers ; but I cannot recall the name of any man who won equal fame in both vocations. Bryant was a poet who was also the chief editorial writer of a daily newspaper ; and one of his biographers tells us how careful Bryant was to do all his journalistic writing in the office of the paper itself, leaving his own home free from any taint of contemporary pressure. And there is an anecdote of Bryant that illuminates the conditions of journalism. A friend repeatedly urged him to advocate a certain cause, and supplied him with facts and arguments in its behalf. Finally, an article appeared, and Bryant asked his friend if it was not satisfactory—if it was not good ? The friend responded at once that the article was too good altogether, too complete, too final, since Bryant had said in it all he had to say on the subject, and, therefore, would not recur to it again, whereas what his friend had wanted was, that the editor should take up the case and keep on writing about it, day in and day out, until he had really aroused public interest in it.

In other words, iteration is an absolute necessity in a newspaper, if it wishes to guide public opinion. But iteration in literature is almost a form of tautology. For example, now that we have Matthew Arnold's essays collected in a stately series of volumes, we can hardly help being a little annoyed by the repetition of his various catch-words, although these were strikingly effective when the original articles were appearing, now in a monthly magazine, and now in a quarterly review. We feel that something perishable has been obtruded into what we had supposed to be permanent ; and we see that even so accomplished an artist in words as Arnold mars the abiding beauty of his literature when he seeks an immediate effect by journalistic means.

And as journalism is not literature, neither is editing. An editor, like a journalist, may or may not be a man of letters ; but there is no need that he should be. There is no reason to suppose that a man of letters can edit, any more than there is to suppose that he can write for a newspaper. To edit a periodical, daily or weekly, monthly or quarterly, is a special art, calling for special qualifications having no relation whatever to the special qualifications which the literary artist must have. Some literary artists have been endowed with the

double equipment, but not many. Poe was apparently one of the few men of letters who are also born with the editorial faculty ; and it is related that whenever he took charge of a magazine its circulation soon increased. Dickens also was successful as an editor, whereas Thackeray showed no remarkable aptitude, and soon gave up the uncongenial task. Although their fame as authors must have aided them as editors, what Poe accomplished with the "Southern Literary Messenger," and Dickens with "All the Year Round," is to be credited to their editorial faculty, and not to their literary ability.

There is an analogy between the executive ability needed by the editor of a magazine and that required by the manager of a theatre. The special qualification of the dramatist the manager is not compelled to possess, any more than the dramatist is required to have the special qualification of the manager. He may have it or he may not, as it may chance. Molière was brilliantly prosperous in the direction of his own company ; but Sheridan lacked what was necessary for the successful conduct of Drury Lane.

Just as men of letters may be editors or journalists, so they may also be lecturers or college professors. Emerson and Thoreau were lecturers ; Longfellow and Lowell were college professors. But it calls for no argument here to show that lecturing is wholly apart from the main purpose of the literary artist, and that it is not the prime function of the man of letters to impart instruction. Very few of the lecturers under the old lyceum system were men of letters ; and in our universities now very few of the professors of the various literatures are literary artists. Nor is there any need that they should be, since the duty of the literary artist and the duty of the college professor are not at all the same.

If the man of letters is not a journalist nor an editor, not a lecturer nor a college professor, what is he? By the definition with which this paper began, he is one who supports himself by the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions through the medium of books. But if we insist strictly on this definition, we shall soon discover that there are very few who follow literature exclusively. Often literature is seen to be a by-product of other professions. Literature, pure and simple, rarely rewards its followers with enough to live on ; and the most of them are forced to look to another calling for their bread, even if they can rely on literature for their butter. It is but a divided allegiance they can give to literature ; and they find themselves compelled to become journalists like Bryant, editors like Poe, lecturers



like Emerson, college professors like Lowell. They have positions in the civil service, as Wordsworth had, and Burns and Matthew Arnold. They are magistrates and sheriffs, like Fielding and Scott. They are physicians, as were the authors of "Elsie Venner" and of "Marjory Fleming." Perhaps they have inherited invested funds sufficient to support them without the necessity of earning money, as did Gibbon and Parkman.

At the present time there are in the United States half a dozen novelists, as many dramatists, perhaps an essayist or two, or a poet by chance, each of whom receives from his literary labors alone enough to live on ; and there are probably twice as many in Great Britain. But for the large majority of the men of letters of to-day, literature is still what it was in Charles Lamb's time—"a very bad crutch, but a very good walking-stick." For example, when the Authors' Club was organized in New York, in 1882, by seven men of letters, only one of them was then supported wholly by literature—a novelist who happened also to be the writer of certain school-books ; and of the other six one was a stock-broker, one was the editor of a magazine, two were journalists, and two had private means of their own. Among the members of the Authors' Club of late years, there have usually been ten or a dozen of the officers of instruction of Columbia University who chanced to be authors as well as professors.

Perhaps another fact will show how wide the membership of such a body must needs be. Mr. McKinley has sent five members of the Authors' Club abroad as ministers and ambassadors—Mr. Hay to London, Gen. Porter to Paris, Mr. White to Berlin, Mr. Hardy to Athens, and Mr. Straus to Constantinople. And in doing this the President was but abiding liberally by a precedent of more than one of his predecessors. Irving was minister to Spain, Motley to Austria and to Great Britain, Bancroft and Bayard Taylor to Germany, Lowell to Spain and Great Britain. In this, the great American commonwealth has been following the example of the little Italian republics, which were wont to send men of letters—Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio—on missions of importance, perhaps desirous only to make use of their learning, and perhaps perceiving in the literary artist himself some special fitness for a delicate task.

However few the men of letters may be to-day who are supported by literature, pure and simple, they are not less numerous than they were yesterday. In our own language especially, the conditions of literature as a profession whereby a man may earn his living are far

more favorable in the present than they ever were in the past. The expansion on both sides of the Atlantic, the swiftness of communication, the spread of education, the granting of international copyright have all united to pay the author a reward for his work never before offered. Shakespeare, at the end of the nineteenth century, would not need to be an actor to make a living. Neither would Molière, since we have also international stage-right. And Homer would not be forced to go on the road giving author's readings, in his time the sole resource of the epic poet.

Whether this will be altogether a gain may be doubted. It did not hurt Homer's epic that he was rewarded for reciting it at the banquets of the rich. It did not injure Molière and Shakespeare as playwrights that they were also players ; of a certainty it helped them. It is not well for the man of letters that he should be free from close contact with the rest of mankind. It is not the worst that can happen to a genius that he should be forced to rub elbows with the common run of humanity. If a poet was able at will to withdraw into his ivory tower, to sing only when the spirit moved him, we should be likely to hear his lyre less frequently. If a man of letters could claim his share of some philanthropic endowment for genius, many a masterpiece would be missing that has been wrought under the rowel of need and the whiplash of hunger. Perhaps, if Shakespeare had not had to get his daily bread, we might have had more poems—and no plays at all. Not always is it a man's best work that is done after he has won his ease and has only himself to please. The artist, literary or pictorial or plastic, likes to dream of what he would accomplish if only he had the leisure ; yet this is but a dream indeed. Give him all the time there is, and what the architect is most likely to build is only a castle in the air, after all.

To get one's living by making the thing his contemporaries can relish, this is a hardship, perhaps ; but, like other hardships, it has a tonic effect of its own. This at any rate is what every one has always done ; he has had to please the men of his own time. He may have wanted to echo Charles Lamb's humorous ejaculation, "Hang the age ! I'll write for antiquity !" He may have believed he was working for posterity. What he had to do, after all, was to conquer his contemporaries, to wring pay from his neighbors, average men and women, keenly critical some of them and others sullenly stupid. He had to go before the jury of the vicinage and win a contemporary verdict.



For it cannot be denied, strange as it may seem to some of us, that posterity never reverses an adverse decision. In the long annals of literature, there is not a single instance of a poet or a playwright or a prose-writer being highly esteemed in the centuries following his death who was not popular in the hundred years following his birth. And by popular, I mean that his work was enjoyed heartily by the plain people for whom it was written. We hold now that the foremost of the Greek tragedians was Sophocles ; and in his lifetime he was the most popular of the three. We consider Shakespeare as the incomparable artist of the Elizabethan age ; and his plays filled the theatre and drew in the groundlings better than those of any of his rivals. We extol Cervantes as the most pathetic of humorists and the most exquisite ; and there were rival editions of " Don Quixote " in all the provinces of Spain within a score of years after its first appearance.

Dante, Molière, Goethe, each in his own way, was enjoyed by the average man of his own time. It is true, of course, that we see more in their masterpieces than their contemporaries could see ; for it may take a century or more to give the proper perspective. It is true, also, that we see more in their masterpieces than their authors meant to put there ; for they builded better than they knew, as every man of genius must. It is true, again, that in their own day it was their more obvious merits that were quickest appreciated, not to say the more superficial, and that, therefore, they had to wait for later generations really to understand and to expound the full value of what they did. The groundlings liked Shakespeare's plays, and the tavern critics praised his sugared sonnets ; but while Shakespeare was yet alive no one seems to have suspected the vast supremacy of his genius. And as for Molière, Boileau alone was keen-eyed enough to have a glimmering perception of his overwhelming superiority to the other playwrights of the reign of Louis XIV.

Of course, it is not every favorite of his own generation who survives to the next—far from it. The next generation has its own favorites ; and it delights in the sacrificial slaughter of the pets of its predecessor. The affirmative decisions of the present, posterity will reverse by the dozen and by the score. The negative decisions, it will never reverse. Therefore, if we want to hazard a guess as to the authors of our own time whom our great-grandchildren will be required to study in school as masters of English, we must pick from among the authors who are widely popular now. The laurels of most of the favorites of to-day will be withered and desiccated, no doubt ; but

here and there a wreath will have kept green and lustrous. One or another of the men of the present will be able to read his title clear and to take his assured place beside the masters of the past. And he will be chosen from out of those whose books are now selling widely, and not from those whom the mere critic delights to honor. In the galaxy of the gods and demi-gods of literature there will be found no star whose brightness was not hailed by the people at large while yet it was young.

What is true of literature is not less true of the other arts also. The merit of the masters is felt by the plain people, often before the professed critic is open-minded enough to perceive it. And the masters themselves are careless of professed criticism. As Michelangelo said, the test of a statue was the glance of the public eye in the plaza. To say this, of course, is not to suggest that the masters ever sought a present popularity of malice aforethought—that they ever lowered themselves to cajolery and base flattery of the many-headed beast. They wished to express themselves, to deliver the message that was in them, to do their own work in their own way, with all the individuality which is ever a certain sign of mastery; and the plain people liked them for the humanity that was in them, for the breadth of their appeal, for their universality, at the same time caring little for their technic as such, and knowing even less. Why, indeed, should they care or know? The eulogy of craftsmanship is for the fellow-worker only, who cherishes the difficult secrets of the trade, and loves to enlarge his store of them. The wise artist never flaunts his tricks in the face of all beholders; he seeks rather to hide all trace of his processes. It was a damning criticism of the late Steele Mackaye that Mr. Joseph Jefferson made when he declared that Mackaye used his acting to reveal his method instead of using his method to reveal his acting.

It is well for the permanence and for the variety of literature that the man of letters should not be allowed to narrow his art to technic, that he should be compelled to make a wide appeal, and that he must rely for support not on the qualities which professed critics praise in his art, but on those which the plain people may freely find in his work. The man of letters may have his heart set on technic itself, and so best, if only his craftsmanship is a servant of his interest in life, and not a substitute for it. "Laborious, orient ivory, sphere in sphere" is for the cabinet of the collector only, not for the glance of the public eye in the plaza.



It is the constant danger of the artist that he may come to have only technic—that he can command the art of expression, and have nothing to express. His very skill then tends to make him remote from the healthy, common mass of men ; it gives him a disquieting aloofness, and perhaps even a vague insincerity that comes to those who deal in words rather than in things. Literature cannot live by words alone ; it is but an empty voice if it has no facts, no ideas, no emotions to communicate. Men of letters are to be found in other callings partly because literature itself is but a doubtful support, and partly because in these other callings they meet their fellowmen face to face and hand to hand, and so have occasion to accumulate the facts, to clarify the ideas, and to experience the emotions, which alone can give vitality to literature. And this is why the professions that seem akin to literature—journalism and editing and lecturing—are perhaps less helpful to the development of the literary artist than the other crafts which have no relation to literature.

Bagehot gives as the reason why there are so many wretched books, that the men who know how to write don't know anything else, while the men who really know things and have really done things, unfortunately don't know how to write. We can see the truth of this saying more clearly when we recall the genuine satisfaction with which we receive the books of the men who have done something and who—by a double gift of fortune—are able to write about the things they really know. This accounts for the charm of the autobiographies of men of action—Mr. Joseph Jefferson's, for example, and Benvenuto Cellini's, the "Commentaries" of Cæsar, and the "Personal Memoirs" of Grant.

In so far as literature is an art it is its own reward ; but in so far as it is a profession it must provide a livelihood. And here is the crucial difficulty of all the arts when they are also professions. For the artist works chiefly to bring forth what is in him as best he can, for the sheer joy of the labor, in frank gratification of the play-impulse which is deep rooted in all of us. How, then, can he take pay for that which is beyond all price? When he has sought to express himself, to set down in black and white his own vision of the universe, or of any tiny fragment of it, then all-absorbing to his soul, how can money measure the delight he took in his toil? Yet, this which was wrought in secret and with delicious travail, the artist must vend in open market, in competition with his fellow-craftsmen ; putting it up to be knocked down to the highest bidder, huckstering his heart's blood,

and receiving for it whatever the variable temper of the public may deem it to be worth at the moment.

And why not indeed? Shakespeare did this and Molière also. And shall any man of letters to-day be more dainty than they were? Cervantes did the same and Thackeray; Hawthorne did it and Turgeneff; and their art was none the less transcendent, and they themselves none the less manly. They were modest, all of them; and they never cried out that the world owed them a living, or that the times were out of joint, since they had not every day so gaudy a banquet as a stock-speculator on the eve of his bankruptcy. Each of them sold his wares as best he could, wondering, it may be, why he should be paid at all for that which it had been so keen a delight to produce. Hawthorne it was who declared that "the only sensible ends of literature are, first, the pleasurable toil of writing; second, the gratification of one's family and friends; and, lastly, the solid cash." And Stevenson insisted that "no other business offers a man his daily bread upon such joyful terms; the direct returns—the wages of the trade—are small, but the indirect—the wages of the life—are incalculably great." Thus Stevenson speaks of the artist at large; and as to the man of letters he maintains that "he labors in a craft to which the whole material of his life is tributary, and which opens a door to all his tastes, his loves, his hatreds, and his convictions, so that what he writes is only what he longed to utter. He may have enjoyed many things in this big, tragic playground of the world; but what shall he have enjoyed more?"

The true artist dreams of a remote millennium when

"Only the Master shall praise us, and only the Master shall blame;  
And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame,  
But each for the joy of the working. . . ."

Yet, if we can judge by the history of the past, it is better for the artist himself that this should remain a dream only, and that he, having worked for the joy of the working, shall then take his wages in money, like the rest of us. It is better that he should not be tenant-at-will of a separate star of his own, but a resident of this work-a-day world, where his fellowman has a residence also. It is best that he should be forced to face the realities of existence, and first of all to have the delight of his labor, and then to take the hire of which the laborer is worthy.



The profession of literature is not for those who long for the flesh-pots of Egypt, as it is not for those who dwell in the Bohemia which is a desert country by the sea. It is not for those who do not enjoy its toil and who do not love it for its own sake. It is not for those who are thinking rather of the wages than of the work. Above all, it is not for those who have a high standard of wages and a low standard of work.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

# The Forum

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MAY, 1900.

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## THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FLAG.

THE doctrine of the day is that wherever the Flag goes the Constitution goes with it. If this is not true, then, it is said, "Bring back the flag." Leaving out of consideration the legality of the statement that the Constitution without legislation goes wherever the Flag goes, let us look at the facts.

We exercise sovereignty to-day over about seventy islands, or groups of islands, which are called "guano" islands. We rule them by virtue of the Act of Congress of August 18, 1856. Never has there been the slightest pretence in the world that the Constitution extends to these islands. Residents there are under the control of such of our laws as are applicable to their condition, and that is the whole of the matter. Other examples of the Flag going where the Constitution does not go are to be found in all the countries in which we exercise extra-territorial jurisdiction. Under title 47, sections 4083 to 4130 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, we now have Consular Courts in China, Korea, Maskat, Morocco, Persia, Samoa, Siam, Tonga, Turkey, and Zanzibar. Until the 17th of July, 1899, we had such courts in Japan. Men are tried by the Consular Courts without indictment by a grand jury, and by Assessors instead of by a petit jury. Murder cases are tried by the Consul and four Assessors; other cases, felonies and misdemeanors, are tried by the Consul and two Assessors. Civil cases are tried by the Consul, if he pleases, or he may call two Assessors, so that at no time is there either grand jury or petit jury.



In the framing of the Statutes giving jurisdiction to the Consular Courts the Constitution is ignored. The ministers in most of the countries named above are appellate judges, but they are removable at the will of the Executive, which is contrary to the Constitution in the case of Federal judges for the States. The right of legislation as exercised by us in foreign countries is not created by treaties. It is inherent in government, and there are many cases in which governments exercise jurisdiction over their subjects found in other countries than their own where there are no treaties granting the right to do so. To some extent treaties regulate the right. The Supreme Court of the United States has passed on every constitutional point that legal ingenuity can raise as affecting extra-territoriality in both criminal and civil law. For the benefit of the Bar, I cite a few :

In *re Ross*, 140 U. S. 463, 465 ; *Dainese v. Hale*, 91 U. S. 13 ; *Mahoney v. United States*, 10 Wall 66, 67 ; In *re Joseph Stupp* (11 Blatchford, 124) ; *United States v. Craig* (28 Fed. Rep. 801) ; *United States v. Smiley* (6 Saw. 645) ; *Steamer Spark v. Lee Choi Chum* (1 Saw. 713) ; *Tazaymon v. Twombly*, 5 Saw. p. 79 ; *The Pinzon*, 7 Saw. 483 ; *The Pinzon*, 11 Fed. Rep. 607.

The *Ross* case is the leading criminal case. *Ross* was charged with committing murder on board of an American ship lying in the harbor of Yokohama, Japan. He was tried before the United States Consul-General at Yokohama. There was no indictment by a grand jury. He was tried by the Consul-General and four Assessors. He was sentenced to be hanged, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he was confined in the penitentiary at Albany, New York. After ten years had elapsed he brought a writ of habeas corpus before the United States Circuit Court. Appeal was had to the Supreme Court. Its judgment sustained the jurisdiction and procedure. The court held that the " Constitution can have no operation in another country."

Now I am well aware that my critics will say that this is exactly the point—that our recently acquired islands are not another country, etc. ; but let us go on, step by step. It has been shown conclusively that the Constitution does not go with the Flag always and everywhere, and that will do for a beginning. Continuing to state facts, and keeping away from the discussion of constitutional law for the present, we have the following resolution passed by the Senate at the time the Paris treaty was ratified :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is

not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States ; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands.

So we see that the Senate of the United States one year ago held that the Filipinos were not citizens of the United States, and the islands were not annexed to the United States. In spite of the facts as declared to exist, I believe that some of the gentlemen who voted for the resolution claim that the Constitution does now operate in the Islands and does control the inhabitants.

The ordinance of 1787 is another fact. If the rights guaranteed to the people of the States by the Articles of Confederation accrued to the people of the Northwest Territory simply by the transfer of that Territory to the confederated States, then the provisions of the ordinance were useless and unnecessary. Nevertheless, six Articles of Compact were enacted, most of which embody constitutional principles, such as freedom of religion, habeas corpus, and trial by jury. If the statesmen of that day had considered the Territory and its inhabitants endowed with all the rights specified in the Articles of Confederation, or entitled to statehood as an inherent right, it is not probable that they would have enacted sections 13 and 14 of the ordinance, which may be found in the Revised Statutes of the United States, page 15. By section 13 "the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions, are erected" were extended to the Territory. These principles were fixed and established as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever thereafter should be established in said Territory. Such particular mention would not have been necessary if these principles had pertained to the Territory by inherent right.

Sticking to facts only, let us now look at the Louisiana purchase. The second section of the Act of October 31, 1803, which authorized possession to be taken of Louisiana, reads as follows :

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That until the expiration of the present session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of the said territories be sooner made by Congress, all the military, civil, and judicial powers, exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same, shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United



States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

The President is therein authorized to name officers to exercise "all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government." The old, effete, and worn-out system of Spain was continued ; a United States Commissioner became a Governor-General, and enjoyed almost regal authority ; many curious laws remained in force : clearly the Constitution did not go with the Flag.

On March 26, 1804, Congress passed another Act providing for the government of this Territory. The government was not at all democratic. It was to be administered by the governor, secretary, and judges of the Indiana Territory. The governor and judges were authorized to make all necessary laws. The laws were to be consistent with the Constitution of the United States. If the Constitution, *proprio vigore*, was in force in the Territory, the extension to it by act of Congress was unnecessary.

The Territory of Orleans was organized by the same Act and in the same manner. In both Territories full powers were given to officers not elected by the people.

I cannot pursue this comparative statement further. For wider information I refer the reader to the very able report made by Hon. Charles E. Magoon, Law Officer of the Division of Insular Affairs, of the date February 12, 1900. He will there find that the Acts of Congress regarding the establishment of governments in the "Northwest Territory" and the "Louisiana Purchase" have been the basis of all subsequent legislation. He can verify this statement by an examination of the circumstances following the treaty with Spain regarding Florida (1819), the treaty with Mexico regarding Upper California and New Mexico (1847-48), and the treaty with Russia on the purchase of Alaska (1867).

I am not going to wade into the sea of argument to show that Congress is not bound to extend to the people of the Territories all the guarantees of the Constitution. With the United States Digest before me, I could pile up here mountains of law cases holding that Congress can legislate as it pleases. What would be the good of doing it? Other lawyers will pile up Pelion on Ossa to the contrary ; and from the controversy of the Bar a popular result could not be reached. We must wait until the Supreme Court decides the exact question at issue, for the last decision rules. It will come, and then we shall know—until the question comes up again—whether the Constitution, by its own

force, extends itself over all territory that we acquire and, without any Congressional action, takes with it to the people living there all the guarantees of human rights which exist in the United States. We who are old men, and those of us especially who fought for the Union, have been dreaming since 1865 that this question was settled on the battle-fields of the Republic by an arbitrament which, in its mighty influence, transcends courts as well as lawyers. We thought that it was settled that slavery did not by virtue of the Constitution go to the Territories. If Calhoun was right and Webster was wrong, let us tear off the honorable badges we wear of service in the Union armies. If the Constitution waited as a handmaid on our Southern brethren, and took into the Territories the right to hold slaves, without or regardless of any legislation, then the Confederates were fighting for their rights, and we were in the wrong. This conclusion will humiliate us a little ; but if it is the law, let the decision be made—because then by peaceful methods we shall amend the Constitution.

The old Philippine Commission, which has passed into history, discussed this question as follows on page iii of its report:

#### THE POWERS OF CONGRESS OVER THE PHILIPPINES.

The treaty of Paris leaves to Congress the determination of the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago. The extent of the powers which Congress is competent to exercise was indicated at the time of the Louisiana legislation in 1803, when they were exercised to a practically unlimited extent.

The Constitution gives Congress authority to make rules and regulations for the domain beyond the limits of the States. But the restrictions which the Constitution imposes upon Congressional power when operating within the States do not adhere to it when operating outside the States ; that is, in the Territories. Congress is not constitutionally bound to establish uniformity of duties, imposts, and excises throughout the Territories as it is throughout the States. No doubt it has always done so, because it was convenient and expedient. But the action, which was based on considerations which do not apply to the Philippines, was not in obedience to a constitutional mandate.

I do not cite this as authority. The gentleman who wrote the above lines is not a lawyer, but he is an able, painstaking scholar, who possesses to a remarkable degree the power of research and analysis, and his views are entitled to very great consideration. If the law be that the Philippines are to all intents and purposes part of our country, and that its people are co-citizens with us, there may be a mighty change in public sentiment as to the propriety of holding them. It is too early to discuss this question now.

Should the Supreme Court, however, decide that Congress is au-



thorized to govern the Filipinos, it does not follow that we should deny to them any right or privilege which is suited to their condition. We should educate the children ; divorce church and state ; establish free municipal and provincial governments ; reform abuses ; remodel the law courts ; make the laws conform to improved methods ; enfranchise the press ; and introduce a great measure of personal liberty. Especially must we see to it that the islands are not exploited by politicians. It is of the utmost importance that all the offices should be filled by natives, when it can be done without injury to the public service. It goes without saying that our system of government, whatever it may be, shall not admit of tribute being paid to us. We must not raise money in the Philippines to be paid to our home treasury and used for our separate benefit.

It is plain, however, that discussion of what shall be done in the future is useless now. The nation stands breathless awaiting the decision of the great tribunal which is to determine the future of the Philippines.

CHARLES DENBY.

## BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE BOERS.

IN 1652 the Dutch East India Company bought from the Hottentot chief, Manckhagen, for 4,000 pieces of eight, the land on which Cape Colony is settled, and began to colonize South Africa. Twenty years afterward, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, and a large number of the French Protestants fled into Holland. As the Dutch climate was cold and did not suit them, a considerable number of these Huguenots emigrated to the new colony, where they could cultivate the orange and the vine, and live under more congenial circumstances, and the present Boers and Burghers of South Africa—or Afrikaners, as they call themselves—are the descendants of these Dutch and French settlers.

In 1795 the British took possession of the Cape Colony, in order to prevent its occupation by the French. By the treaty of Amiens, in 1802, it was restored to the Dutch ; and in 1806, war having again broken out, a British force captured Cape Town and compelled the Dutch army to capitulate. Under the treaty of Vienna, in 1814, Great Britain returned to the Dutch their East Indian possessions, but retained Cape Colony, which had been found useful as a provisioning station and half-way house to India, and so was purchased from the Dutch Government. The cession, however, was made without the wishes of the colonists being considered. They held that the Dutch authorities had no right to sell the Colony without their consent, since they were free-born citizens, and could not be transferred, like slaves, to new masters; so Britain soon found that she had anything but loyal and contented subjects.

In 1815 a riot occurred which developed into a local rising. Although this rebellion was easily crushed, the cruelty of the measures taken against those who had been engaged in it caused very bitter feelings among the colonists at large, and intensified the growing dislike to British rule. The Boers still remember Slachtersnek, and from that time began the migration into the interior which finally culminated in the great "trek" of 1836, when nearly 10,000 of them sold their houses and farms for anything they could get. Some, who



were unable to find a purchaser, burned their buildings and their title deeds. They then formed themselves into large parties and migrated into the wilderness to find a new home beyond the limits of British possessions and British rule. Many of them had been born citizens of the Batavian Republic, and had been made British subjects by force, and without their consent. Under British rule they had suffered what they considered to be tyranny and oppression, so they determined at any cost to get rid of it. The principal causes which induced the colonists to take this course were :

First, the costly and despotic character of the Government. Although the population was only about 30,000, the Governor had £12,000 a year and the Lieutenant-Governor £3,000, two Secretaries had £3,000 a year each, and there were numbers of other highly paid officials.

Second, an alien, costly, and inefficient system of administration of justice, under which they were even prevented from acting as jurymen.

Third, the use of the Dutch language was guaranteed them in the proclamation of 1806, and in 1825 was prohibited for official purposes.

Fourth, British currency was also introduced in 1825, and all taxes had to be paid in it. The paper rix-dollars were also taken, but only at one shilling and sixpence on the dollar, although they had a face value of four shillings, and had been issued by the Government at par as late as 1801.

Fifth, when slavery was abolished, in 1834, the slaves were valued at between three and four million pounds, but only £1,200,000, payable by bills in England, was awarded as compensation. It was estimated that, in consequence of the conditions on which payments were made, only about half a million was received by the farmers, and that a large part was not even claimed.

Sixth, while all these causes embittered the feelings of the Afrikaners toward the British Government, the most important was the native policy of Lord Glenelg. The old system of self-defence against native raids had been abolished, and the colonists had no adequate protection against the incursions of the wild tribes on their borders, so that in one week in 1834, during the Kaffir war, 450 farmhouses were burned, forty persons were murdered, and 4,000 horses, 100,000 head of cattle, and 150,000 sheep were carried off. Some of the cattle and horses were recovered, and, although they had the brand of the

owners on them, were not returned, but were sold to cover the expenses of the war.

The Chief Commissioner on the frontier, Colonel Somerset, tried, at first, to prevent the "trek"; but the Lieutenant-Governor considered that the migrating farmers had a perfect right to leave the Colony if they wished, and the Cape Attorney-General, Mr. Oliphant, also decided that it was perfectly legal. He said :

"The class of people under consideration evidently mean to seek their fortunes in another land, and to consider themselves no longer British subjects, so far as the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is concerned. Would it therefore be prudent or just, even if it were possible, to prevent persons, discontented with their condition, trying to better themselves in whatever part of the world they pleased? The same sort of removal takes place every day from Great Britain to the United States."

The principal leader of the great "trek" was Pieter Retief, a descendant of one of the Huguenot families. Before starting he issued a manifesto giving the reasons for the course they were taking, and pointing out the many grievances and wrongs the colonists had suffered. He held that there was no prospect of peace or happiness for themselves or their children when their very elementary rights had been violated. They had no protection for their lives or property, and their position was intolerable. He thus concludes the manifesto :

"We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them. We complain of the continued system of plunder which we have for years endured from the Kaffirs and other colored classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier district and ruined most of the inhabitants. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favor; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory, but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavor to obey."

In his despatch stating the causes of the migration Sir Benjamin Durban, the Governor of the Cape Colony, said that the colonists trekked because of "the insecurity of life and property occasioned by recent measures, inadequate compensation for the loss of the slaves, and the despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses by the



Kaffir invasion." He described them as "a brave, patient, industrious, orderly, and religious people."

The migrating colonists first settled in the Orange Free State, which had been almost depopulated by Molelikatse, the founder of the Matabele tribe. He attacked one of the earlier parties, killing several of the farmers and carrying away their cattle and sheep, but he was afterward defeated and driven north of the Vaal River. In 1838 a number of the farmers crossed the Drakensberg range and entered Natal, then possessed by the Zulu king, Dingaan, who gave it to the migrants for assisting him to recover his cattle from Sikonyella. The deed of cession was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Owen, one of the Zululand missionaries. It gave "to Retief and his countrymen the place called Port Natal, together with all the land annexed, that is to say, from the Tugela to the Umzimvobo River, and from the sea to the north, as far as the land may be useful and in my possession." Within this territory the Boers formed the Republic of Natalia, with Pietermaritzburg as the capital. A Volksraad, or people's council, and an executive government were elected.

On September 4, 1840, this Government sent a letter to Sir George Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony, proposing to send two of their number as commissioners to negotiate a treaty. In his reply Sir George Napier said he could only enter into treaty relations with them "on their receiving a military force to exclude the interference with or possession of the country by any other European power." The Volksraad met on the 11th of October, 1841, to consider the reply to their proposal for a treaty, and empowered its secretary to inform the Governor of the Cape "that, having asserted and maintained their independence as Dutch South Africans ever since they left the Cape Colony, they were fully determined not to surrender this point, and as Her Majesty's representative had been pleased to reject their very fair proposals, they would remain in the same position as before." To this reply the Governor of the Cape issued a proclamation declaring that the migrant farmers were British subjects, that he was going to send Her Majesty's forces to occupy Natal, and solemnly warning the inhabitants of the consequences if they in any way opposed the forces or the due exercise of Her Majesty's authority in the district. The Volksraad issued a protest against any attempt to occupy their Republic, declaring that they would meet force by force, and that they held themselves free from any evil results that might occur if these forces were sent.

Nevertheless, 300 men with two guns were sent under Captain Smith, and he occupied Durban on May 3, 1842. The Volksraad called out a command of 300 Burghers, and this force, under the command of Andreas Pretorius, met Smith near Durban and defeated him ; capturing his two guns, and inflicting on the British a loss of 103 killed and wounded. But a large force under Sir Josias Cloutie ultimately defeated Pretorius, and on March 12, 1843, Natal was proclaimed a British colony. The majority of the Boers, with Pretorius, gave up their farms, and, passing through the Orange Free State, settled in the country north of the Vaal River. The Boers in the Free State were not interfered with by the British Government till 1845, when, on some trouble occurring between the Boers and the Griquas, the Cape Government interfered. They declared the country to be under their protection, and appointed Major Warden as Resident. He came up to Bloemfontein, the capital, and took possession of it on behalf of Great Britain. The Free State Boers then called upon Pretorius and his party in the Transvaal to aid them in driving out the British.

In response the Boers under Pretorius marched on Bloemfontein. On arriving there the Boer general sent a letter to Major Warden informing him that the Boers would not submit to British rule, and asking him to retire or they would be compelled to drive him out. The Resident found that he had not a sufficient force to assert his authority, so he retired on condition that his troops and supporters should be allowed to take their arms and their property with them. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, then collected a large British and Basuto force, and defeated Pretorius at Boomplatz. The Boer army retired to the north of the Vaal, but Sir Harry Smith did not follow them. He offered a reward for the capture of Pretorius and some of the other leaders, reëstablished British authority, and reinstated Major Warden. On the authority of a few inhabitants of Bloemfontein, principally British traders, he informed the Secretary for the Colonies that four-fifths of the people in the territory were in favor of annexation, but had been coerced by the violence of Pretorius and the other leaders.

The British Government, while more than willing to annex Natal, in order to prevent any other European power obtaining a settlement on the coast, was rather doubtful as to the wisdom of extending its authority any farther into the interior ; but being assured that the great majority of the inhabitants desired to come under their au-



thority, they somewhat reluctantly agreed to take over the country, and letters patent were issued in March, 1851, incorporating the territory under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. But the British Government soon became aware how very much the Governor of the Cape had misled them as to the facts of the case ; for the new sovereignty was soon at war with its late allies, the Basutos. The war was carried on by Major Warden at great cost and with very little result. He called out the Boers to assist, but out of a thousand men commandeered only seventy-five answered to his call. Hence he wrote for more troops to carry on the campaign, and stated that two-thirds of the Boers in the sovereignty were in their hearts rebels.

Within twelve months of the issue of the letters patent, Earl Grey, on December 15, 1851, sent a despatch to the Governor of the Cape, reminding him that the British Government had taken over the country upon the representation that it was generally desired by the inhabitants, adding that if the inhabitants would not support the authority of the British Government which had been established in the sovereignty solely for their advantage, but, on the contrary, desired to be relieved from it, there was no British interest to be served by maintaining it, and that it was impossible to incur the expense of keeping up a force sufficient to maintain in that distant region an authority which the great majority of the inhabitants would not obey. Sir Harry Smith was censured and recalled by Earl Grey, and Sir George Cathcart was sent out to inaugurate a new policy, based on the acknowledgment of the independence of the Boers. "When we retire," said Earl Grey in a despatch to the Governor, "you will understand that any wars, however sanguinary, which may afterward occur between the different tribes and the communities left in a state of independence beyond the Colonial boundary are to be considered as affording no ground for your interference."

This new policy was at once carried out by Sir George Cathcart. He sent Major Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen to arrange a treaty with Pretorius and the Transvaal Boers. They met at Sand River on the 17th of January, 1852, when a convention was signed by the contracting parties recognizing the independence of the Transvaal Republic. In the first clause the Commissioners guaranteed in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British Government, and also that no

encroachment should be made by the said Government on the territory to the north of the Vaal River. They disclaimed all alliances whatever and with whomsoever of the colored nations to the north of the Vaal River. No slavery was to be permitted, and there were to be free trade and friendly intercourse between the peoples. Criminals were to be extradited, and it was mutually understood that all trade in ammunition with natives should be prohibited both by the British Government and by the emigrant farmers on both sides of the Vaal River.

With the Boers in the sovereignty a treaty on similar lines was arranged, under which the British authorities retired. Some opposition to this course was made by a few of the English residents, and by some of the Cape merchants, and a deputation was sent to England to prevent the retrocession of the Free State. But the Government remained firm, and the territory was handed over to the delegates of the Boers at Bloemfontein on February 23, 1854.

The new policy begun by Earl Grey was carried out by Sir John Pakington during the administration of Lord Derby, and was continued by the Aberdeen Ministry which succeeded it. It was the policy of the Whig, Tory, and Coalition Cabinets. In the debate in the House of Commons in 1854, on the "order in council for the abandonment of all sovereignty over the Orange River territory," a measure introduced by Lord Aberdeen's government, it was stated by the minister that he regretted having ever crossed the Orange River, that Lord Grey had done so in deference to the wish of Sir Harry Smith and against his own better judgment, as the Boers were hostile to British rule.

Sir John Pakington supported the motion of the Government, and the new policy was adopted by the Whig and Tory leaders, and by an almost unanimous vote of the House of Commons. If the policy thus adopted by the various statesmen and ratified by Parliament had been faithfully carried out, the history of South Africa during the last half century would have been very different, and many of the native and Boer wars would not have taken place ; but this new policy of non-intervention was strongly opposed by the Cape merchants and the Colonial officials. The old system suited them better; they could play off the Boer against the native or the native against the Boer, and could get up a little war at any time. They got all the profit out of it, as the Imperial Government had to pay the cost. Every increase of territory brought new offices and promotion to the officials ; hence,



one can easily understand why the policy of defining our boundary and refusing to interfere beyond it was opposed by those who were otherwise interested, and why so many officials have been in favor of the forward policy, and from time to time, on various pretexts, have been desirous of getting rid of both the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions.

When, some years ago, Natal wanted to appoint magistrates in Zululand, Lord Wolseley, as High Commissioner, strongly opposed it. He said in his despatch :

“To the colonists a war means the spending amongst them of millions of money drawn from the English Treasury, and the crime of bringing about a native war does not so clearly appear to the Natal colonist, who thinks he may always rely upon the aid of British battalions to save him from the adverse consequences of a conflict which he may have himself provoked.”

The whole history of South Africa had proved that such a policy led to war and to the extermination of the natives whom Britain had intended to benefit. Several attempts were made to get the British Government to interfere with the people beyond its borders. In 1857 Sir George Grey wanted to interfere in one of the Basuto wars, but the Colonial Secretary, Lord Taunton, refused to permit him. The policy he was to carry out was “to observe strictly the letter and spirit of the treaties we have entered into with the neighboring independent states, to maintain the integrity of our possessions on the confines of these states, but to avoid any extension of their limits to which they may justly object.” In 1868 the Colonial officials were more successful, and the Cape Colony was allowed to annex Basutoland. The Free State protested against this act, as it was contrary to the provisions of the Bloemfontein Convention. The Cape authorities have since bitterly regretted the annexation, as it led to the usual war, in which they spent several millions of pounds and were disgracefully defeated, so that the Imperial Government had to interfere and take Basutoland away from the Cape Colony.

Diamonds were discovered in the western district of the Orange Free State in 1871, and then occurred what Froude has characterized as “perhaps the most discreditable incident in British colonial history,” the annexation of the diamond fields. There could be no doubt that the district in which the diamonds were being mined was a portion of the Free State. It was north of the Orange River, and the titles for some of the farms in that district had been issued by the

British Government before the retrocession. But the Colonial officials got a native named Waterboer to claim the territory ; and, as he desired to be a British subject, he and the country he claimed were taken over, and the Free State magistrates who had been governing the district were expelled. They did not resist, but yielded under protest.

North of the Vaal River diamonds were also found. A claim was then made for the land north of the Vaal, and the President of the Transvaal was induced to have the matter settled by arbitration. A Mr. Campbell was appointed to act for the British, and a Mr. O'Reilly for the Transvaal, with Mr. Keate, the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as umpire. But the two arbiters could not agree, as President Burgers pointed out in his despatch to Sir Henry Barkly, the High Commissioner ; and one of the first things done by Mr. Campbell was to buy 25,000 acres of the land in dispute from Waterboer for a quit rent of three pounds, so that he became an interested party instead of a judge. Both the Free State and the Transvaal governments solemnly protested against this high-handed and illegal act of the British as a serious encroachment on their territory and an unjustifiable violation of the Sand River and Bloemfontein conventions. After some correspondence, President Brand went to London to meet Lord Carnarvon, who agreed to pay the Free State about £100,000 as compensation for this act—a sum not equal to one day's production of the diamond mines. Two or three years afterward, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, when he annexed the Transvaal, reincorporated the part north of the Vaal, as he said Governor Keate's award had handed over the land of the natives to white land-speculators and to anarchy.

The British have paid a terrible price for the unjust annexation of the diamond fields and for the policy they instituted. In order to get native labor for the mines, guns and ammunition were, in direct breach of the conventions, sold to the natives. The great chiefs sent their followers to work in the mines in order to get arms, and Gen. Cunningham estimated that by this means over 400,000 guns were given to them. The Basuto and the Zulu wars were the result of this suicidal policy.

In 1873 gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and many English diggers flocked there. Some wished to rush the gold fields, as had been done in the case of the diamond fields, and they sent petitions to Lord Carnarvon complaining of inadequate protection, and asking to be annexed. Pretexts for interference were again found. Seku-



kuni, one of the chiefs near the gold fields, having procured arms for his followers at the diamond fields, refused to pay taxes, began cattle-stealing, and made matters generally uncomfortable in the gold-mining district. When a commando was sent to put down this rebellion, Lord Carnarvon protested against the Boers interfering with Sekukuni. He asserted that that chief "was neither *de jure* nor *de facto* a subject of the Republic," and that they had no right to ask him to pay taxes, and wrote a number of semi-hysterical despatches on the subject, of which the following is a specimen. In a despatch dated January 25, 1877, he said :

"Warnings against this wholly gratuitous and unjust war, earnest and friendly advice, and finally remonstrance have been offered by Her Majesty's Government. Such being the case, it is to be feared that nothing that can be further urged in the way of protest will be found of much avail; nevertheless, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government again to protest in the plainest and strongest terms possible against the proceedings of the Transvaal Government, and the prosecution of this so-called war on the lines hitherto adopted, and while I approve of the remonstrance you have already addressed to President Burgers, I have to instruct you once more to express to him the deep regret and indignation with which Her Majesty's Government view the war."

In March Sekukuni, being defeated, sued for peace, which the Boer Government granted, fining him 2,000 head of cattle as a war indemnity. In April Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal. Lord Carnarvon had now a splendid opportunity to redress the wrongs of this ill-used native chief by at once remitting the war indemnity for the injury done to him and his people by an "unjust and iniquitous war." Instead of this being done Sir Theophilus Shepstone informed Sekukuni that the Transvaal had been taken over by the British, that he must obey the law and pay the taxes or "leave the country he now occupied," and that the war indemnity of 2,000 head of cattle must be paid without delay to Captain Clark, who had been appointed to approve and receive them.

Notwithstanding all his protests against the action of the Boer Government, Lord Carnarvon, on being informed by Shepstone of his message to Sekukuni, wrote fully approving of what Shepstone had done or proposed to do. Sekukuni refused to pay the war indemnity to Captain Clark or to pay him any taxes, so the British declared war against Sekukuni. Colonel Rowland was sent against him with a large force, but had to retreat; and finally General Wolseley, aided by the Swagers, captured Sekukuni's stronghold and practically destroyed his tribe. Thus, all that Lord Carnarvon had so strongly pro-

tested against and declared to be unjust, atrocious, and contrary to the principles of humanity was done by Lord Carnarvon and his Government. The Zulus were also stirred up by British agents to make claims against the Transvaal authorities ; and all sorts of accusations were made regarding the cruelty of the Boers to the natives—accusations published in the blue books to inflame public opinion in Britain against the Boer. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent as a Special Commissioner to report as to the condition of affairs in the Transvaal in regard to the native troubles and the petitions for annexation by the miners. He was empowered to annex the country if the war threatened to extend into British territory, and it was to be done if the inhabitants or the legislature were desirous of being annexed. But the war had ceased with the capitulation of Sekukuni, so the colonies were not endangered. The Volksraad was unanimously opposed to annexation, and passed a resolution instructing the Executive to “take the necessary measures for the maintenance of the independence of the Republic.”

Although none of the conditions existed that were provided for in his instructions, Shepstone, taking advantage of the poverty and weakness caused by the war, and the complicated political situation resulting from President Burgers' too progressive policy, determined to annex the country. On his informing President Burgers of Britain's intention to take over the government of the country, the Executive Council issued a protest ; and, in order to prevent war, sent two of their number—Mr. S. J. P. Krüger, the Vice-President, and Dr. Jorissen, the State Attorney—as a deputation to England to ask the British Government to rescind the proclamation of annexation, as the farmers were almost unanimously opposed to it, and so prevent a war between the two white races of South Africa.

The deputation arrived in England early in June, and when they saw Lord Carnarvon that gentleman informed them that since they had left the Transvaal the people had overwhelmingly expressed their approval of the annexation. They assured Lord Carnarvon that he had been misled by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and returned to get evidence that would convince him how much he was mistaken as to the facts. On the return of the deputation large meetings were held in all the districts, although they were proclaimed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone as seditious, and a petition was signed against annexation and British rule by seven-eighths of the electors in the country ; thus demonstrating the inaccuracy of Shepstone's assertions. When



Messrs. Krüger and Joubert brought this petition to London, Lord Carnarvon had resigned office, and the new Colonial Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, told them that it was a matter of little importance what the present inhabitants desired, and that the country must remain under British sovereignty. The deputation, however, found considerable sympathy among the leaders of the Opposition, and Mr. Gladstone was very eloquent in his denunciations of the annexation. He condemned it as impolitic and unjust. This territory was useless to Britain, and even if it were as valuable as it was valueless, he would repudiate the transaction in consequence of the dishonorable means by which it had been brought about. In one of his Midlothian addresses he said :

“There is no strength to be added to our country by governing the Transvaal. It is a country where we have chosen most unwisely—I am tempted to say insanely—to place ourselves in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a Republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse. But if that is to be done, it must be done by force.”

For two years the Boers continued their passive resistance by meetings, protests, and memorials. When the Liberal party came into power they hoped that their country would be restored to them. In May, 1880, they sent their last memorial to Mr. Gladstone, then prime minister. In it they said they were confident that one day, by the mercy of the Lord, the reins of the Imperial Government would be entrusted again to men who would sustain the honor and glory of England, not by acts of injustice and crushing force, but by justice and good faith. They appealed to him to do justice by rescinding the annexation and reinstating in its full vigor the Sand River Convention.

In reply, Mr. Gladstone informed them that for various reasons “our judgment is that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal.” Failing to get their wrongs redressed even by the Liberals, and seeing that all their appeals to the British sense of justice and fair play were useless, they took up arms, in December, 1880, to regain their independence. In a blue book published during the war appeared a despatch from the Administrator of the Transvaal to the effect that the Boers were still in favor of British rule, and that they had been coerced into fighting by a minority.

But there was a limit even to the credulity of the British public,

and this misrepresentation had little effect. The bravery displayed by the Boers showed that the charge of cowardice so often made was anything but accurate, and many began to see that they had been misled and deceived in reference to the other matters. So when the Government offered terms, notwithstanding the defeats of its forces, the country generally supported it, and if the ministry had had the courage frankly to admit that the annexation had been brought about by fraud and misrepresentation, had withdrawn the proclamation taking over the country, and had returned to the conditions that existed before such an unwarranted interference, they would have got out of an unfortunate position in a dignified manner. Such a solution would have been consistent, and the constituencies would probably have supported them. The moral law is as binding upon nations as it is upon individuals, and as the Government was satisfied that the annexation was impolitic and unjust, it was morally incumbent upon it to give back a country so unjustly acquired, and to offer compensation for every illegal and unjustifiable act.

Instead of doing this, the British Government did not even carry out the terms of the preliminary treaty of peace. A Royal Commission was appointed which drew up a new Convention, several clauses of which were contrary to the conditions signed by the military leaders, and this convention was forced upon the Triumvirate, Messrs. Pretorius, Krüger, and Joubert. These gentlemen signed it rather than take the responsibility of beginning another war. This new treaty had to be ratified by the Volksraad within three months ; but when that body met it refused to ratify the Convention, and instructed the Triumvirate to resume negotiations with the British Government in order to have certain objectionable clauses withdrawn and others modified. A telegram was sent to Mr. Gladstone stating :

“Triumvirate instructed by Volksraad to apprise you that in their opinion the Convention is contrary to Treaty of Sand River. The Convention is in many respects an open breach of the peace agreement between Sir E. Wood and the Boer leaders, who, trusting that the principles laid down there would be executed, laid down their arms.”

Then followed objections to the suzerainty established by the Convention, and to other clauses which constituted breaches of the treaty of peace. The British Government replied :

“The Convention having been signed by the leaders who entered into the peace treaty, Her Majesty’s Government cannot consider any proposition to amend the Convention before the same has been ratified and its practical working has been properly tested.”



The Boers were now forced either to ratify or fight. At last, at the request of Lord Kimberley, they consented provisionally to ratify the Convention and give it a trial rather than continue a war between the two white races, which would undermine "the common welfare of all the states and colonies of South Africa." This was a rather unsatisfactory ending of the controversy, and caused irritation and strained relations between the two governments. The British native policy in the Transvaal had been scandalous. There were more native wars and bloodshed during the three years the British held the country than during the thirty years that the Boers had previously governed it. The conduct of some of the British officials appointed was anything but reputable.

When the British took over the country they could find no wrongs to the natives that required to be redressed ; but when the Boers took it back again the Volksraad had to order the release of hundreds of natives who had been illegally apprenticed for fifteen years. This wrong done to natives by the British magistrates had to be righted by the Boers. In the 1883 blue book the humiliating admission was made by the ex-British officials that these things were true, and all they could plead in extenuation was that nearly all the natives apprenticed ran away, so that there could not have been many for the Boer Government to liberate.

Although the Volksraad provisionally ratified the Convention of 1881, they still continued to assert their rights, pointing out that by solemn treaty Britain had agreed to recognize the full and complete freedom of the Republic. By an almost unprecedented breach of international law their country had been annexed on false pretences, notwithstanding the protests of the Government and of the people, and they never would be satisfied till a treaty on the lines of the Sand River Convention was again granted. They repudiated the suzerainty imposed upon them against their consent, declaring it as much a wrong as the sovereignty. By reason of this agitation, as well as of the strained relations which existed in consequence between the two governments, Lord Derby, in August, 1883, agreed to receive a deputation from the Transvaal. Accordingly Messrs. Krüger, Smit, and Du Toit met the British minister in London in the autumn of that year. After several interviews and a long correspondence, occupying over three months, an almost entirely new Convention was agreed on. Lord Derby, in sending the final draft to the deputation, said :

“I now submit for your perusal a draft of the new Convention which Her Majesty’s Government proposes in substitution for the Convention of Pretoria . . . By the omission of those articles of the Convention of Pretoria which assigned to Her Majesty and to the British Resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse, and shape its foreign policy subject only to the requirement . . . that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen.”

Lord Derby printed both the Pretoria Convention and the proposed one together, striking out all that was to be left out of the Pretoria one, both as far as preamble and articles were concerned. In the new treaty the old name of the Republic, the “South African Republic,” is used instead of the term “Transvaal State,” used in the Convention of 1881. A new treaty with a new preamble and new articles replaced the Pretoria Convention ; the old one was only to remain in force till the new one was ratified by the Volksraad. When this had been done, the Pretoria treaty of 1881 was null and void, and the Transvaal Republic again began its career as an international state.

It has been contended by some that, as treaties made with foreign states required the sanction of the Queen, the Republic was not a sovereign, international state. Belgium is a sovereign state, yet there are, by treaty, limitations of its powers ; Russia is a sovereign state, yet, by treaty, it was prevented from having warships in its own waters, *i.e.*, in the Black Sea. To give a special right to any other state, whether it be in policy or in commerce, does not hinder a country from being a sovereign state ; and since war has again occurred, the British Government has recognized its international status by intimation to the neutral powers.

New gold-reefs were discovered in the Witwatersrand in 1886, and a large town was established there, Johannesburg. The gold law adopted by the Republic was the most generous in the world. All the state lands were thrown open to any one, citizen or alien, to peg out claims ; and where gold was discovered on private farms, these farms were declared public gold fields, the owner only being allowed to peg out a small part for himself, about a tenth, the remainder being thrown open to all. In private farms one-half of the license duties was given to the owner. There was no royalty, only a license duty of a pound a month per acre ; and under these conditions, as the reefs were rich, a large alien population soon came into the country.

In 1894 some trouble arose through the commandeering of a



number of British subjects to serve in one of the native wars, and in reference to this Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner, visited Pretoria, when the Transvaal President agreed to give up his right to commandeer the British. At this time a conspiracy was on foot to take over the country from the Boers, in which Sir Henry Loch was concerned, although at the time he was the guest of the Republic and represented a friendly state. This fact was discovered the following year when the conspiracy had culminated in the Jameson Raid, and the private papers of the conspirators had been seized. In these papers an account is given of two interviews between the High Commissioner and one of the principal leaders, Mr. Lionel Phillips. The want of arms was the reason given for the High Commissioner not assisting, as he is said to have stated plainly that if there had been 3,000 rifles and ammunition here he would certainly have come over. Sir Henry Loch practically admitted his guilt in a speech in Parliament.

At the end of 1895 the world was startled by the raid into the Transvaal by the Administrator and the forces of the neighboring British colony of Rhodesia, and by the false allegations about the women and children. The raid was frustrated, and the Transvaal Government acted with great magnanimity both toward the foreign invaders and the internal conspirators. The rank and file of the invading army were at once liberated; the officers were sent home to be punished for their crime. The actions of the British Government since that time, and the continuance of the conspiracy by the principal plotters, indicate how this generosity was appreciated and repaid. The criminals were received by the patriots and the peerage as unfortunate heroes. The influence of a large section of the press and of the most powerful section of society was used to secure an acquittal, but the Lord Chief Justice prevented the trial from being a farce. Much worse was the investigation by a Committee of the House of Commons, on which Mr. Chamberlain, the Secretary for the Colonies, sat as a member.

The Government of the Republic had published telegrams and letters found among the papers of Jameson and of the commander of the forces, Sir John Willoughby, showing that the secretary of the High Commissioner, the prime minister of the Cape Colony, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, several of the most important Colonial officials, and even the Secretary of the Colonies himself, were aware of the plot and had more or less aided it. The solicitor of the Chartered Company was

examined as to the contents of the telegrams which it was asserted proved the complicity of Mr. Chamberlain. He refused to produce them or the correspondence between himself and the Colonial office on the subject. On his refusal to furnish this evidence, the Committee ceased its investigation, and the farce ended in a report which the Secretary for the Colonies signed, and a day or two afterward practically repudiated in a speech in Parliament.

Mr. Chamberlain and some of the other members of the Committee used the inquiry to make a grossly unfair attack on the Transvaal Government, which was not represented. These occurrences convinced the Transvaal of its serious danger, and it at once began to arm, in the spirit of the proclamation of William of Orange: "If you will have our country, take it, but it shall be over our bodies and the ash heaps of our property and goods." The clique of cosmopolitan capitalists who had organized the plot of 1895 were tried, and five were condemned to death, but this sentence was commuted into a fine. These conspirators now formed themselves into a syndicate and purchased two-thirds of the South African newspapers. They brought out journalists from London at large salaries to run them; and these men began to flood the African and British papers with misrepresentation of fact and slanders against the Government of the Republic in order to excite public opinion against it. The number of aliens in the Transvaal was grossly overestimated, and the number of Boers as absurdly underestimated. As Johannesburg was the centre of the distributing trade, they claimed that it paid the bulk of the taxation, although a large proportion of the goods imported there was consumed all over the country. The leading articles of the papers owned by the conspirators were sent to London as South African opinion, and thus receiving official sanction began to be accepted. A political association, the South African League, was also organized, which aided the journalists in this work.

At this moment the Edgar case gave this association an opportunity to delude the public as to the condition of aliens in the Transvaal, and was made the pretext for sending a petition to the Queen which purported to be signed by over 20,000 British subjects. The facts of the case were as follows: Edgar was coming home the worse for drink, and met three other Englishmen named Shepherd, Sylvester, and Foster, near his residence. He quarrelled with Foster and knocked him down; the other two Englishmen called for the police, and, attracted by their cries, four policemen came up and found Foster



lying unconscious on the ground. Shepherd gave Edgar in charge for committing murder. Edgar refused to open his door or admit the police, and when they proceeded to burst open the door, he savagely assaulted the leading policeman, named Jones, with a loaded cane. After the second blow, Jones drew his revolver and shot Edgar. Foster never recovered from the effects of the assault, and died in a week or two. The policeman was tried for manslaughter; the jury unanimously brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide, and the judge concurred with the jury. This was the "brutal murder of Edgar" for which Mr. Chamberlain wanted compensation from the Transvaal Government, and which proved how very badly that country was governed.

From the time of the parliamentary inquiry regarding the Jameson Raid, Mr. Chamberlain was constantly complaining about the acts of the Transvaal Government, their legislation regarding undesirable aliens, the dynamite monopoly, the press law, their signing the Geneva Convention, their not submitting treaties to him before they were completed. All these and other things were breaches of the Convention. The Transvaal Government held that they had in all the cases in question acted within their rights, and proposed that all questions in dispute should be referred to arbitration. In his reply in 1897, Mr. Chamberlain refused to submit to arbitration, on the ground that the Republic was a subject state, and that the preamble of the 1881 Convention still existed. This view originated with a smart solicitor in Johannesburg, who, looking at the treaty only, and without knowing anything of the correspondence, contended that as it specified that the articles only were replaced the preamble still remained. Upon this construction he held that British subjects could be both citizens of the Republic and subjects of the Queen. A despatch of Lord Ripon's in 1894 settled that question, but Mr. Chamberlain now urged this contention to prevent the matters at issue being settled by arbitration.

The Transvaal had a single Chamber only till 1891, when a new constitution was adopted, dividing the legislative power between a First and Second Volksraad, but giving the greater power to the first. Any alien after two years' residence could naturalize and have the right to vote for the Second Chamber, as well as for the magistrates and for other local officials, but he had to be in the country for fourteen years before he could vote for the First Volksraad and for the President. Early in 1899, President Krüger proposed to reduce

the period from fourteen years to nine, and in May he met the High Commissioner at Bloemfontein, when that gentleman urged that all aliens should have every electoral right in five years. The President thought five years too soon, but proposed to reduce the period to seven years, if the British Government would agree to have the questions at issue between the two governments determined by arbitration. The British would not consent to this course, and the Bloemfontein Conference proved abortive.

In July, the Volksraad passed the bill conferring the franchise for the Second Chamber in two years and for the First Chamber five years afterward, or electoral rights for both Chambers in seven years; and the law was made retrospective, so that all who had been seven years in the country could be fully enfranchised. Mr. Chamberlain desired that a joint commission should be appointed representing both governments to see if this new law would give a fair representation to the alien population. The Transvaal pointed out that as the aliens had six months under the law to determine whether or not they would become citizens of the Republic, till such time had elapsed it could not know the number of persons who would become citizens or where they would be.

But the Transvaal further proposed that if the British would drop the claim of suzerainty, would not make this a precedent for interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic, and would allow all matters in dispute to be settled by arbitration, it would still further amend the law in order that the franchise for both Raads could be got in five years, with a vote for President, and one-fourth of all the seats in both Raads for the gold fields. This proposal was refused by the British Government, although Mr. Chamberlain asserted in the House of Commons that he intended to send an acceptance or a qualified acceptance. Yet, a couple of days before sending the despatch he made a threatening speech at Birmingham, using very irritating and provocative phrases regarding the President and his Government. On receiving this despatch the Transvaal agreed to the British proposal for a joint commission. But now Mr. Chamberlain refused to carry out his own proposal, and demanded in a threatening despatch that the Transvaal Government should carry out the internal legislation he had asked them to do, or he would propose still further drastic measures.

During this correspondence the British troops in South Africa were constantly being increased, and officers were sent out to organ-



ize irregular forces. The troops were massed on the borders of the Free State and the Transvaal. The President of the Free State pointed out the bad effect this was having on the Boers, and offered his good offices to bring about an arrangement between the two Governments, but wanted especially to know what the British demands were. The High Commissioner sent only short abstracts of these communications to England ; and the British Cabinet never gave the Free State President the information he desired as to their policy, but continued their preparations for war. At last they called out the reserves and summoned Parliament to meet for the purpose of voting the money. Two days after this act the Transvaal sent an ultimatum demanding that all the questions should be settled by arbitration, that the troops threatening them on their borders should be withdrawn, and that no more troops should be landed in South Africa. The British refused, and war was begun by the two Republics invading Natal. The Boers were determined not to be caught like rats in a hole. Remembering the Jameson Raid, they expected another attack on their independence, and they determined to strike a good blow for their national existence. If their nationality was to be destroyed, it would be, as President Krüger put it, at a price that would stagger humanity.

The British are now carrying on their fourth Boer war, and with what result so far is known ; but the British are forty millions and the Boers are less than a quarter of a million, and ultimately, unless there are foreign complications, numbers and weight will prevail. When military supremacy has been established, the political settlement will test the ability and the wisdom of the British statesmen. The Afrikanders are not a dying race ; the 30,000 of 1814 are now nearly 500,000, and any settlement not in accordance with their ideas of justice will not be of a permanent character. To turn these Republics into Crown colonies will be difficult ; and to have thousands of sullen, hostile subjects who will only wait till the British are in difficulties elsewhere in order to strike again for their national life is not a condition of things that will strengthen the British Empire.

When the British recognize that the Afrikanders are a nation, and respect their rights as they respect those of the American Republic, then, but not till then, will the South African problem be solved, and that goodwill and friendly feeling between Briton and Boer, so necessary for the peace and prosperity of South Africa, be restored.

G. B. CLARK.

## UNCLE SAM'S LEGACY OF SLAVES.

A GENIAL French critic of American manners has said that no American can see a condition of every-day life in dissonance with what Carlyle calls the eternal fitness of things without an impulse to reform it ; never, by chance, doubting his ability to do so. Some such impulse has urged many of us to discuss the future of the slaves who have fallen by legacy, as it were, along with other fixtures of the Philippine Islands, into the legal control of the United States. Some feel that it is impossible to treat with the Sultan of Sulu, or to assume sovereignty over the Moros, or in any way to accept these Mussulmans as Americans *in esse* or *in posse*, without instantly freeing their slaves. Others say that slavery in the Philippines has a quality of harmlessness which calls for no urgent remedy, if it does not let us ignore it altogether.

Few would rest content were the United States to sully its fame as the champion of freedom by allowing any form of the slave trade within its possessions ; but there is a difference between stopping the slave trade among the Moros and giving freedom to slaves now in the hands of the Moros. The question of our duty in the latter is the one touched by the alleged benign quality of the slavery in which these men and women are held. Our information upon the subject is vague. We have been asked to accept ready-made opinions about the harmlessness of the Moro form of slavery, without any evidence, except the universal testimony of Mussulmans who ought to know, but are interested parties. It is needless, however, for us to accept the judgment of others while we can have access to many details in regard to the question, and can discover its relation to other questions in those little known regions. A little effort in gathering facts will help us to arrive at a just and wise solution of the problem.

With Mohammedans the general principles of slavery are everywhere the same ; being clearly set forth in the sacred law of Islam. By looking, then, at the application of these principles in better known Mohammedan countries, we may infer the quality of the slavery existing among the brevet Americans of the Sulu Islands.



Suppose, for instance, that we admit the duty—dropped upon our shoulders like a prophet's mantle from the clouds—of reforming the Moros by suppressing slavery among them. We might, indeed, end the business at once by declaring the Moro slaves free, after the fashion of President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation, were it not that such a proclamation has never moved Mohammedan slaveholders elsewhere. Under pressure from Europe the slave trade has been prohibited by Mohammedan rulers in Egypt and in Turkey. But Orientals have solved the problem of eating their cake and having it too. They are past masters in the art of yielding a point for the sake of interest, and, at the same time, for the sake of interest in some other direction, managing that all shall be as before. Notwithstanding the abolition of the slave trade in those regions slaves are daily sold in Constantinople and in Cairo, while hardly a passenger steamer plies between ports on the Eastern Mediterranean without aiding in the transportation of slaves. The slaves are simply registered upon the books as the "family" of the dealer, and thus inquiry is silenced. Lack of language and the silly dread of Europeans with which the dealers fill their minds keep the slaves themselves from complaining during the journey.

Several reasons unite to make edicts abolishing the slave trade seem like waste paper to the common, every-day Muslim. Such edicts are of human enactment, while slavery is defended by Divine precept. The anomaly, seen in some Mohammedan countries, of two codes of law and two classes of courts, side by side, is due to the needs of a considerable non-Mohammedan population, which naturally will not ascribe Divine authority to Muslim law. Police and criminal cases in general, and private causes concerning Mohammedans, except those relating to landed property and inheritances, are judged in the civil courts. Questions pertaining to landed property, to inheritances, to chattel mortgages, and to relations between Muslims are judged in the courts of Canon law. All matters respecting the treatment and the rights of slaves fall naturally into the latter category. This curious system originated with Sultan Suleiman the Great, of Turkey, in the sixteenth century, and is found in all Mohammedan lands then included in the Turkish empire. In order to save the conscience of the devout Mohammedan the civil law is fortified by the "Mejele," an abstract of the sacred law made especially for the guidance of judges of civil courts. But the two jurisdictions often clash, and in such cases the Canon law overrides the civil code.

I once saw a slave-woman leap from a steamer in mid-Bosphorus, at Constantinople. She had lived fifteen years with her master ; but he had sold her to another man, and she objected to the transfer, preferring to drown herself. The steamer was stopped, and the woman was rescued and carried to the police station. There the whole story came out, and the woman was immediately set free. The case seemed to be a vindication of the proclamation against the slave trade, until one learned that this proclamation was not even remembered by the authorities. The woman was freed under a provision of the sacred law which makes the manumission of the woman the penalty to be suffered by a slave-owner who sells the mother of his child.

The same difficulty arises in the case of fugitive slaves. A good Muslim judge cannot do otherwise than help the slave-owner. To restore a fugitive slave to his owner is made by the sacred law a religious duty to every Mussulman who has the strength to hold the runaway. And the law emphasizes the duty by specifying the amount of reward, per day's journey travelled, which is due to the one who thus thrusts a slave back into slavery. Hence, although the edict makes the slave-owner a criminal, the courts see nothing against public morals in hearing charges made by slave-owners against fugitive slaves. A slave-woman is charged with theft : she ran away with the clothes she had on. The judge tells her that for this crime she is liable to one year's imprisonment ; but her owner is magnanimous, and he will not press the charge if she will promise to be good in the future. The best thing that she can do, therefore, is to accept the forgiveness of so kind a master. The result is foreseen.

It has often been noticed that public opinion among Muslims seems to ignore the value of the individual who is below a certain level in society. This curious trait prevents anti-slavery edicts—alien to the atmosphere in which they are promulgated—from carrying weight in the minds of the people. Even the courts seem to lack regard for the rights of a person of a despised and, perhaps, degraded class. A man was brought into court, for instance, on a charge of having sold his two daughters, aged seventeen and nineteen years, respectively, and having then stolen them back. He was punished ; but it was for stealing slaves, not for selling his daughters.

The difficulty about remembering the edict against the slave trade was illustrated a few years ago by a little incident which occurred at Constantinople. One of the Turkish daily papers casually said that the Criminal Court had that day sentenced a man for fraud in trading



a woman for a diamond brooch. A French paper of the city copied this item, heading it, "The Slave Trade." The title was sufficient comment. Now it happens sometimes that Mohammedans unconsciously measure their acts by the standards of moral excellence in vogue in Christian countries. This sensitiveness to European public opinion is sometimes so acute as to lead a man to change his conduct in the street or the market-place, provided he can grasp the precise point criticised. So the next day the prosecutor of the brooch-trade fraud wrote to the French paper defending his complaint to the court. The woman was not worth the money paid ; he had given a valuable brooch on misrepresentation of her value ; and from these facts he hoped the Frenchman would see that there was no reason for the suit to be stigmatized as unusual or unreasonable.

In publishing the letter, the French editor remarked that the trial was a revelation not without interest to his readers, and that the letter was of the same interesting and enlightening nature. Such veiled criticism was still more unintelligible to the Turkish people, and their own papers came to the rescue with a semi-official note, which made known the facts. According to this note the action of the court was perfectly regular and above criticism. The woman for whom the diamond brooch had been given was a confirmed malcontent, who had several times run away. Her owner had not only concealed this fact, but had represented her to the purchaser as docile and thoroughly domesticated. Hence his punishment for fraud was justified by the evidence. Upon this the French editor explained himself. He referred to the lack of feeling for the rights of a poor woman to whom slavery was intolerable, but pointed out that the interest of the case lay in its revelation that the slave trade still existed in the city, and hence that the court had ignored the existence of a decree by which that trade had been abolished—a shaft that made the prosecutor and his friends realize how an excuse sometimes reveals the fault, and wish that they had kept their mouths shut.

Since in Mohammedan countries such causes generally nullify edicts and proclamations against a usage fortified by antiquity and sanctified by religious approval, there is no ground to suppose that the result would be different among the Moros. Any proclamation of our civil authorities against the divinely ordained customs of the Sulu Islands would be like a papal Bull against a comet—the one as futile as the other, since no possible point of contact can be attained.

Now if the Moros thus refuse to yield to the spirit of the age, the

average American citizen will be apt to clench his teeth and say, "Then we will force them to obey." Just views of the rights of man have broken up the basis of slavery by exploding the theory that the victor in war has a right to dispose of the life of the vanquished. Slavery has thus lost its initial *raison d'être*, and it would be monstrous to allow a petty group of antediluvians to disregard the fact that the world moves. But with Mohammedans slavery has not yet lost the support of its origin. If we argue that it has been deprived of moral support, we may meet the difficulty of the father who was expatiating on moral suasion in dealing with children. "My first boys," said he, "I raised with a shingle. But," he continued, pointing to a ten-year-old prodigy on the other side of the room, "that boy I hain't never licked once." The speech was effective until the small boy added, "And yer darsen't, nuther." The Moros will simply resist our interference in their domestic affairs.

It would be a mistake, however, to ascribe such action on the part of the Moros to the assurance peculiar to immaturity, or solely to the antiquity of the customs of Asia and the inertia of her people. Resistance on the part of the Moros will rest upon logically organized grounds. For wherever it is found that Asiatic customs remain obstinately insoluble in the presence of the strong solvent of contact with Western civilization, we may be pretty sure that the great prophet of Mecca may be thanked for it. The very circumstances of the origin of Islam may help us to gauge its power to resist change. No one regards, as of modern invention, its general system of political economy, its domineering attitude toward the common people, its delegation of responsibility for them to the leading men or chiefs of families or tribes, and its unwavering ascription of divine inspiration to the chief ruler or king, standing at an immeasurable height above the masses.

The curious details of this system have been noted often in Mohammedan countries. The custom of speaking of the common people as "the foot-herd"; the habit of describing the assumption of individuality by any man among them as "showing the head"; the tendency to resent such independent thought on the Donnybrook Fair principle of "wherever you see a head, hit it"; and the notion of conversion in religion as something akin to the obedience of an unreasoning mass to a command—all these traits are familiar to those who have travelled among Muslims. So, too, is the theory which makes the nation consist of dignitaries of the king's appointment



and of such other leading men as have positions justifying their reception at court, and the application to them, in the language of official ceremonial, of the title "Men of the Nation" (Rejjal). Familiar to travellers in Muslim countries, also, is the custom of repressing evil tendencies among the masses by arresting or otherwise disposing of their leading men. And so, again, is the usage which sustains the ruler or king in absolute and unquestioned supremacy by always mentioning his decrees in court records as "inspired."

It is a long leap from the Sulu Islands of to-day to the priest-kings of Western Asia at the time of Melchizedek. Yet that ancient type of despot, drawing wisdom directly from on high, has ever been the model of Asiatic sovereigns, and, in degree, of minor chiefs also. The ancient political economy of Asia, too, did not stop to analyze the mass of common people, but rated them as a herd. The cheapness of the unit of population is seen from the ancient records which dispose of whole tribes by the name of one man, as if he were the only one of the lot worth noticing. Such leading men, or chiefs, were the only ones held in mind as the nation; and the individuals of the general herd gained what value they had from their relations with the great men who could stand before the King. The theory of such a system, if it did not originate, at least corresponded with that of the Greeks as expounded by Aristotle when referring to the outside barbarians: "To us belongs dominion over the barbarians because we have the understanding to rule; they, the body only to obey."

Individually the common people were negligible atoms; the idea of rights for them did not exist; they were born to be mere slaves. In fact, the atmosphere of the system was impregnated with slavery. At any moment a king could reduce a great mass of people to servitude, whether within his own dominions or by expeditions victorious abroad, by seizing the leading men, to whom the people looked for brains. By this means whole nations were hurled into desolate corners of the continent when an autocrat took a whim to people such wastes, or were thrust into slavery as soldiers, or as laborers for public works, or as retainers to enhance the state of men whom the king "delighted to honor." Not much loss was there when such unthinking atoms fell into slavery; but there was gain in the stupendous works erected by this means—works whose ruins still astonish the world. Perhaps the grandeur of the results of the system helped to gild the acts of these kings of old with the quality of being above criticism, like the decrees of Providence. At all events the divine

inspiration of the ruler is an essential element of the system, and so is the brainless nonentity of the common man.

How little the Asiatic social system was changed by contact with Rome appears in the changes in the Roman empire which it originated. It had changed but little up to the seventh century of our era. Then, in the Koran, and in the oral comments upon it of the Prophet Mohammed, the system was suddenly embalmed in all essentials and with sufficient detail to prevent its purport being mistaken for all time. These traditional comments of the Prophet settle all questions of interpretation for his followers, and form the basis of the existing body of the Mohammedan sacred law. This law is like the Talmud in structure, and is probably indebted to it—in fact, it might almost serve as an ancient commentary on the Ten Commandments given to Moses, if one could be induced to accept its vagaries of deduction. It is magnificent in scope.

One can form some idea of the wide field of this law by imagining a thousand or so of folio pages upon the duties of man : beginning with belief in God ; proceeding through worship and its rites and liturgies and ceremonial observances, and through all relationships of family life, to limitations of private rights ; dealing with misdemeanors, crimes, foreign relations, commerce and trade, loans, bankruptcies, trusts, contracts and attorneyship, wills and testaments, finally to wind up with detailed arithmetical solutions of problems of inheritance. Embracing the consensus of opinion of learned commentators during the first few centuries of the struggle of Islam for life, it has sought by its keen and hair-splitting logic to settle beforehand every public and private complication—religious, social, moral—possible in the life of man. It comes as a guide to a people without thinking apparatus, and leaves no detail of private life outside of its learned discussions. In the chapter on ceremonial purification, for instance, it goes so far as to say that people who abandon the use of the toothbrush ought to be put to the sword without further inquiry into their moral character. It frankly admits inconsistencies or apparent contradictions, and then wins the sympathy of its readers by arranging in order the various conflicting explanations of the difficulty, disposing of the whole by the pious phrase, “And which of these opinions is right is known to God, the All-Wise, alone.”

Next to the sweep of vision of this body of law one is struck by its sweep of influence. In all of its declarations of right, duty, and prohibition, a sentence cannot be found which is not accompanied by



a quotation from the word of God (according to the Koran), from the oral tradition of the sayings of the Prophet, or by a citation of his own personal practice. This makes each of its dicta religiously obligatory upon all Mohammedans, imparts a majestic catholicity to all its utterances, and furnishes to all a complete and clearly defined scheme of life. It is the pride of Islam that Divine omniscience has foreseen everything, and has provided in advance a groove, unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, in which the acts and social relations of mankind must move until the end of the world. To outgrow the provisions of such a law is impossible ; to think of improving them is blasphemy. The whole of this law is prepared from the standpoint of the divinely inspired Asiatic despot, and is addressed to men whom it becomes to be fraternal in relations with one another, and paternal in kindness toward a great mass of subordinates.

As individuals, the common people are so completely lost to view that in Arabic or Turkish or Persian the only word which can be used to express the idea of a republic means "mob-government," and is the one commonly used in speaking of the United States. By defining in almost every chapter rights which slaves have not, the law shows some rights which pertain to common people who are not slaves. But at the same time it nullifies any theory which does not contemplate slavery, or which may ascribe to slaves an inherent right to be free. In short, the ancient usages of Mesopotamia rest upon the shoulders of Mohammedans everywhere as a divine revelation to the race in regard to the line of seeking the supreme Good. The antiquity of this social system may give color among Muslims to the belief that it is the divinely appointed order of human affairs. At all events, having been once published to the world as of divine origin, it cannot be changed, or taken from its position as the ideal which men should strive to reach, without setting aside the prophet who published it. Cunningly devised casuistry can do almost anything ; but it cannot in the long run circumvent the purpose of a book like the Koran, respecting which the only question for doubt or discussion is whether it has been eternally coexistent with God, or whether, like other beautiful things of the earth, it is, in its present literary form, one of God's works of creation.

The almost impregnable position of slavery established behind these legal defences needs not to be emphasized. But the value of the institution has also been impressed upon the people by all history. Leaving out of account the powerful support, already referred to,

which is given to slavery by the harem method of family life, it has always been regarded as one of the foundation-stones of national power, even as it was of the power of the ancient kings of Assyria and Persia. The command of the sacred law to enslave the families of non-Mohammedan enemies—the wives and children and such of the men as might be spared for the sake of useful work—gave to Islam, in the Janissaries of Turkey and the Mamelukes of Egypt, the finest soldiers it has ever possessed. In the brightest days of these celebrated corps each one of the soldiers represented a broken heart among the enemies of Islam, since every one was a slave-child, born an enemy of the state which his right arm helped to its triumphs. Even in the time of Decatur and Lord Exmouth, in the first quarter of the present century, this same divine institution made slave-hunters from Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers the terror of travellers on the Mediterranean. The story of Neufeld and of Slatin Pasha, and of their fellow-sufferers at Omdurman, as well as the bloody records of the Arab slave-hunters of Central Africa, prove that lack of opportunity and not change of time-honored principles gives Europeans to-day immunity from a similar reign of terror.

Our arguments on the injustice of slavery or our proofs of its ruinous effects upon the people who maintain it cannot even be heard by Mohammedans. We may by force stop slave-raiding in Sulu ; and the Moros will admit that we have the right to do so, as we have the right to stop other forms of war, if we have the power. But any attempt to release by force, from the houses of the people, slaves whom these Mohammedans have obtained in regular conformity to their religious law, and who form part of the family life which that law has consecrated, would be an attack upon the Mohammedan religion itself, to be resisted with the fiercest wrath of fanaticism by a general appeal to arms, whether made in Central Africa, in Turkey, or in the Sulu Islands.

Clearly, then, a large army will be needed if we seek to coerce the Moros into freeing the slaves now in their hands. But some who have had dealings with the Moros say that all this anxiety to clear ourselves from reproach is needless. Mohammedan slavery is not slavery as we understand it. Much can be said in favor of this opinion. Glimpses of slavery in Mohammedan lands are far from repellent. I once asked a Turkish friend with whom I was walking to point out to me some specimens of slaves in the crowd on the streets. We met a party of veiled Turkish women. Walking behind them was a girl of ten,



plainly but comfortably dressed, and carrying a bundle wrapped in an embroidered cloth. The bundle was so large that the slender little arms could hardly encircle it, and there was a sense of relief when the ladies hailed a cab, and entered it—little girl, big bundle, and all. “That little girl is a slave,” said my friend. “It is the cheapest way of getting help for the house. She is treated almost like a daughter ; does what work she can about the house ; carries parcels in the street ; runs errands to the baker and the grocer ; and goes to school when she has nothing else to do. Her work pays for her keep ; and when she has grown there is sure to be some one willing to buy her.” The lot of that little slave was certainly better than that of many a child of the slums in our cities.

A carriage came whirling by, drawn by a pair of noble horses, and with two servants riding on horseback behind. It stopped a little in front of us. The coachman leaped to the ground, and the servants hastily dismounted, one of them opening the door of the carriage. A negro stepped out and passed into a shop, profoundly saluted by passers in the street as well as by the three servants. He was black as ebony, with very high cheek-bones, very small eyes, and very thick lips. But he was tall, and held his head like a field marshal. “That man is a slave,” said my friend. “Which one ?” I asked, looking from one to the other of the three servants. “Why, the negro who came in the carriage,” said my friend ; “these fellows are his servants, but he himself belongs to some very high personage, and has charge of the women : probably he is chief of the slaves in some very great house.” One cannot find much to pity in the lot of a slave who rides about in his coach.

A little farther on we were crowded to the wall of the ill-paved, narrow street by another carriage, occupied by three Turkish ladies. Their faces were covered by the thin white “yashmak,” now used on full-dress occasions only. The one who sat alone on the back seat might have been a Scotch lassie, so fair was her hair. Diamonds flashed from some ornament adjusted among the pretty tangles. Her eyes were blue as the placid Bosphorus ; her complexion was like alabaster ; and on her well-gloved hands diamond rings were conspicuously placed. After the carriage had left us more space, my friend remarked : “Those three women are all probably slaves. The one behind is somebody’s favorite, and the two in front are her maids. And here is another slave,” he added, nodding with a smile toward a wrinkled old negress dressed in faded clothing and wearing a white

veil thrown loosely over her head. She sat on a bit of carpet spread by the wayside, and offered for sale what seemed to be molasses-candy arranged round the sides of a small flat basket. "She is too old to be of further use, and she has hired herself from her master. She is glad to pay him a dollar or two a month for the sake of being free from his control, and he is glad to be rid of her." This slave, too, poor old wreck of a gilded youth as she was, seemed content with her lot. At least she could breathe out in peace the remaining years of her life.

These are types of Mohammedan slavery ; and such a type also was the woman who leaped into the sea rather than leave for a stranger the man whom perhaps she loved. The experience of these slaves may be duplicated in any Mohammedan country, and even among the Moros, after making allowance for peculiarities of local usage. So far as they go they illustrate the character of the Mohammedan precepts relating to the treatment of slaves.

The basic principle of these precepts I heard from a preacher in a Mohammedan mosque. He was a venerable gentleman in long robes and a white turban, seated cross-legged on a thick cushion in a kind of long-legged arm-chair, as he discoursed upon four capital sins. He explained that these sins were of a class which could not be expiated by alms or other good deeds, but must be punished by torment in hell for a time proportionate to the offence. The old man would have won the hearty allegiance of many æsthetic souls in this country when he stated that two of these most heinous sins were the cutting of forest trees and the blasting of virgin rock. "For either practice destroys forms which God has created and declared to be good."

Another capital sin was the slaughter of animals. The preacher's ideas dimly suggested some ancient solution of the problem of Israel's sin after Saul's victory at Michmash ; for he said that slaughter in sacrifice of animals required for food is the method of escape from sin while providing meat for the household. The fourth of the good old man's capital sins was the purchase and sale of human beings ! His denunciation of this awful crime, and his fury in picturing the labors of demons in the stoke-holes of Gehenna to prepare punishment adequate for it, were beyond belief. His words would have gladdened the heart of the most ardent abolitionist, until, by bringing casuistry to the help of the distressed consciences of his hearers, he reminded one of the fact that all Oriental utterances have two sides. For he added : "To possess slaves by the strength of the right arm, in war



for the faith, or by lawful inheritance, does not make a servant of God guilty of this crime. Nor is the purchase of slaves wrong where the intention is to receive them into the family and treat them with kindness." It was some other than the Muslim slave trade which the preacher had been denouncing.

To treat the slave as a member of the family is the central idea of the law which tells the master his duty to his slave. It is an amelioration ; for it implies shelter and sufficient food and clothing. The weakness of the theory appears when it is found to be modified by the master's absolute property right in his slave. The master is supreme judge, so far as the slave is concerned ; and he may enforce his will. The limitation which the law puts upon the flogging of slaves refers to the degree to which a slave may be stripped in order to make the lash effective. But it also advises the master to let the pain of one flogging pass before he administers another. The powers which the law gives to the master require for their just exercise the rarest qualities of manliness. For ourselves, we admit the justice of Portia's remark : " I can easier teach twenty what were good to be done than to be one of twenty to follow mine own teaching." What result, then, can we expect from a Moro tribesman ? For the rest, the law is careful to state that the slave has no civil rights : he cannot hold property, inherit, travel or marry without permission, or testify in court. His children are slaves belonging to the owner of the mother. An injury done to the slave by a third party is injury to the slave's master, who may collect indemnity. But an injury done to a slave by the master, even if it cause death, is no concern of the state, since it is an injury to the man's own property.

On the other hand, all this harshness toward the slave is often tempered by a curious and unexpected tenderness. There is a system of partial manumission, by which a master gives his slave the right to work for himself on payment of a regular rental. Such a contract-slave has all the civil rights necessary to the carrying on of business—such as the right to hold property, travel, etc. While he pays the contract price, the slave may not be punished nor sold by his master. But on his failure to pay the rental he returns to his former state and all his property passes to his master. Full manumission is effected by the recital of any one of several prescribed formulæ, even when the master denies any intention to set his slave free. One of these kindly interventions of the law occurs when the master gets drunk. If, while in that state, he says to a slave, " You are my father," or

"You are my mother," the slave is free from that moment. Kindliness also appears in some of the provisions respecting slave-women. If the master acknowledges paternity of the child of a slave, the child is free, and the mother acquires civil rights, although remaining a slave. If, however, the master denies paternity, the slave has no redress.

Such, in its essentials, is the Mohammedan view of the rights and duties of slaves. It gives us the best aspect of the form of slavery with which we have to deal in the Sulu Islands. Full weight should be given to the kindly provisions by which the law cumbrously seeks to lighten the burden of the slave without laying too much self-restraint upon the master. Slaves among the Moros are not quite of the Eliza and Uncle Tom type, and their masters may not be Legrees. Yet the kindness of the law is the forced kindness of logical deduction made in a period before the finer feelings of humanity had found development. The natural affections of slaves it cannot appreciate; for their moral sufferings it has no sympathy; and, after all, it is only an ideal, the interpretation of which we must seek in real life.

The harem system generally assures fairly good treatment to those who take care of the women. In a number of cases other men-slaves, too, have reached position and wealth through their slavery. Turkish history mentions many Christian slaves who accepted Mohammedanism and brought real talent to the service of the country as government officials or as generals in the army. Perhaps some may still insist that Mohammedan slavery does not intolerably maltreat men. But its heartless disregard of the most sacred feelings and rights of women cannot thus be passed over. The case of such a little girl as was mentioned above illustrates this side of the question. Such a child is trained as far as possible in accomplishments, and is given care such as perhaps she could not have had in her own home. She becomes really attached to the family; the house is a new home to her. Then, when she is sixteen or seventeen years old, her master changes his attitude, deeming himself bound to her by no bond of sympathy in spite of the long years of close association and mutual service. Torn from the midst of the innocent ambitions and day-dreams of her girlhood, the maiden is sold into slavery.

A Muslim slave-dealer himself told me, with many a chuckle of delight, how he cleared £1,000 net by inducing a disreputable purveyor to decoy or abduct from Austria two girls, whom he carried to India, and sold, under the noses of the English officials, to the ruler of one of the tributary states. He was rather proud, on the whole, of



having a religious law that permits such performances. There is much in the law to which Muslims point with pride as showing respect for woman, and an intent to care for her under all circumstances, especially in regard to the rights which she gains through motherhood. But when it deals with her choice of relations in connection with the slave system, it firmly denies her all rights.

Perhaps it is not too much to suggest the hearing of the testimony of the slaves themselves as to the working of this law. One woman whom I questioned took a curious view of the matter. "Ah," she said, "what a beautiful place I used to live in when I was a girl! Trees and flowers and brooks and birds such as you do not see here! But you have no idea of the fright continually caused us by slave-catchers. I could not so much as go to the spring for water unless mother and I both climbed to look all around for a long time before. Then on the way I would go doubled up, lest my head should show above the bushes. And if a leaf rustled or a twig cracked, I would jump just like a deer, and run away, all doubled up. It was hard to lose in one day everybody that I knew. But, after all, it is better to have it over soon. It is better to die once and be done with it, than to die a thousand times by escaping at the last moment and beginning all over again."

The slave merchant I have already mentioned had his regular route from Tripoli, in Africa, to Timbuctoo. In one of our conversations he admitted that the slaves do not like the business. "But," he added, "they get used to it. Besides, what else can I do? Slaves are the only money down there. I take Manchester goods to those people and they have got to pay me. There is no coin, and they give me slaves instead. A slave is a sort of draft on Constantinople or Tripoli or Cairo. I present the draft and get the money which the man in Wadai owes me." While we were talking a bright slave-boy of twelve, plump, well-dressed, and contented, but unable to understand our conversation, was standing by his master. He had, by the way, just been sold to a Turk for fifty pounds, and was about to be delivered over. The slave merchant was describing to me the peculiarities of the various towns and districts along his route, as the names were read to him from a map. As I read the name "Bornu," the black boy's face changed and he covered his face sobbing. The mere mention of the name of his home, without comprehension of what was being said, made the poor child's heart swell as if it would burst. The master tried to soothe the boy, but with small success.

An incident in Prof. Worcester's travels in the Philippines shows the feelings of some of the slaves there toward their treatment by Moros. In a night adventure of a dangerous character in the island of Tawi Tawi, he was able to secure help from the inhabitants, because they were escaped slaves of the Moros, and would do anything to be revenged upon their former masters. Such hard feelings on the part of those who have experienced the practical side of the benign system we have examined are surprising. But we have many statements from Europeans who have had experience of the system elsewhere, formerly among the Algerians, for instance, and latterly among the dervishes of the Soudan.

From both precept and practice we have a sufficiently clear idea of the quality of the slavery with which we have to deal in the Sulu Islands. Even among the savage tribesmen there, it probably has alleviations which were not found in the slave system now purged out of Christendom. Yet it is at best a slightly modified form of a well-known wrong too criminal to be ignored. The problem of dealing with it is perplexing, because the system is too closely linked with the life of the people to be suppressed by edict, and too deeply rooted in the Mohammedan religion to be overthrown by force, unless we are willing to enter upon a religious war. The course to be adopted by the United States toward Moro slavery is perhaps the gravest of the questions raised by our purchase of the Sulu Islands.

As a discussion of this question of policy is not within the scope of this article, I shall conclude with a suggestion. The Moros are a people apart, not as yet amenable to influences which will weigh with other inhabitants of the Philippines. Let them be treated as such. Let the Sulu Islands be classed in the same category as our Indian reservations, to be surrounded by a wall of steel for the safety of neighboring peoples, but to be managed internally by their own chiefs under existing laws and usages. Such a course would accord with the views of General Bates, with the policy of the Spaniards, and especially with the expectations of the Moros themselves. But—and this is important if our consciences are not to be burdened by the acts of these people—until some such system of moral quarantine has educated them to new ideas of justice and equity, let not these tribes be employed (as possibly they have been used in Mindanao) to apply their peculiar methods to the subjugation of insurgents.

HENRY O. DWIGHT.



## JOHN RUSKIN.

It is not often that a man of genius sets out to move the world under so heavy a handicap as did Ruskin. The man who would guide the world without being of it, without sharing the common aims of his fellows and making his appeal to their common feeling, needs a giant's strength, and giants have broken their strength in the trial. Ruskin, indeed, was like a man born out of due time, and we may not unfairly call him an anachronism. He brought into the nineteenth century the temper and aspirations of the thirteenth. Born into the atmosphere of British Philistinism and educated in its habits and precepts, he had the spirit of a Dominican brother. If he had been born in the thirteenth century he might have joyfully taken the vows of poverty and renunciation, and would have stirred the hearts and consciences of men—and scourged them, too—with the fiery energy of the Dominicans. Ruskin was a born preacher, with much of the temper of the great Florentine, Savonarola, and with his incapacity for compromise. Of his nineteenth-century Oxford education he could not get rid, so he used it to good purpose ; but his sympathies were with the past. He was so ready to engraft that past on the present that when, in his later life, he gave himself over to social reform and established his St. George's Guild, it was avowedly modelled on the social condition of Florence in the fourteenth century. He was, as he tells us in "*Praeterita*," a violent Tory, a staunch believer in kings and in a social hierarchy. What was such a man to do in this century of democracy, of scepticism, of revolt against authority, of contempt for the past ? He was pious ; and the world had grown irreverent : he was an idealist ; and the world, become practical as never before, scoffed at the ideal : he cared nothing for riches ; and found the world given over to the worship of money. He despised politics, hated engineering, detested railways and telegraphs, and great cities with their hurry and bustle, loved jealously the quiet solitude of lakes and mountains, and was in most ways at war with the preferences, aims, and pleasures of modern life.

Ruskin was profoundly religious. His natural gift for exhortation

announced itself when, as a child, he used to preach over the sofa cushions at his mother's friends. It had been the dear desire of his parents to bring him up for the Church ; and his father was probably right when he said, with tears in his ambitious eyes, " He would have been a bishop." How successful a bishop he would have made is a question ; for a bishop is an administrator, and one who does not thrive in hot water. If eloquent preaching would have made an able bishop, Ruskin would have done it ; but we can see that his own instinct decided the matter for him better than parental ambition. With a head swarming with ideas and possessed of an eager impulse to exhortation, preach he must. His strong religious instinct was joined to an equally strong instinct for art. He must preach either religion illustrated by art, or art informed by religion ; and by a natural gravitation he turned to the latter.

An obstacle to Ruskin's complete success in his work, and to the world's just appreciation of it, I think, was the complexity of his own powers. That his intellectual endowment was great is recognized: it was wider, I suspect, than is commonly known, and strong in both reasoning and perceptive powers. His reasoning, however, was deductive : for the processes of induction he had no aptitude. If he had lived in the time of the Schoolmen, he might have taken delight in dialectic ; for he could reason keenly from premise to conclusion, and from one conclusion to another ; but the commonplace occupation of putting two and two together did not suit him. The choice of his premises was guided more by instinct than by induction, and he reasoned from them remorselessly. His instincts were true, and his perceptions keen—so keen that what his mind saw seemed to come to him by instantaneous illumination : when he had caught his impression, it was so clear that his conviction of it was nearly impregnable, and he followed it to its farthest consequence without misgiving. Now and then, when he came back to the subject later, a new light would flash on him and he would see it in a fresh aspect. Then he was ready to change his conviction, to urge the new and deduce new consequences from it with the same assurance and the same relentless sequence as before. When it came to practical application, he was apt to forget the necessity of accommodating the range of one principle to that of its neighbors : the principle he was advocating had a right of way, and he would ride it rough-shod over any other that stood in his course. Experience did not teach him caution, though it did lead him to speak in his later writings with frank disrespect of



some of the opinions of his earlier, and to declare that “mostly, matters of consequence are three-sided or four-sided, or polygonal ; and the trotting round a polygon is severe work for people any way stiff in their opinions.”

Ruskin has been accused of narrowness by people who perhaps have not taken the pains to estimate him fully. Narrow he certainly was not, though incomplete and more or less one-sided, like all men. The very complexity and rivalry of his powers, as much as their fullness, made it as difficult for his critics to estimate them fairly as for himself to harmonize them. From his mother he seems to have inherited with his religious feeling a passion for precision and a masterful temper ; from his father, an instinct for art and literature, a fastidious, imaginative, and sensitive nature ; from both, a good share of pride, an unswerving uprightness, and an irrepressible habit of truth-telling. But both failed to transmit the self-restraint and self-discipline characteristic of them, which might have made Ruskin's powers work together, and spared him a great part of the conflict and worry that wore out his life. In a letter to Rossetti, lately published, he describes himself thus : “I am very self-indulgent, very proud, very obstinate, and *very* resentful ; on the other side, I am very upright—nearly as just as I suppose it is possible for a man to be in this world—exceedingly fond of making other people happy, and devoutly reverent to all true mental or moral power.” Very honest this, and just to himself ; but it might have been safer to say, “nearly as just as . . . is possible” to a man who is impetuous, hasty, combative, gifted with a biting tongue, and, withal, very proud, very obstinate, and very resentful.

It may have been the masterful temper as well as intense conviction that made him formulate his conclusions as eternal laws, and back them, like a prophet, with the divine command. Whenever his feeling was strongly excited, the positiveness of inspiration came over him. In his “Seven Lamps of Architecture” he says that the French Flamboyant style “would have lasted till now, if it had not taken to telling lies.” To say this in the face of every indication of human experience could have been warranted only by that intimate knowledge of the divine counsels which the Hebrew prophets claimed. He hated the Greek fret, calling it a vile concatenation of straight lines, for the simple reason that it displeased his eye, which delighted in curves. With his fondness for reasoned statement, however, he would have liked to prove it bad, and casting about for its prototype he

could find it only in certain crystalline aspects of bismuth. He has then, he says, "convicted the Greek fret of ugliness, because it has no precedent to allege for its arrangement but an artificial [*i.e.*, crystallized] form of a rare metal"; for his fundamental test is that "whatever is in architecture fair or beautiful is imitated from natural forms."

In "Praeterita" Ruskin quotes a remark by Mazzini that he, Ruskin, had the most analytical mind in Europe. An analytical mind he had—keenly analytical—but there were two difficulties in his way. First, he was inclined to apply his analysis to subjects in which such close analysis was unprofitable or, at least, superfluous, except for purely metaphysical study, whereas his aim was always didactic and practical. Secondly, his impassioned temper and his preoccupations or prejudices were apt to warp his mind away from its analysis and vitiate its conclusion. It must be said that in abstract discussion his reasoning is very direct and his statement singularly clear. But the balance of his complicated mental machinery was too sensitive for the controversies to which he gave a great part of his life. Even when he was undisturbed by outside contact he was subject to gusts of feeling—of passion, even—which deranged his reasoning and deformed its product as wind breaks up forming ice. Often he would go on arguing sedately enough till a wave of emotion broke over his mind, when he would fling in some glowing adjective or metaphor that begged the question, implying an added premise that might be true or not, but was unsupported except by his underlying animus and really deflected his argument. Hence it follows that his writing is less valuable for its carefully deduced conclusions than for a rare intuitive perception and elevated insight, laying open to him truths that escaped the eyes of other writers, and giving to his teaching in some sort the character of a revelation. But these lapses laid him open to opponents who did not believe in inspiration and who were keen to see flaws in his reasoning.

With these varied gifts a wide choice of careers was open to Ruskin. There were, he himself tells us, four things that he might have become—a poet, an engraver, an architect, or, to use his own words, the first geologist of his time in Europe. We may safely believe, however, that when he undertook the regeneration of art he moved in the line in which his powers worked most freely, if not in the line of least resistance. The unifying influence which pervaded all his view of life and nature was his belief in what it is now a habit to call the divine immanence, a conception which bears as much on the artis-



tic side of life as on the religious, though it has its nearest contact in religion. Religious, scientific, artistic aspects of nature were to him manifestations of one being : their facts and the laws he based on them were of equal authority. Obedience to this authority, reverence, love of order, love of the manifestations of power, love of truth, beauty—all these informed his perceptions and shaped the doctrine that he drew from them. Innate refinement, revolt from things mean, sordid, unclean, ignoble, and ugly—these gave keenness and discrimination to his instincts ; and the intensity of his nature, the sensitiveness of his feeling, gave them force and fineness.

There is no need to dwell here on Ruskin's literary power. The world recognizes him as a master of style ; and his fervid eloquence has won thousands of disciples who, perhaps, would not have given much attention to his doctrines in the mouth of a more prosaic preacher. In his later years he lamented this brilliant and persuasive utterance, which, as he recognized, absorbed the attention that he would have claimed for the body of his teaching. " All my life," he said in a conversation which Mr. Spielmann quotes, " I have been talking to the people, and they have listened, not to what I said, but to how I say it ; they have cared, not for the matter, but only for the manner of my words." Perhaps it is not strange that readers who go to his writings for intellectual pleasure more than for study should be carried away by an eloquence of which the writer himself, it would seem, was often the captive rather than the guide.

Ruskin's opportunity was peculiar. He came at a moment of transition, when the Romantic school of art and literature had nearly spent its inspiration and surfeited its audience, and the inevitable reaction to Naturalism had begun. In English literature Wordsworth went before him ; Tennyson was his contemporary ; so were Dickens and Thackeray, fathers of the Naturalistic novelists. In painting Constable was preparing the way for the new school with a power which carried its influence across the Channel : Turner, too individual to be classed with any school, had already in his earlier period shown what a revolution the close study of nature could work in landscape painting. Naturalism was taking possession of art and literature, as part of that pervading revulsion against all classicism and formalism, and even of human restraint, which showed itself in religion and politics in the guise of free thought and democracy, producing in Europe the universal fermentation that had its climax in the revolution of 1848.

That Ruskin, violent Tory as he called himself, should have taken the revolutionary part in art looks odd at first ; but in him there was a Jacobin as well as a Tory. These brought him to the still stranger contrast of a man who, a devout monarchist and a believer in aristocracy, yet devoted himself at last to what was really socialism. In this contradiction, as in many others, Ruskin resembled his friend Carlyle, whom he admired and professed to follow. Both were alike loyal to the divine authority and order, of which they had nevertheless their several and very individual conceptions ; and both alike were devoted to the welfare of their fellowmen—for whose wisdom neither had any great admiration—and to the joy of instructing them in it. They were equally unruly, and equally out of tune with the traditions and prejudices of the world as they found it. Both were royalist, even aristocratic, in their sympathies ; but Carlyle believed devoutly in the divine right of the strongest, and Ruskin in the divine right of the anointed, which is the kindlier faith, and, on the whole, perhaps the more honorable.

We have seen that Ruskin's naturalism was intimately related to his religion. Here was a point of contact with the first Preraphaelites, who were men of religious sentiment. Some people have thought of him as the founder of Preraphaelism, but there is no warrant for this. Hunt, Millais, and Rossetti breathed in Naturalism as Ruskin did. All the three confess the stimulus and encouragement of his writing, and it was inevitable that he should be drawn to them by sympathy, and should rush to defend them and their principles when he saw them violently attacked on their first appearance in 1849. Yet his relations with the Preraphaelites were transitory. He was too masterful to take long satisfaction in the company of painters who did not bow to his teaching ; and they were too secure in their own ways to accept him as their prophet, or even, as it turned out, to hold together permanently.

It was when Ruskin was a precocious boy of thirteen that his father's partner, Mr. Telford, gave him a copy of Rogers's "Italy" with Turner's illustrations, which took possession of him at first sight, and, he tells us, determined the main tenor of his life. He was only seventeen when, in 1836, a savage attack in "Blackwood" on the pictures of Turner's later manner raised him, as he says, "to the height of black anger," and stirred him to write an answer for publication. The article was diverted by Turner, to whom his father sent it, and never saw the light ; but it became the nucleus of the first volume of



“Modern Painters,” published seven years later. This work is surely a marvellous performance for a man in his early twenties—not only, as he says, for “the skill of language which the public at once felt for a pleasant gift” in him, but for the power of ordering a long-sustained train of thought, for luminousness of exposition, unexampled fertility in illustration, keen insight, unflagging freshness, and dignity of style. “I had in my little pitcher,” he writes in “*Praeterita*,” “vialfuls, as it were, of Wordsworth’s reverence, Shelley’s sensitiveness, Turner’s accuracy, all in one.” The same reverence, sensitiveness, accuracy of vision, and wonderful eloquence pervade the work to the end of the last volume, which was not reached till after seventeen years.

The publication of “Modern Painters” was the great event of Ruskin’s life. The book contains the substance of his teachings up to the time when he gave himself to social and economic theories, into which I shall not try to follow him here. It gives the full measure of his reasoning powers, his insight, his imagination, and his eloquence. If he had not taken the world by storm at the beginning, but had won his way gradually into life, its conflicts, and its applause, he might perhaps have grown less self-confident and more circumspect. As it was, he flung himself headlong into an exciting, exhausting battle, that lasted till his force was spent, the more intoxicating in that it was fought in an arena full of applauding spectators.

The book is really not addressed to the artists who were most concerned with it, nor to the critics, but to the public to whom Ruskin’s instinct as a preacher made it natural for him to appeal. As was to be expected, the painters mostly met it with distrust, hostility, or neglect; the offended critics attacked it with savage wrath or with scorn; but the public applauded and read it with eager delight. It was indeed a great conception, without a forerunner, owing nothing to example or outside influence, worked out in absolute independence on new lines and to elaborate completeness. Begun in defence of Turner, it outgrew its first purpose, becoming an analysis of all the material of landscape painting and the pictorial aspects of nature. It was more than this; it was an attempt to investigate scientifically the laws under which a landscape should be painted, and to proclaim them with the voice of authority. The authority was the authority of nature and of God, he claimed; the voice was that of the evangelist, not of the simple student publishing his discoveries.

In his first object, to rehabilitate the reputation of Turner, which

the critics were damaging, Ruskin undoubtedly succeeded. On the public, to whom he really addressed his message, he made a vivid and lasting impression. He appealed to their religious feeling, to their desire for authoritative teaching, to their love of nature, and to a growing wish for cultivation in art ; and they were not quick to dispute his mission, or to find flaws, of which there were many, in his reasoning and conclusions. Perhaps no man, writing on the subject which he treated in this book, ever got so large an audience or won such great influence with them. Undoubtedly, among cultivated readers throughout England and the United States, it roused a great interest in all the beauty of nature, and indirectly in the study of pictures. Doubtless, too, it has had, directly or indirectly, an influence in inciting many painters, especially the younger ones, to the close study of nature. Its splendid descriptions must open all but perverse eyes to a world of loveliness and majesty. But though it anticipated many achievements of the landscape painters who came after, in its direct appeal to the painters of Ruskin's day it was foreordained to failure.

Ruskin says of himself, somewhere, that he was interested only in things that were near him. Absorbed in his own convictions ; possessed as fully as was Luther or Knox by the spirit of the preacher ; incapable of allowing for the convictions or temper of those who did not agree with him ; gifted with an utterance that could sting and scorch and blister, and which he did not control, he succeeded in accumulating on himself the resentful opposition of the whole tribe of English painters, an opposition which was bitter, scornful, and persistent. To the elder Ruskin, when the first volume of "Modern Painters" had appeared, Prout wrote indulgently : "Had the work been written with the courtesy of Sir Joshua Reynolds's lectures, it would have been a standard work." But courtesy means indulgence, and indulgence to his adversaries Ruskin could not show.

Moreover, Ruskin had not the right vantage ground from which to press his attack. It is the artist's nature to be influenced, not by reasoning, not by authority, but by the power to do better than himself something that he wants to do. An ounce of example is worth more to him than a pound of instruction. One half square yard of canvas showing that Ruskin could do something technically more effective than other men would have carried more weight with the painters than all the wisdom of Plato, the imagination of Shelley, and the eloquence of Ruskin combined. Artists are by nature disinclined to preaching. They have their own convictions, their own



traditions, their own language ; to any one who does not speak to them through these they give little heed. Thus he and they had no common ground to stand on. His ideas were not theirs ; his point of view and eyes were not theirs ; their traditions he scorned.

Since that day, though Naturalism has taken possession of painting, painting has drifted farther and farther from the ideals he proposed to it. The central doctrine of "Modern Painters" is that the beauty of nature is "a witness to the omnipotence of God" ; that the office of the painter is simply to bear testimony to this omnipotence and to efface himself in doing it, so that every painter has a religious mission. "The skill of the artist," he says in his second preface, "and the perfection of his art are never proved until both are forgotten. The artist has done nothing till he has concealed himself." This doctrine, which was a direct challenge to the painters of Ruskin's day, is as directly opposed to the criticism of to-day as anything could be. Naturalism has advanced ; it is the habit to express devotion to the truth of nature ; though there are some painters left who recognize a connection between her and the God who made her. But the fundamental canon of modern criticism is that pictures are interesting in proportion as they show the individuality of the painter. The personal note is the first thing valued, and covers innumerable shortcomings. The subject of the picture is of no account ; the painting of it is everything. Art is for art's sake ; its message is impertinence, or, worse than this, is stupid and tiresome. Ruskin's song is always of beauty in nature ; the modern painter scoffs at beauty, except in the doing. English painters have not yet got so far as this, I believe ; but the French, who are now the leaders, insist on this view, and our own people follow them. It is difficult to think of anything that would have set Ruskin aflame with hotter resentment than this present perversion of the Naturalism which he preached ; but the man who rolls a ball down hill cannot say where it shall strike. Ruskin was an idealist behind his naturalism ; modern painters have no use for the ideal. He was full of imagination ; they want no imaginings. He was a purist ; they poured contempt on purism. So the appearance is that his message has been for the most part wasted on the painters themselves, that its impulse is to be felt chiefly through that power by which all effective human influence in the end acts—the slow-working influence of public enlightenment.

Ruskin's power as an artist has been much overlooked. He was never an exhibitor, never painted pictures, never came on the market.

His admiring readers have been for the most part persons whose technical knowledge has not equipped them for artistic criticism. Few have had a chance to study or even to see his drawings, of which he made an enormous number. The world knows his artistic work only through the illustrations in his books ; and it has been not an uncommon habit to ascribe all the charm of these to the engraver and all the shortcomings to Ruskin. The confident cleverness which French painters glorify under the name of *chic*, and which all painters admire, under one name or another, he scorned. But those who study his drawings intelligently and without prejudice will find that his artistic powers were high. Power of design and invention he entirely disclaimed, though he was very sensitive to it in other artists' work. But he had an unsurpassed sensibility to all the beauty of the visible world, and quite as much in its general aspects as in its details. He had a sureness of eye and precision of hand in drawing which were Pre-raphaelite, and which tempted him often to extraordinary minuteness of detail ; but he had also what the Preraphaelites did not get, a clear apprehension of relation in light and shade, in color, in mass ; and so his work had a breadth and general harmony, the lack of which was the fatal defect in theirs. He had, moreover, this advantage over them, that he was not his own master until his judgment had been formed by the teaching of painters who were the best in their way and time. Copley Fielding, Prout, and Harding were his instructors. From them he naturally learned the attention to massing and breadth of effect which belonged to the older school of English painters, and which, with all his passion for detail and finish, he did not forget. The influence of Turner, to which he afterward yielded, was entirely in harmony with this, and was heightened by the highly imaginative quality, the splendor of light and color, and the intimate knowledge of nature to which Ruskin's temperament eagerly responded.

Prout seems to have inspired or at least to have encouraged his delight in the picturesqueness of architecture. Nobody has excelled the union of picturesque feeling, breadth, and dignity in Prout's drawing of architecture, and Ruskin was his successor in these qualities. Both looked at architecture primarily from a painter's point of view rather than from that of the architect, and Prout looked no farther. To Ruskin the accidental effects of color, of lighting, of age and of weathering appealed more directly than did the architectural idea ; nevertheless, his eye for proportion and his sense for decorative form



made his architectural drawing much truer and finer than Prout's. It will be hard to find better drawings in their kind than some of the large plates which Ruskin prepared to accompany "The Stones of Venice." Perhaps Viollet-Le-Duc's surpass them on the architectural side only, inclining to the architect's point of view as Ruskin's do to the painter's. It would lead me too far to examine here his architectural writing, an outcome of his work in "Modern Painters." It is full of appreciative observation and stimulating thought. Doubtless it had considerable influence in helping on the Gothic revival in England, for which he sounded the *veille* in his stirring Edinburgh lectures. But his study of architecture was scanty, his interest narrow, his view, as I have just said, that of the painter and of the amateur. His eye was busy with its detail, its decoration, and its accidents more than with its essentials. His influence here was brief; the movement which he fostered is gone, like last winter's snow.

It has been a habit to call Ruskin a niggler, but the accusation is singularly unreasonable. His eye was microscopic, but it was also megascopic. A niggler is prodigal of handling, but Ruskin, who would sometimes carry detail to great complexity, liked to get his complexity with economy of handling, and was impatient of the muddling that comes of overworking a drawing. His rapid sketches, and they abounded, were as bare of detail as anybody's, and as directly aimed at the large aspects of nature. In fact, though it sound like a paradox, he had a great deal in common with the modern Impressionist in his power of seizing the broad characteristics of a scene, even its evanescent aspects—its impression, in a word—and of stopping there. But, though his rapid sketches are often loose scrawls, as careless of handling as any can be, he had no sympathy with the vague and unmeaning handling in which the modern Impressionist expresses his most serious thought. His ordinary manner was singularly firm and precise, saved from hardness by its exceeding delicacy and sensitiveness; for hardness he would not endure, and meaningless touches were an offence to him. Like all other artists, in the end he recoiled from the study of detail, and found his interest more and more in abstraction. In an article called "The Black Arts," written in 1887 for "The Magazine of Art," perhaps the last he wrote, I find this passage:

"Indeed, for one thing, all this labor and realistic finishing makes us lose sight of the charm of easily suggestive lines—nay, of the power of lines, properly so called, altogether. . . . No one has pleaded more for finish than I in past time, or oftener, or

perhaps so strongly, asserted the first principle of Leonardo, that a good picture should look like a mirror of the thing itself. But now that everybody can mirror the thing itself—at least the black and white of it . . . I begin to wish for a little less to look at, and would for my own part gladly exchange my tricks of stippling and tinting for the good Doctor's gift of drawing two wire-haired terriers with a wink."

The good Doctor is Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh.

His delight in color was intense. His readers wonder to see how the color of nature possesses him and illuminates his descriptions. Every student of his drawings will see the same influence reflected in them. Like Turner, and like all other ardent colorists, while he was fond of following delicate tones and broken tints, he delighted in full color, in the glow of sunset and the radiant hues of flowers. When a good many of Ruskin's drawings were exhibited in Boston several years ago, a painter—not one of those who give themselves up to color—to whom I said that Ruskin's drawings show great feeling for pure color, answered: "Yes, but it is not hard to get pure color, when you don't try to make it look like nature." It will not do to say that Ruskin did not try to make his color like nature's: yet the painters who most delight in color are not those who come nearest to matching nature's tints. On the contrary, the colorist is driven, by instinct or purpose, to try to imitate, by heightening his scale of hues, the splendor which nature gets by a luminousness that he cannot approach. The system, foreshadowed by Constable and Turner, under which the French landscape-painters have learned to parallel, not match, the effects of nature with a carefully adjusted scheme of values—and which comes, on the whole, nearer to the broad truth of nature than the work of stronger colorists than they—has been developed since Ruskin wrote. Yet no one has set forth more clearly, I think, the proper scaling of values and tones in painting than he did in the fourth volume of "Modern Painters"; and this was new doctrine then. He carried his color into half-tones and shadows as the painters about him did not do. A small sketch of a bunch of leaves and berries in Prof. Norton's collection, evidently made by Ruskin for pupils, bears this characteristic legend: "Keep your red, red, and your brown, brown, and your green, green, for your life."

His painting, or drawing, lay too much out of the path of contemporary painters to interest them, or perhaps to be fairly criticised by them. He never painted in oil; he was not a figure painter; and though his "Aratra Pentelici" is a treatise on Greek sculpture, it shows nothing of the kind of interest in the figure that we look for



in a painter of it. Though he was a pupil of Harding he neglected, as Turner did, the ordinary aspects of landscape, and I have never seen foliage drawn by him except in fragments. His drawings incline to the two extremes of wide views much generalized and bits of detail drawn with minute precision. But whatever he drew—and within these limitations, his range was wide—while it ignored the artifices to which painters were given, their tricks of trade, and their traditions of work, it was full of truth, of refinement, and of an unflagging instinct for natural beauty which we do not see nowadays. It is to be wished that there might be now a tolerably full exhibition of his works. They would, it may be hoped, find more appreciation than they did in his own time. The art of landscape painting has advanced since then in directions which he pointed out.

Ruskin's was an opulent nature, with material in it to have made three men, as men go. He had in him, indeed, much of the spirit of the knight of chivalry, as well as of the monk or the preacher. Truth was his mistress : he was ready with immediate battle for her against all comers or for whomsoever he saw oppressed. He was sensitive as well as pugnacious ; but his own sensitiveness did not teach him indulgence for the sensitiveness of an opponent ; so he was continually making enemies of those with whom he had no personal quarrel, and unexpectedly offending all but the closest of his friends. That Whistler, for being called in print a coxcomb flinging a pot of paint in the public's face, should sue him seemed to surprise him. He called Gladstone an old windbag, and notes, as if it were unexpected, that after this Miss Gladstone would not look at him. "Whenever I attack" [painters], he says in his preface to "Modern Painters," "I give myself far more pain than I can possibly inflict." If this chronicles actual experience, it is not easy to see how he endured so long. The wine of controversy went to his head quickly. Under its influence he would not only make the opponent of his opinions his personal adversary, but he would seize on any controversial weapon that his quick imagination suggested, and back his position with arguments that in a more critical temper, we must think, he would have seen to be unsound.

It is likely that any induration of his sensitiveness would have robbed his character of its chief charm, and his writings of their greatest beauty ; yet for the uses of controversy, to which the greater part of his life was given up, such a case-hardening as most educated Englishmen get at the public schools would have greatly increased his efficiency, and lessened for him the wear and tear of life. But he

was jealously guarded from any such experience. In the seclusion of his home he was, as he tells us, closely convent-bred, and his mental development was left mainly to its own growth.

His intellectual activity was precocious and independent. He preached sermons at four years ; and, feeding on Scott, Byron, and Johnson, he was a poet at nine, an essayist at fourteen. Of social education he had none. He says again : " I was taught no precision nor etiquette of manners. . . Shyness came later, and increased as I grew conscious of the rudeness arising from the want of social discipline, and found it impossible to acquire in advanced life dexterity in any bodily exercise, skill in any pleasing accomplishment, or ease and tact in ordinary behavior." This amounted to much more than a social handicap. In this seclusion he grew up entirely self-reliant, rooted in his convictions, and quite unready for that free giving and taking of opinion which is the necessary schooling of early manhood. Gentle in manner, with a genuine sweetness that won those who did not affront his convictions, free-giving, capable of such considerate kindness as ordinary men do not so much as conceive of, he could not learn to meet people on the ground of indifference, or to be gracious to opposing opinions. The habit grew on him of shutting himself in with friends, disciples, or dependents. In spite of his constant communication with the world through his teaching, of his dependence on it for his audience as well as for its applause, which was dear to him, he held himself aloof from it. He heard its voice as through a telephone, and with that impatience with which we visit the contumacy of an inaccessible listener.

This is a not unnatural attitude, in some ways not unfavorable, for one who will busy himself with the study of abstract truth, or indeed for the development of an artist : but it is fatal to the success of one who undertakes the social reform of the world. A poet, a painter, or a prophet may be born ; a philanthropist must be made, and then shaped by contact with his fellowmen. When Ruskin's abounding sympathy and generosity led him to give himself up to the reform of society, he failed from want of tact, from lack of acquaintance with the common facts of life, and of knowledge how men are made and how they act. However we may admire the devotion with which he gave up his strength, his fortune, his chosen career, to the effort to help common men at the level of their common lives, we cannot but see that the efficient, the important, part of his life was the earlier part, when he was working out his natural bent. Here in his



kind he had no equal ; no one else could deliver his message. But of reformers and philanthropists, though none has been more unselfish in devotion or finer in instinct, many have been wiser and more efficient. So men, I think, will naturally judge of and remember him chiefly as an inspiring teacher in art ; the work which the world will commemorate will be the work of his early years.

It is possible that no body of doctrine will stay in the world as the result of Ruskin's teaching. Of his system of laws and principles something will be remembered and much forgotten ; some will be fruitful and some infertile ; some, we can see, are strained or even erroneous. If, as he insists, the painter of divine truth in nature must be content with effacement for his portion, so may the writer. Yet there will remain with the world, we must believe, not only the record but the impression of a great personality, of a great power honestly used in reverent service of his Master, in beneficent service of his fellowmen.

Few things in modern days have been more pathetic than this life of Ruskin's—the life of a man given up to what he felt to be the higher claims of his Maker's service, to the opening of human vision to the eternal beauty and eternal truth which he saw mirrored in the world we live in—a life devoted to the effort to lift men's eyes to something higher than the tangle of worldly interests, or the mists of commonplace desire, in which he saw them struggling. It is pathetic to follow him as his sympathy led him, unwillingly, to intermit his higher efforts to arouse the intellectual and instructed, and, reaching lower and lower as he seemed to see men walking in obdurate blindness, try to find the level at which he could lift them up. We see him, touched by the burden and sadness of men in their lower estate, leave in abeyance his high hope as a spiritual teacher, strip himself of his fortune in the effort to better their outward condition, and, still with the hope that this was the means of releasing their eyes to higher vision, strive with a zeal that did not yield to ill-success till his strength was spent, and his light went out in darkness and disappointment.

WILLIAM P. P. LONGFELLOW.

## THE APPROACHING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

SIX months ago the Republican leaders were quite certain that the next Presidential campaign would be one-sided and uninteresting. There was no cloud, even as large as a man's hand, upon their political sky. Three months ago they were less confident. To-day they admit that the approaching struggle promises to be as bitterly contested as the famous battle of 1896. Their frank admissions may be due to a desire to prevent overconfidence and to the hope that generous campaign subscriptions will be thereby stimulated. Discounting the desire and the hope, it is, nevertheless, still apparent that the Republican anxiety is not altogether assumed and that the expression of doubt is too sincere to have its origin in an ulterior purpose. The path of President McKinley to reëlection is not without its lions in the way ; nor are these lions chained, as Christian found them.

It may be worth while, therefore, to consider the conditions which have arisen in the last few months to check the confidence of the Republicans, and to weigh, as impartially as may be, the factors which will operate for and against the reëlection of President McKinley. It is to be taken for granted, in the first place, that the opposing Presidential nominees will be the same next fall as in 1896. This fact simplifies the situation, to some extent, for it removes all the uncertainty which the entrance of new personalities into the contest would create. With the nominations thus assured, let me recall the fact that in 1896 McKinley received 271 electoral votes and Bryan secured 176. A majority of the electoral college is 224. The unsuccessful candidate lacked forty-eight of the necessary number. If the conditions which prevailed four years ago continued unchanged, Bryan could not hope, by any possibility, to cross the wide chasm between defeat and victory. This chasm has, indeed, increased through the very evident return of Kansas, South Dakota, and Washington, with their eighteen electoral votes, to the Republican column. To offset this loss, the Democrats may reasonably hope to recover the twelve electoral votes which, in 1896, were given by Kentucky to McKinley, and to secure the three votes of Delaware—a total of fifteen.



The recent sweeping Democratic victory in Maryland seems to give assurance that that State will be found next fall in the Democratic column, and West Virginia is, to say the least, good fighting ground. If Bryan should carry these two States he would gain fourteen electoral votes, which, added to the fifteen from Kentucky and Delaware, and conceding Kansas, South Dakota, and Washington to the Republicans, would leave him still lacking thirty-seven votes of the requisite majority. Ohio and Illinois would give him this number, with one to spare; or Illinois and Indiana could also insure his victory. To win in Illinois he must overturn the Republican majority of 250,000 which McKinley secured in 1896; while in Ohio he must combat the element of State pride, which is especially strong because of the personal popularity of the President, and must contend against the resourceful management of Senator Hanna, who will naturally seek to save the President's State at any cost. There are some Democrats who confidently count New York in their column in 1900, but I must confess to my inability, at this time, to share their optimism. I cannot fail to remember that they expressed the same hope on the eve of the election in 1896 and New York gave its electoral vote to McKinley by nearly 300,000 majority.

It is evident, therefore, that Bryan will enter upon his second campaign handicapped by the wide margin between the vote which he received four years ago and the necessary majority, while President McKinley can lose forty-five electoral votes and still be saved from defeat. In addition to this, Bryan will be confronted by the prosperity which the country at present enjoys. It does not seem to me that he can now command the support of the great army of the unemployed who, in 1896, flocked to his standard in the hope of improving their forlorn condition, nor that the farmers, then dissatisfied and in debt, will again look to him as the panacea for their real and fancied ills. The prices of wheat and corn and cotton have been shown to be regulated by other causes than the coinage of gold and silver, and the millions of dollars paid upon mortgages in the granger States indicate that the pecuniary status of the agriculturists has wonderfully improved. I know that the working classes are proverbially short-sighted and, perhaps, indifferent to material argument, for I recall that they defeated Harrison in 1892 while enjoying great prosperity. Their action then, however, was influenced by the Homestead strike. At the present time, there is nothing to threaten a similar hostile sentiment, unless it be the fear of cheap

labor in our new possessions, a factor to which I will recur at a subsequent point in this article.

Not only has President McKinley's administration been beneficent in its influence upon the country's material development, but it conducted the war with Spain to a triumphant conclusion. The American flag has been crowned with new glory, and the valor of American arms has not only thrilled our own hearts but has been a wholesome exhibition to the nations of the world. We have added, too, vast territories to our domain. The Republican party will, therefore, go before the country practically, if not literally, appealing to the patriotism and the cupidity of the people. These are no small factors. It is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, which the Americans largely represent, to be loyal to their country and to acquire land. More than one observant philosopher asserts that selfishness is the mainspring of human action. If this be true, the American people need only to be convinced that the new possessions are now or will be commercially valuable, and they will decide for their retention by an overwhelming majority.

If the balance-sheet of the political ledger could be closed at this point, the result of the Presidential election would be even now a foregone conclusion. Unfortunately for the Republicans, however, the other side is crowded with menacing facts. I do not include such indefinite argument as may be found in the knowledge that no President has successfully sought reëlection since the days of Grant, a third of a century ago. This is interesting but not convincing. I shall not even dwell upon the disappointments and antagonisms which bear like a heavy load upon every administration, resulting from the failure to satisfy would-be office-holders with government positions. This is now, as it always has been, an obstacle to party success, and President McKinley cannot hope to escape its unfavorable effect. In fact, although the war with Spain and the later struggle in the Philippines, together with the establishment of new governments, have vastly increased the number of offices at the disposal of the President, they have also multiplied the applicants and swelled the aggregate of the disappointed. At the same time, in view of the more momentous questions before the people and the prevalent prosperity, I do not for a moment believe that the soreness of those who asked and did not receive will exert a determining weight. It is only another straw upon the camel's back.

If I should be asked, as I have been by the Editor of *THE FORUM*,



to sum up the more important factors which threaten the success of President McKinley in the approaching campaign, I should name these :

The hostility created by the Administration's friendly attitude toward England.

The fact that the enactment of the gold standard law removes the fear of the free coinage of silver.

The widespread resentment against the injustice of a tariff between the United States and Puerto Rico, with which is coupled the question whether our Constitution follows our Flag to our new possessions.

There is, throughout the country, unmistakable enmity toward Great Britain. It is not confined to party. It is the natural outgrowth of past conflicts and of commercial rivalry, mingled with a resentment still cherished because of England's efforts to disrupt our Republic in the civil war. It is a sentiment which ought, in my opinion, to have been eradicated, and which, according to some optimistic thinkers, had disappeared when Great Britain stood between the United States and the Spanish-sympathizing nations of Europe in the beginning of the war with Spain. The debt which we owe to her for her sympathy and support in that critical period ought not to be forgotten, much less ignored ; but gratitude is a proverbially evanescent quality. In the present case, also, there is some excuse for the attitude of the American people, because the friendly services rendered by Great Britain in the Spanish-American war have never been formally recounted to the country by any member of the Administration. Perhaps this information cannot be imparted for diplomatic reasons ; but the fact remains that it is possessed only by those who were intimate with the development of the war, a class which is naturally limited. The silence thus observed has been most unfortunate. As the matter now stands, the Administration, fully cognizant, must recognize and remember what Great Britain did for us in that trying moment ; the people, in ignorance, fail to understand and appreciate. Thus we have, between the Administration and the people, a barrier of suspicion which, not being removed, operates to the disadvantage of the President.

It is extremely embarrassing for the Republican party that this anti-English sentiment has been stirred on the eve of a Presidential campaign through circumstances beyond political control. Congress, for international reasons, has been prevented from giving official expression to the natural sympathy privately and universally felt for

the struggling Boers. In times past, before the United States became a world-power, and, therefore, less fearful of foreign complications, there was no hesitation in uttering a kindly word of encouragement to any liberty-seeking people. The Monroe doctrine had its birth in this feeling, and one of Daniel Webster's greatest orations had for its text a resolution of sympathy with the Greek revolutionists. To-day, when a similar declaration regarding the Boers is presented in the Senate, it must, in the exercise of a prudential policy, be smothered in the Committee on Foreign Relations; and forthwith this action is charged to sympathy with a monarchy and hostility to a republic. The political opponents of the dominant party are quick to see the advantage of stimulating prejudice through this situation.

The neutrality which the President has been forced to observe in relation to the principals in the British-Boer war is both explicable and excusable. It is difficult, however, to understand why he should have deliberately taken a step calculated to still further excite the already widespread anti-British feeling. He must have been aware of the extent of this sentiment, and although he may have regarded it as unfounded and unreasonable, he must, nevertheless, have known from experience that it was all the more difficult to deal with from this very fact. Certain it is, that in negotiating the Hay-Pauncefote interoceanic canal treaty, he has added fuel to the flames. I do not intend, in the necessarily contracted limits of this article, to discuss that important document. It is sufficient, for my purposes, to merely point out that the Administration has revived the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, which the American people hoped and believed was moribund. I admit that the status of this treaty is a mooted and abstract question, and not likely, therefore, to become a live popular issue. There can be no doubt, however, of the fact that a voter of even average intelligence will wonder why a canal, built exclusively by American men and money, should become an open, unobstructed waterway in time of war for the vessels of a nation hostile to us.

This is the question which will be hurled with tremendous force at the defenders of the President and his Administration in the approaching campaign. It is a question which James G. Blaine met and answered years ago, when, in the very inception of the Panama Canal project, he served notice upon all European powers that the United States would, in time of war, control any interoceanic canal, no matter by what government it had been constructed. Properly regarding the isthmian waterway as an extension of the coastline of the United



States, he declared that to allow it to be used by the warships of our enemy would be as absurd as to transport the troops of the enemy across our domain by way of the transcontinental lines of railroads. This, it seems to me, will be the position which the American people will sustain when they are called upon to render the verdict of the polls. Any other course would be a betrayal of the national integrity and honor. The opposition which the treaty has already encountered indicates the trend of popular opinion.

It is possible that the serious blunder which the Administration has committed may be neutralized by the adoption of the amendment to the treaty proposed by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, reserving American control in time of war ; but it is doubtful whether the document would be, even then, fully acceptable to the people. On the contrary, it establishes additional relations with Great Britain which are not essential to our national well-being, and which are not in accord with the present state of the public mind. If the Senate shall ratify the treaty, a burden will be laid upon the Republican party which will seriously impede its progress toward victory. Even if favorable action shall be postponed, which I now predict, the Administration has made its record and must answer therefor.

The apparently unsympathetic attitude of the Administration toward the freedom-seeking Boers and the willingness with which it has conceded to Great Britain the use of an American interoceanic canal in time of war have operated to influence the Germans and the Irish alike. These two important constituents of our voting population are united for the first time in our political history. The Irish are, generally speaking, Democrats ; but the Germans, almost without exception, are Republicans. The loss of any considerable portion of the German vote is a serious menace to Republican success ; and the fact is, that, even without the complications of the Boer war, the party in power is threatened with a German defection. The Germans are suspicious of the tendency of the Republican party toward imperialism. A large and costly standing army, an evil with which the German is fully acquainted, and which he most earnestly deplors, seems permanently fastened upon this country. It is not strange, therefore, to find the German press, with rare exception, antagonistic to the Administration.

Congress seems about to enact a measure which is the very quintessence of imperialism. Under the bill introduced by Senator Spooner,

of Wisconsin, and reported favorably by the Senate Committee on the Philippines, the President is to be given autocratic, imperial, czar-like power in the government of those islands. He is to appoint and remove all civil, military, and judicial officers at his individual pleasure ; and the regulations which he promulgates are to be the law of the land. Congress proposes, in fact, to abdicate its prerogatives of co-administration. The Executive is to be supreme. It is not difficult to imagine the emphasis with which this law will be brought to the attention of the country in general and of the Germans in particular. Nor will its importance fail to be shown to the laboring classes. I have already mentioned how the Homestead strike, with its assault by armed soldiery upon workingmen, alarmed labor throughout the country. It will be only too easy, I am afraid, for ingenuous orators to persuade the always suspicious laborer that unless the power of the President is checked, a Congress and an Executive, controlled by sinister influences, may exercise the same autocratic authority to the oppression of the employed.

In the campaign of 1896 the Germans unanimously supported the Republican ticket because of their devotion to sound money, while the workingmen also voted for McKinley, so far as they could be so influenced by their corporate employers, who feared that the election of Bryan on a free coinage of silver platform would result in the depreciation, if not the entire obliteration, of all invested capital. The Republican party has seen proper, in the passage of a gold standard law, to remove this overhanging dread. It was honest for the Republican majority in Congress to enact this law ; but the wisdom of the action, from a purely political point of view, is to be questioned. The chief feature of the campaign of 1896 was the silver plank of the Chicago platform. Much was said, and believed, of "dishonest money," of "the degradation of the dollar." The orators and organs of the capitalistic combinations warned the workingman that his meagre wages would lose half their value, and that pensioners and all dependent upon limited annuities would suffer correspondingly. The picture of individual and national distress, should Bryan be elected, was most vividly drawn. The frantic and almost insensate appeals to the voters were not without their effect, and the country decided to bear the ills it had rather than fly to others that it knew not of.

The passage of the gold standard law banishes from the approaching campaign the all-potent arguments of 1896 ; it returns to the



closet the skeleton which was so effective in frightening the people four years ago. The present majority of twenty in the United States Senate against the free coinage of silver cannot be changed within four years, unless a political revolution of unforeseen extent occurs, so that between Bryan as President and the repeal of the gold standard law, a hostile Senate may be expected to stand as an insurmountable barrier. The country is just beginning to realize this fact, and by next November will thoroughly understand it. What will be the result? The Democrats who opposed free coinage of silver in 1896 will have their opportunity to return to the political affiliation from which they then departed—an opportunity which they will welcome as natural free-traders and anti-imperialists—while the Germans, always to be found on the conservative side of the financial question, cannot be alarmed by the bugaboo of a depreciated currency founded on silver monometallism.

The enactment of the gold standard law will not attract to the Republicans one vote which was not willingly given them in 1896, while, on the other hand, as I have pointed out, it releases the gold Democrat from the necessity of voting for a Republican President and assures the Germans of the stability of our financial system. This is not all. It alienates those voters who supported the Republican candidate in 1896 in the belief that the promise of the party respecting bimetallism was sincere. The great mass of the American people will not, in my opinion, agree with Senator Aldrich and Senator Allison that the new financial legislation is but a reiteration of present statutes. The fact is that, for the first time in the history of our government, gold, and gold alone, is made the legal unit of value, and the principal and interest of the public debt is to be paid, by law, in gold instead of coin. If this were merely a reassertion of fact, there would be no necessity for the formal declaration which the new law contains. It may be that the country wants a single gold standard, and is ready to agree to the permanent retirement of silver as a money metal. If such be the case, the Republicans can well congratulate themselves upon the passage of the law. It would seem, however, despite the verdict of 1896, that the question was not yet settled in favor of gold alone; for the election of McKinley was, in some degree, at least, a victory for bimetallism.

We cannot overlook the fact that the unlimited authority now given to national banks in the control and issue of money, with the extension of the public debt, are matters which the Republicans are to

be called upon to defend because of legislation for which their party is responsible. The national banks have now become the greatest confederated money power in the world. They will be a minor issue in the approaching campaign ; but I venture the prediction that unless they exercise their tremendous power with wisdom and toleration, the fight in the future for their continuance will exceed the historical struggle in which Andrew Jackson was engaged.

As I write these lines, the skirmish line of the battle which is to take place next fall has been formed over what is popularly known as the Puerto Rican bill. It is a measure which has had a remarkable history and which has aroused extraordinary popular resentment. It originally provided for free trade between the United States and the island of Puerto Rico, the President having laid down, in his annual message to Congress, that the abolition of the customs was a plain duty. Against this free-trade proposition the sugar, tobacco, and other protected interests earnestly protested, and the promise of a duty of 25 per cent of the Dingley tariff rates was secured. This was unsatisfactory, in its turn, to the great mass of the American people, and in response to the universal outcry the 25 per cent was reduced to 15 per cent, and in that shape the measure went to the Senate.

In the meantime the popular indignation had become even more intense, and the Republicans in the Senate were threatened with serious defections in their own ranks. Several caucuses were held, the result of which was the adoption of a compromise enacting into law the free list of the President's Puerto Rican recommendation, and only continuing the tariff until the Puerto Rican legislature should ask that it be removed. In the debate which preceded the passage of the amended bill through the Senate, various explanations of the proposed tariff were offered by Republican Senators, the most frequently expressed reason being that the money was needed for revenue for the island. The variety, as well as the uncertainty, of the excuses offered, rather inflamed than decreased the widespread belief that the Republican majority in Congress was under the domination of the sugar and tobacco trusts.

It is certainly remarkable, from a political point of view, that the Republican leaders did not listen to the appeal which came from every section of the country, and from the representatives of every political party, in behalf of free trade. The preponderance of opinion was undoubtedly with the President's emphatically expressed



recommendation. The innate sense of justice in the American mind was outraged at the selfish closing of our doors against the Puerto Ricans, even in small degree. The latter have been barred from the Spanish markets, and the proposition to treat them with the same harshness, and to forget the cordiality with which they received their American liberators, seemed neither generous nor just. In defiance of this public opinion—a defiance which is not apt to be forgotten—the Republican majority insisted upon the tariff, and will, undoubtedly, be called upon to answer for its action.

During the consideration of the measure the Republican and Democratic positions became plainly outlined. The Democrats contended that free trade is unavoidable because the Federal Constitution expressly prohibits the levying of duties upon commerce between the States. The Republicans, in speeches and by votes, insisted that the Constitution has not extended to Puerto Rico and that Congress has plenary power to impose a tariff. Stripped of all technicalities, therefore, the much-discussed measure involves the question, Does the Constitution follow the Flag? <sup>1</sup>

The negative answer given by the Republican majority in the United States Senate, upon an amendment which compelled a direct vote, and by both branches of Congress in the passage of the tariff bill, will not settle the dispute. The popular feeling, undoubtedly, is that the Constitution extended *ex proprio vigore* over Puerto Rico when that island became a possession of the United States. The Republicans maintained their position by numerous precedents in connection with the admission of Territories, and by decisions of the United States Supreme Court; but I seriously doubt whether this array of historical and legal evidence will outweigh the universal, though perhaps sentimental, view that the Constitution and the Flag travel hand in hand. At any rate, this is one of the questions to be decided at the polls next November.

It was Scylla on one side and Charybdis on the other for the Republican leaders. If they had accepted the popular contention that Puerto Rico was a part of the United States in the fullest meaning of the Constitution, they would have been compelled to admit that the Philippines were equally situated. With all tariff barriers thus levelled, the American laborer would be compelled to compete with the coolie of the Orient and the peon of Puerto Rico in the production of sugar, tobacco, hemp, and fruits. Even as it is, the cigar makers of

<sup>1</sup> See page 257 *et seq.*—ED.

this country are already alarmed, and are loud in their protests against the admission of Puerto Rican and Manila cigars free of duty. Still another serious question is presented, if Puerto Rico comes within the Constitution ; for, in that case, both our contiguous and distant island possessions are already on the road which leads to admission into the Union as States, even though the end of the journey may yet be far distant. This is one of the many problems which must be considered in connection with expansion ; and the number and complexity of these problems endanger Republican success. They will raise the doubt which may be fatal ; just as the fear of the effect of the free coinage of silver turned the scale in 1896.

The enormous combinations of capital created during the term of President McKinley, commonly known as trusts, offer another vulnerable point of attack for the opponents of the Republican party. Congress, with a Republican majority in both branches, has attempted no remedial legislation, and, in view of this fact, any condemnation which the party national platform may utter will be accepted as nothing more than the tinkling of brass and the sounding of cymbals. The bond of sympathy between the trusts and the Republican party is too broad and strong to be hidden by the narrow curtain of a few lines of meaningless denunciation. The trusts are now a political issue ; and against them are the people who are compelled to pay higher prices for trust-made articles, the commercial travellers who have been forced out of employment, and the laborers who have been sent into idleness through the closing of establishments which interfered with the plans of the corporate managers. The enormous profits revealed in the Frick-Carnegie suit will also be a potent argument against trusts.

Considering, therefore, the new conditions which have arisen since 1896, I do not believe any one can truthfully say that Mr. Bryan's candidacy is to be viewed with indifference by the Republicans. It is too early, before the campaign has actually opened, to predict the result next November ; but it is certainly true that to-day the reëlection of President McKinley, which twelve months ago was conceded almost without a protest, is a debatable question. The pendulum of American politics is not stationary. It is as likely to swing as far in one direction as another ; and political leaders are now watching its movement with a curiosity and an anxiety born of the causes which I have thus briefly and inadequately brought to public attention.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.



## THE UNITED STATES AND THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

WHEN, in March, 1895, at Shimonoseki, Li Hung-Chang met the Japanese Plenipotentiaries in order to negotiate a treaty putting an end to the war then raging between the two countries, he urged upon Count Ito that they should establish an enduring peace, in order to prevent the yellow race of Asia from succumbing to the white race of Europe. Undoubtedly Japan had this object in view when she insisted, in Article 2 of the Treaty which she required China to accept, that the Liao-tung peninsula should be ceded to her in full sovereignty; for she must have realized that, without such cession, Russia, unable to secure a foothold in Eastern Korea, would make her advance to the sea through Manchuria, acquire the territory in question, and thus precipitate a disruption of China by Europe under pretext of maintaining the balance of power in the Far East.

The designs of Japan, however, were frustrated by Russia, supported by France and Germany, and also by the weakness and vacillation of the British Government, which refused to support Japan's demands. Under pressure from the governments mentioned, Japan was finally compelled to yield, and, in consideration of the payment of 30,000,000 taels, to evacuate and retrocede to China the territory she had claimed in Manchuria. Thus the door was left open for Russia.

But it was Germany who inaugurated in China the grab policy of to-day. In November, 1897, she seized the port of Kiao-chao, on the Shan-tung promontory, assigning as her reason for this action the desire to obtain satisfaction for the murder of certain German missionaries in the adjacent territory. A few months later this seizure was legalized through a treaty by which Kiao-chao and the adjacent territory were leased to Germany by China for a term of ninety-nine years (practically in perpetuity), with the right to land troops, construct fortifications, establish a naval station, build railroads, and open and operate mines, not only in the leased territory, but throughout the province of Shan-tung.

This aggressive move on the part of Germany gave Russia the opportunity she sought; and in December, 1897, she obtained permis-

sion for her squadron to winter at Port Arthur, in the Liao-tung peninsula, which Japan had been forced to relinquish. An agreement followed by which Port Arthur, Ta-lien Wan, and the adjacent territory were leased to Russia for a term of twenty-five years, the lease (or cession in usufruct as it was called) to be subsequently extended by mutual agreement—which practically amounted to cession. Alarmed at these portentous events, Great Britain secured from China the assurance that she would neither “mortgage, lease nor cede” to another power any portion of the Yang-tsze basin. Not content with this, the British Government insisted on occupying the port of Wei-hai-Wei, facing Port Arthur on the other side of the Gulf of Pechili. This strategic point had just been evacuated by Japan, who had held it since the conclusion of peace with China. The occupation of Wei-hai-Wei was demanded by Britain as a means of maintaining the balance of power in northern China.

While these events were taking place in the north, France, ostensibly as compensation for the murder of some of her missionaries, and as an offset for some concessions of a commercial nature just then made to Great Britain by China, secured from the latter a lease of a port near to her Tonking frontier, on the Kuang-chao Bay. Japan now became alarmed at these cessions of strategic points, and under the same stereotyped plea, to maintain the balance of power, she secured from China the promise that the latter would not alienate, except to Japan, any of her territory in the province of Fu-kien, which faces the island of Formosa.

But the end was not yet. The concessions made to France by helpless China were immediately followed by fresh demands on the part of Great Britain, who, for the purpose of strengthening the defences of her settlement at Hong Kong, insisted that a considerable strip of the mainland in the Chinese province of Kuang-tung should be leased to her. With this, for the time, the demands for territory ceased, though Italy, supported by Great Britain, endeavored to secure a naval base in the Bay of San-mun.

Not content with the possession of such valuable strategic points, and with the hope of winning from the mercantile classes at home an approval of their policy in the Far East, Germany, Great Britain, and France used every opportunity to wring from China concessions in favor of their respective nationals. Concessions for the building of railroads even were demanded by some of the Treaty Powers as a punitive measure for injuries received by their subjects, or for delay



in complying with other demands; in fact, any pretext seemed a sufficient basis for a demand.

It would be easy to multiply instances of the unjust and senseless way in which, for the last few years, this battle for commercial privileges in China has been waged by European Powers; but enough has been said to serve my purpose. The true interests of China have never been considered; her ability to meet the obligations she was forced to incur have never been pondered; and the ultimate result on foreign trade has been ignored. It is hardly conceivable that those responsible for this hurtful policy should not have realized that the end to which they were rapidly pushing China was internal disruption, the overthrow of all constituted authority in the Empire, and the consequent temporary ruin of foreign trade.

The acquisition by European Powers of these various strips of territory along the coast of China has done more perhaps than anything else to intensify the anti-foreign and anti-missionary feeling of a conceited and ignorant people, who, from the fact that the seizures of Kiao-chao and of Kuang-chao Wan were made ostensibly as punishments for the murder, by bandits, of foreign missionaries, have conceived the idea that the missionaries are the prime cause of all their present troubles and humiliations. Furthermore, the prestige of the court of Peking has suffered in the eyes of the people, who have realized the utter inability of their rulers to resist foreign demands or to enforce authority, even when desirous of doing so.

Under the financial strain consequent upon the construction of railways, the organizing of a new army and navy and of expensive public works, to say nothing of the interest on its large, and newly incurred, foreign debt, every source of revenue known to the Chinese Government was taxed to its limit, and found insufficient to meet the demands made upon it. The Chinese Government was literally on the brink of bankruptcy, largely brought about by the insatiable greed and impolitic haste of some of the Treaty Powers. The Powers have permanently fastened on the country an internal tax called *likin*, against which, for thirty years and more, they had, one and all, fought tooth and nail, and which is recognized on all sides as highly prejudicial to the extension of foreign trade. Not only have they saddled foreign trade with this tax, but they have practically forced the Chinese Government to have recourse to additional taxation, to the further detriment of foreign trade, and to the increased misery and growing discontent of the people.

As a result of the ever-recurring demands of Peking for money, the provincial governments, forced to effect economies, reduced their armies till they were not sufficient to insure order. In consequence anti-foreign riots have become more frequent, bringing with them new demands by the Treaty Powers; and the prestige of the throne of Peking has begun to disappear under these repeated blows.

Naval bases and concessions were not, however, enough. For strategical purposes, as well as for securing for their nationals new fields for commercial activity within which these should have preferential rights, especially for railway building and mining, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain divided China among themselves, creating what are now called "areas of interest or influence." What these rights might eventually be claimed to include no one could or would tell; but it was evident that they might be extended to carry with them territorial jurisdiction and the imposition of differential dues, taxes, or rates, in ports or on railroads, and thus result in excluding the trade of all foreign competitors.

The mercantile classes of Europe and of the United States, as well as the foreign mercantile classes in China, claimed that the one essential to the healthy development of their trade was the untrammelled exercise of the rights insured them under treaties with China, or what we now call "the open door." But each one of the European Powers had conceded preferential rights to some other within certain areas, and could no longer insist, with any semblance of logic or hope of success, that the whole Empire be left open to all comers for purposes of trade.

It was reserved for the Government of the United States to obtain this much-desired end. Bound by no agreements with any of the Treaty Powers concerning respective commercial rights in China; with an increased influence in Eastern Asiatic affairs since the acquisition of the Philippines; with the purely commercial nature of its interests in China, and with its determination to maintain the rights of its citizens there under existing treaties with China recognized by all, it could do for the commerce of America, and for that of the whole world, what none of the other Powers could possibly accomplish.

In the latter part of last year, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Japan were informed by the Government of the United States that it sought a declaration from them concerning the commercial policy they proposed pursuing within their so-called "areas of interest," and a formal written expression to the oft-re-



peated oral assurances they had made to the United States, after each aggressive move on their part, of their determination to recognize the untrammelled exercise by all of the rights insured by existing treaties with China.

The Government of the United States proposed that this declaration should cover three points: 1, That the Powers claiming spheres of interest in China should in no way interfere with any port open by treaty with China to foreign trade which might happen to fall within the area of interest claimed by them, or be in any territory leased by them, or with the vested rights of any person not of their own nationality in any such port or territory; 2, that all ports they might open within such areas or leased territory should either be free ports (as are at present Kiao-chao and Ta-lien Wan), or that the only customs dues which should be collected at them should be those provided for by the treaties with China at the time in force, and that said duties should be collected by the Chinese Government; and, 3, that they would not levy any higher harbor dues on vessels of other nationalities frequenting such ports, or higher railroad charges on merchandise belonging to, or destined for, subjects of other Powers transported through their areas of interest than would be levied on their national vessels or charged for merchandise belonging to their own subjects.

These broad principles have now been accepted by all the Powers approached, and the commercial world has thereby been secured in the enjoyment of all its rights under treaties with China, the one and only security needed to insure the healthy development of trade.

The results of the negotiations of this Government are not, however, to be judged by their purely commercial side. They reach much farther; for, temporarily at least, they have put a stop to the grab policy which, as previously shown, has resulted so disastrously to China and to the real interests of foreigners and their enterprises in the Empire. They have also shown the Peking Government that the integrity of the country is not menaced, that the aim of the Powers henceforth is the peaceful development of the natural resources and vast trade of China, that they still look to China to maintain order and protect persons and property, and that they will now afford her an opportunity of working out her own regeneration.

By its action, therefore, the Government of the United States has not only served the cause of peace and civilization, but has rendered a vast service to China, of which it cannot be doubted she must ulti-

mately show herself worthy. Immediate aggression on the part of any of the foreign powers in China is now for the time improbable, if the Chinese Government will but honestly perform the duty of maintaining order throughout the Empire and of protecting foreigners, especially missionaries and their converts, so long as they do not violate Chinese laws. If it fails in this, it may expect, and nothing can in fact prevent, further encroachments by Western nations, and a recurrence of the events of the last few years.

In 1896 this Government proposed that China, in pursuance of her immemorial custom concerning official responsibility, and as the best means of preventing anti-foreign riots, should "hold responsible and promptly punish not only all individuals or minor officials directly or remotely involved upon the occurrence of any riot whereby peaceful American citizens were affected in person or property, or injured in their just rights, but also the viceroy or governor of the province in which the outbreak had occurred, who is directly responsible to the throne for the acts and omissions of every one of his subordinates, although his only fault may be ignorance." If the Chinese Government would take this one step, anti-foreign riots would be a thing of the past.

Financial reform in China is urgently needed, if she is to maintain her independence and take the position she is entitled to among the great nations of the world. It is simply inconceivable that she should much longer delay taking some steps in that direction; and the united efforts of the Powers should now be turned to effect the change. One of the most serious sources of financial trouble in China is the system of inland taxation called *likin*. The revenues derived from it never reach the Imperial exchequer untouched, the larger part being embezzled by those charged with its collection. To this ill-advised tax may be traced in some way or other nearly every conflict which has arisen with foreign powers since it was first imposed.

The changing of this vicious system should be the first step taken in the way of reform. By organizing this service under foreign management like that of the Chinese Maritime Customs, the Imperial treasury would gain large sums, illegal taxes would be prevented, the people of the country would be benefited, and a source of constant irritation to foreign trade would be removed. Nothing would do so much to allay anti-foreign feeling in China, to raise the prestige of the Government in the eyes of the people, and to develop trade and local industries.



Will these two steps—the protection of foreigners and their treaty rights, and the reform of the system of internal taxation—be taken by the present Cabinet at Peking? Relieved of all outside pressure, it is safe to assert that it will not take a single step in the way of reform. China has never given and never will give any encouragement or additional facilities to foreigners, except under the strongest pressure. Each successive step made in the opening of China during the present century has been gained by coercion, or by threat of such, on the part of some one of the European Powers. The greatest strides made were after the wars with Great Britain, France, and Japan; and had these not occurred it is safe to affirm that trade would still be confined to the port of Canton.

The conclusion is that pressure from the Powers must continue; but that pressure must be steady, the same from all quarters, and tend to a common end. China must be made to realize that she must reorganize her administration, must make herself a factor in the development of her resources and the guardian of her own territorial integrity, and that, if she does not, partition and subjection to foreign rule are but questions of a little time.

The position taken by the United States in demanding of the great Powers the untrammelled exercise of our rights under treaties with China has suggested to some writers in this country that we should grant to these Powers at least, and practically to all foreign Powers, the same freedom of trade, the same “open door,” in the Philippines, and considerable stress has been laid on this argument by a section of our press and by many political speakers. The two cases, however, have absolutely no analogy. In China we asked simply that commercial rights already secured to us by treaties with a sovereign nation, within territory over which no other Power claimed jurisdiction, should be respected. Should any portion, however, of the Chinese Empire be ceded in absolute sovereignty to any other Power, then our rights under previous treaties with China within such ceded territory would lapse. Chinese sovereignty in such territory being extinct, that of the country acquiring it would be substituted in its stead, and our treaties with the new sovereign Power would define our rights in its newly acquired territory.

It was thus in the case of the conquest of Madagascar by the French in 1896. Until the French Government informed us categorically that Madagascar had become French territory by conquest and absorption, and that Malagasy autonomy was completely wiped

out of existence, we claimed the free exercise in Madagascar of our rights under the treaty concluded in 1881 with Queen Ranavaloa. From the day the French Government made a categorical declaration of the extinction of Malagasy independence, the conventions between the United States and France became applicable.

The case of the Philippines is identical. By treaty with Spain they have been acquired in absolute sovereignty by this country, and treaties made by other Powers with Spain concerning them became thereby extinct, and those concluded by the same Powers with the United States were extended to them.

Briefly stated, the results of the recent negotiations by the United States are, that, notwithstanding the encroachments made on Chinese territory and sovereignty by European Powers, the commercial interests of our people have been preserved in their entirety, and that a temporary guarantee has been secured that these will not be interfered with in any way. Furthermore, by their declarations that they expect no exclusive rights for their citizens in their sphere of interest, the Powers claiming them have not only limited the extent of their future demands, but have practically expressed an intention not to interfere henceforth with China's sovereign rights. At the same time, China is clearly given to understand that she must satisfactorily discharge the duties she has assumed through treaties.

The events of the last four years must have shown China that if she fails in these duties she is destined to share the fate of all weak states. Serious breaches of faith on the part of China, dereliction in performing her international duties, must inevitably be followed by fresh demands for territory and guarantees, and if again begun no one can predict where these will end. No Power at the present time is desirous to see the spark ignited which will produce the final catastrophe. China, and China alone, can prevent it. All of her well-wishers can but pray that she may not let the opportunity now afforded her by the United States pass away unused.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.



## FREE LECTURES IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS.

ABOUT twelve years ago, one of the great New York dailies said, editorially, that if the Board of Education would arrange a course of free lectures for the working classes along practical lines it might prove one of the most helpful educational adjuncts possible. Fortunately, some one in the Board realized the wisdom of the suggestion and pushed the proposition to a successful issue. In due time the matter was brought before the Legislature, which on January 9, 1888, passed an Act authorizing the Board of Education to institute courses of free lectures in the school buildings of New York City, and at the same time appropriated \$15,000 to put the experiment into operation. The whole matter was then placed in the hands of the Board's Committee on Evening Schools, which arranged, for the first series, lectures on physiology, hygiene, physics, history, and political science.

The lectures were begun in 1889, and ran that year from January until April. During the season 186 lectures in all were given, at seven centres, in the most populous districts of the city ; and they were attended by an aggregate of 22,149 people, or an average at each lecture of 119 persons. In the following season the work was enlarged, extending from October to April, again at seven centres, the total attendance being 26,632, or an average of 81 people at each lecture. Comparing the two seasons, the Committee were not encouraged by the result, and decided that either they had been mistaken in what had seemed to be a popular demand for this kind of instruction, or else that they had not employed the best methods in prosecuting the work. They thought a change should be made in the management, and in this the Board agreed.

At this crisis—for such it was—Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, a practical educator of wide experience and excellent qualifications, was chosen as supervisor of the free-lecture courses. In his administration many important changes were made in the methods of work, and in the means employed to popularize the lectures. He began the publication of a series of pocket bulletins giving the names of lecturers, their themes, explanatory notes, etc., in connection with each

lecture centre. Ten thousand of these were distributed at each centre during the first season. Then large placards were printed announcing the whole course to be given at a particular school, and these were posted in stores, shops, factories, and other places in the vicinity. Important changes were effected in the corps of lecturers, and many specialists were placed on the staff—among them professors, ministers, scientists, physicians, travellers, and practical men of affairs. Each lecturer being more or less an authority upon his topic, the lectures soon became very popular. But the one feature which did more than anything else to draw and please large audiences was the introduction of lectures illustrated by experiments and stereopticon views. The changes in methods imposed large additional expense on the city; but this was more than justified by the results.

The work has since gone forward by leaps and bounds. The first year's report by Dr. Leipziger showed the inspiring total of 185 lectures delivered, with an attendance of 78,295—an increase of 50,000 over the preceding season. The second season after Dr. Leipziger assumed control, the attendance increased by 40,000; in the third season it increased 8,587 more; the fourth witnessed still another advance of 31,538; in the fifth year it moved ahead 53,750; in the sixth it leaped forward 168,615; and in the seventh year the attendance gained 33,624, the total that season being 426,375 persons at 1,066 lectures. The attendance last season was larger than ever before, and the work more fruitful in good results; while the present year bids fair to be by far the best of all.

There are some five hundred lecturers on the staff of the Board, about fifty lantern operators, and some thirty-five or forty local superintendents, besides inspectors and others connected with the work, aside from the office force. Each lecturer is consulted as to his themes and the manner in which he proposes to handle them. Operators, superintendents, and inspectors are employed individually for certain lecture centres at certain times. In making up the schedules arrangements are made with each lecturer concerning date, theme, and place; and when the details have been completed, the bulletin for a hall or school is printed. Proofs must be read and corrections made in the cases of some forty bulletins every two months during the lecture season. Then, two or three days prior to each lecture, the speaker is reminded of his appointment, and asked if everything is in readiness. When we consider the number of communications necessary in arranging for each lecture, and add the letters, telegrams, etc., required



to keep in touch with all the operators, superintendents, opticians, and others, the clerical work alone is seen to be enormous.

When one realizes that the hundreds of thousands attending the lectures are made up almost exclusively of the great working classes whose intellectual advantages are limited, but who possess a hunger and a thirst for knowledge which they have no means of satisfying, the facts and figures are the more interesting. Looking at the situation from the view-point of those who long for a broader education, and whose efforts to win bread consume nearly all their time and energy, the scheme gains an element of pathos. To many the lectures become the gateway into a wider and richer life, because the horizon is broadened, thought is quickened, and the soul is inspired. In a recent address Dr. Leipziger said : " There are thousands of men and women who find at these lectures stimulus and guidance, and by means of this stimulus carry on their higher education with their every-day work." That this form of adult education is appreciated and valued by the people is proved beyond all question by the increasingly large attendance and sustained interest at almost every lecture centre in the city.

A distinguished educator has said : " We cannot hope to educate our people, as the citizens of a democracy should be educated, until systematic education becomes a part of the life work of every *adult* in the community. . . . The church, the theatre, the book, the library, and the newspaper, valuable as they are, are still far from accomplishing the necessary result. We must adopt a more comprehensive, a more scientific, and a more systematic method of work."

Now, this problem is not so difficult, after all. We have, in our country, splendid school buildings representing an enormous investment, and which, from an industrial and economic point of view, are very much underworked. In comparison with the ordinary business establishment, the average school plant is in actual use only half the time. Unquestionably, the people to whom these public institutions belong would most gladly consent to an enlarged and comprehensive educational system by which the adults of the community might be benefited. If every public school building in our cities had a large, well-ventilated, well-lighted, attractive auditorium, or lecture-hall, and if this were made the rendezvous of the neighborhood for lectures, high-class entertainments, public receptions, and such like, there is no doubt that it would become popular with, and exercise a good influ-

ence upon, the public at large, and would also arouse among the citizens, generally, a new interest in the public schools.

The scope of the subject-matter covered by the Free Lecture System of New York is both interesting and suggestive. A number of lectures on Great Americans have been given, to the delight and profit of thousands. Washington, Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Jackson, Frederick Douglass, Webster, Lincoln, and Grant have been discussed by different men, from various view-points. Courses on Natural Science are offered, including lectures on insects as seen under the microscope. Under the head of Travel are given a score or more of excellent lectures on various parts of the United States; some twenty-five are offered on Mexico, Central America, and Europe; and a dozen or more deal with Eastern countries and the ways of life in the Orient. During the last two seasons somewhat of a specialty has been made of lectures descriptive of our new possessions in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, which have proved extremely popular. Some forty lectures are given over and over on American history, and fifteen or twenty deal with civics and the science of popular government. General history is treated under ten or twelve topics. Forty to fifty special lectures are devoted to art, literature, and social science, while the various phases of municipal government cover about ten lectures, most of which are delivered by men of large experience along special lines.

I might enumerate and particularize almost indefinitely, for there is practically no end to this many-sided, and always interesting, scheme of adult education. But these bare outlines will serve to show the breadth of thought covered by the Free Lecture System of the New York Public Schools, and yet the enterprise has not passed out of the incipient stage. In New York, of course, talent is without limit; but any small centre of population has much latent ability that might be brought into active usefulness in such an enterprise as this.

A word concerning the business side of the system. In New York a fee of ten dollars is paid for each lecture, and three dollars each to the lantern operator and the local superintendent. Besides this, of course, there are many other items of expense, such as stereopticon outfits, printing, office-work, postage, etc. Frequently the question is asked, "Can good lecturers be secured for so small a sum?" Yes, many men of excellent platform ability are secured for this small remuneration, but doubtless the thought of helping in a great educational work is also in part the reward. A few of those assisting in the work



refuse the money offered to them, putting their efforts upon a purely philanthropic basis.

Among the benefits of this new phase of adult education the following stand out as commending themselves to every thoughtful person : (1) It furnishes a school of instruction to thousands who would otherwise receive no mental stimulus; (2) it serves, to a multitude, as the means of high-class, refining entertainment ; (3) to many the lecture rooms offer a social centre, for the renewing of old acquaintances and the forming of new ones ; (4) the more studious find the lectures valuable both on account of their intrinsic merit and because of their educational suggestiveness. Familiar books are referred to, and new ones are eagerly sought, according to the recommendation of the lecturer, who very often at the close is willing to be questioned in relation to the theme of the hour.

To a greater or less extent, every community in the United States could have just such a scheme of adult education. To carry it into effect it would be necessary, in the first place, to select a competent supervisor, one who knows how to procure the right men and choose the most suitable themes for his particular community. In the second place, lectures should be arranged with the twofold purpose of entertainment and instruction. The problems of local and national issues should be discussed by able men, so that a higher civic spirit might be developed among the people ; and in every locality the public school house should be made the centre of the intellectual, moral, and civic activity of the people, with a view to the moulding of community sentiment among them. In the next place, I would suggest the enlistment of the sympathy and support of the local colleges, public-school teachers, ministers of the gospel, physicians, lawyers, editors, and leading citizens generally. Many of these could prepare one or more lectures, and help to create the public enthusiasm which is a prime factor in the successful issue of the enterprise. Every community may, with little expense, appropriate the most pleasing and far-reaching features of the University Extension and higher educational movements.

The splendid results of this work in New York cannot be tabulated, and it is encouraging to see that the idea is spreading to other cities and towns, and that it will no doubt continue to spread throughout the country.

S. T. WILLIS.

## A PLEA FOR TREES AND PARKS IN CITIES.

THE sudden changes of temperature for which the city of New York is noted, though taxing the strength of all, naturally weigh most heavily upon the poor. This is particularly true of the summer months, when the mortality rises 30 per cent over and above the average death-rate for the year. When the heat is greatest, and especially when the periods of high temperature extend over many consecutive days, the mortality is simply appalling among the destitute living in the packed tenement districts where every square inch of available space is utilized, and where as many as 100 persons are sometimes crowded into a five-story dwelling built upon an area of only 2,500 square feet. On the streets the conditions are not much better ; for here the heat is greatly intensified by reflection from brick walls and asphalt pavements, and, in some quarters, the air is vitiated by decaying garbage and other foci of infection.

In view of all these unfavorable circumstances the question arises, Cannot something be done to mitigate them ? In other words, is it not possible to provide more breathing places for the multitude ?

To this my answer is decidedly in the affirmative ; for the possibility of effecting improvements in New York is quite evident from the precedent established in other cities. Let us see what some of these have accomplished before entering upon the discussion of what may be done for the Metropolis.

The densely populated portions of London have been completely remodelled by the County Council of that city ; and to-day the British metropolis is traversed by continuous chains of open squares, gardens, and parks. Paris, also, has become completely transformed, and its "Mysteries," as Eugene Sue named the reeking slums of the French capital, have been removed ; the demolition of these pernicious and unsafe dwellings and the thorough renovation of the city in consequence thereof being due to the efforts of Baron Haussmann, the appointee of Napoleon III. Truly marvellous were the changes then effected. Bulwarks were converted into boulevards, and prisons into gardens ; shade-trees, propagated in 66,000 square metres of hot-



houses, were planted in the broad avenues now the pride and boast of the French capital. Nearly thirty years were required to make these improvements, and over \$150,000,000 were expended upon them. Yet this expenditure was more than counterbalanced by the resultant increase in prosperity ; for the willingness and ability of Parisians to meet assessments for such improvements has increased in even greater ratio than has their municipal indebtedness.

Vienna, Cologne, and other fortified cities followed the example of Paris, abolishing their antiquated nuisances with results equally beneficial. In some places conflagrations hastened the work of reform. Hamburg, for instance, was visited by a fire in 1842 which reduced a large portion of the city to ashes ; the area of destruction being further widened by cannon sent from Berlin to level property in the pathway of the flames. It was upon this heap of ashes that the present city, the finest port of Germany, was built. In 1872 Chicago was visited by a similar catastrophe. Here, also, a great many rookeries were destroyed ; and the rapid growth of the Queen of the West dates from the compulsory improvement inaugurated at that time. We should not wait here in America until such visitations make the rebuilding of our cities imperative. Many of our towns are built on forest-land, and in planning them we can make provision for public parks and squares. Such was the foresight that governed our forefathers in laying out the streets of Washington, D. C., one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

Coming to New York and its breathing spaces, it is hardly necessary to say that Central Park has doubtless proved the greatest boon ever bestowed upon our city. In 1856 the territory embraced within our present park limits was a rude, uncultivated tract distinguished by swamps, creeks, and rocky gulches, and inhabited by squatters ; the only landmarks at that time being the Block House, the home at Mt. St. Vincent, the Arsenal, and here and there a private dwelling. Yet this land, purchased by the city at a cost of about \$16,000,000, has, by reason of the improvements made upon it, so enhanced the desirability of the property in adjoining districts that the assessed valuation of the latter has gradually advanced to over \$500,000,000.

This fact expresses more eloquently than words the material benefit which the park has brought us. Statistics show that it has improved our health ; but its real charm must be seen to be appreciated. There are taller trees in old Hyde Park, broader driveways in the Bois de Boulogne ; but a happy combination of art and nature has made

these 800 acres of ground one of the loveliest of urban resorts. With all its advantages, however, except on holidays it is hardly used by the poor, who live at too great a distance to go there for the fresh air they need.

Although the total amount of space devoted to parks in New York is comparatively greater than that allotted elsewhere, nevertheless our city is painfully destitute of air-space where such is most essential. While the Borough of the Bronx, with a population of 163,000, has 4,000 acres of park land, and Brooklyn, with a population of 1,231,000, has 1,575 acres, Manhattan Borough, with its population of 2,000,000, is restricted to the extremely limited park area of 1,300 acres. Of these, only eighty are situated in the twenty wards south of Fortieth Street, where 1,100,000 of our population are housed ; so that the area occupied by over half the population of Manhattan is virtually destitute of public grounds, 13,750 people sharing one acre of park ground between them.

The encroachment upon our park ground constitutes a sad chapter in our history. In 1867 St. John's Park, shaded by graceful elms, was covered by a freight-depot and wholly obliterated. Battery Park, formerly our public garden, has been disfigured by the unsightly structure of an elevated railroad. The greater part of City Hall Park, at one time one of the most beautiful spots in the city, is now occupied by Mail Street, the Federal Post Office, and the Court House. The removal of the Post Office to a more central location would again give the city control of the site upon which that building is located ; and this area could be further enlarged by the building of a new Court House elsewhere, the present structure having frequently been condemned by the Board of Health. Such measures would facilitate the restoration of the old park to its former size and beauty, and would prove a blessing to the numerous occupants of the neighboring sky-scrappers as well as to the crowds who in future will emerge from or go to the Park Row depot of the cars of the Rapid Transit Tunnel.

To compensate for the spoliation of this once beautiful spot, a few small parks have been created in the lower part of the city. Among these, Mulberry Bend alone is deserving of special commendation. The adjoining "Paradise Square," where five thoroughfares meet—hence appropriately called the "Five Points"—was fifty years ago the centre of crime and misery. One alley of this neighborhood bore the significant name, "Murderers' Row." This was the haunt of the



notorious gang, "The Dead Rabbits," who terrorized the district between Broadway and the Bowery. This locality has now been completely transformed: three acres of open ground occupy the site of the former squalid dens; trees, which have scarcely had time to grow, have cleared the vitiated atmosphere; and terrorizing criminals have been compelled to make room for frugal Italian laborers.

Another plot of three acres, bounded by East Broadway, Norfolk, Hester, and Essex Streets, has been acquired for the formation of "Seward Park." This pleasure-ground is situated within the borders of the Tenth Ward, where 70,000 persons, principally Hebrews, live on 109 acres of ground, *i.e.*, 643 to an acre. The dilapidated structures which covered the spot proposed for the park have been demolished, and the encircling houses, with all their misery, have become painfully visible. Here the Recreation League has temporarily arranged a playground, where swarms of children congregate, and their merrymaking is in singular contrast to the careworn faces of their parents, which show but too plainly that their hopes of finding an asylum in this country have been by no means realized. If some of their more fortunate brethren could witness the misery prevailing in this portion of the city, I am sure they would not permit another summer to pass without providing "Seward Park" with vegetation. The evening concerts which the city furnishes here must sound like mockery to persons suffering from insufficient food and water.

As to water, better provision has been made in other districts. A spacious building containing public baths is now being erected in the prospective "Hamilton Fish Park," comprising the square bounded by Houston, Pitt, Willett, and Sheriff Streets. Yet this building, estimated to cost \$80,000, will encroach on space required for fresh air and for light. Far more successfully have the advantages of our river front been utilized at Corlears Hook Park, a resort which is constantly growing in favor with East Siders.

Several suggestions regarding our opportunities for improvement occur to me. In the first place and above all, I desire to call attention to the shore-line running parallel to Blackwell's Island. Owing to the strong currents at Hell Gate, the entire stretch between the Long Island and the Astoria ferries—that is, from Thirty-fourth Street to Ninety-second Street—is unadapted to the landing of cargoes, and consequently is almost entirely devoid of piers; only a few being used for the landing of coal and lumber. If the entire river front were converted into a shore park, instead of the twelve acres north of Eighty-

fourth Street, and the square bounded by Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Streets, between First and Second Avenues, the change would materially benefit the greatly congested German and Irish districts of the East Side, and at the same time increase the taxable value of the adjacent property. Unless heroic measures are taken this section will eventually become the Whitechapel of New York. In the streets between First and Second Avenues many vile resorts are found, while the space between First Avenue and the river has been appropriated for gasworks, malt-houses, and abattoirs.

Those portions of the city west of Seventh Avenue between Forty-second and Fifty-ninth Streets, and west of Ninth Avenue below Forty-second Street, at present contain not only the poorest, but also the worst, elements of our population. Here our police have frequently been attacked by the so-called "tripe" gang, and other lawless bands infesting that section. Eleventh Avenue is almost completely monopolized by trains. There is but one recreation pier in the neighborhood—recently erected at the foot of Fiftieth Street—and this is greatly overcrowded during the summer months.

It has been proposed to convert the section extending from Fifty-second to Fifty-fourth Streets, and as far back as Eleventh Avenue, into a pleasure-ground—the "De Witt Clinton Park." On this spot, surrounded by sturdy oaks, stood the century-old homesteads of the Mott and Striker families; but it has been recently hired for a dumping-ground, so that the fair old landmark has been despoiled of the trees remaining upon it. As it is, the few dilapidated cottages remaining still bear the name of Striker's Alley, which leads to an elevation where the Recreation League has established one of its well-patronized gymnasiums. Undoubtedly, Clinton Park will serve to improve the condition of its immediate environment; but it is altogether too limited in area to exert a favorable influence upon the district as a whole. A far greater improvement is now possible, in view of the fact that the growing necessity of building piers along the entire North River front will in turn lead to the construction of a broad marginal avenue from the Battery to Fifty-ninth Street. Evidences of such an avenue are already visible at Christopher Street and at various points along the Battery. What a splendid opportunity for small parks would be here afforded! From Manhattan Market, at the foot of Thirty-fourth Street, to the terminus, a strip of land might be reserved—except at street crossings—wide enough for a continuous line of small parks similar in size to



those extending along Park Avenue. The only requisite here would be proper soil, banked sufficiently high to admit of the planting of numerous trees.

If owners of large tracts of real estate, now remaining unimproved, were to assist in making such a betterment along the river, they would soon be repaid by finding lucrative employment for their property. Since the Back Bay of Boston was redeemed, the district has been transformed from a morass into the proudest quarter of the American Athens. Within three years from the time that work was actually begun (1877), the surrounding estates had risen 50 per cent in value ; and this transformation has now spread far beyond Brookline. Similar improvements in New York would be attended by equally beneficial results ; and instead of being ashamed of the gates to our city, as we now must be, we should become proud of them. Wherever passengers descend from boat or bridge they should be welcomed on our shores by a strip of greensward. As the tourist approaches harbors of the Mediterranean lying in the same latitude as our own, his eye everywhere beholds busy quays fringed with fresh verdure ; when he ascends the North River, he gazes upon a succession of nuisances all the way from the Cunard dock to Seventy-second Street. The contemplated extension of Riverside Drive Park to Spuyten Duyvil has been estimated to cost \$30,000,000, and will, when finished, benefit for some time to come a very limited number of people : a small expenditure for the modest extension of Riverside Drive to the south would at once benefit a great portion of the population, and perhaps clear the entire shore of crime.

One of the sanitary improvements perfected in London has been the conversion of a number of abandoned graveyards into public squares. We also have made a beginning in this direction—I refer to the obliteration of the cemetery at the corner of Hudson and Leroy Streets. Similarly, the “Small Park Commission” of 1897 has recommended the condemnation of Marble Cemetery, hidden between First and Second Avenues, and Second and Third Streets. This also might be well utilized as a recreation ground for children. Almost the entire square between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, and between Avenue A and First Avenue, is filled with time-worn gravestones. This dismal spot might well be converted into a playground, more particularly as it would form an admirable annex to Tompkins Square, where, as in other small parks, children are not permitted to play on the grass.

The value of trees as agents of sanitation has ever been recognized. Here I need refer only to the example of the Romans, who reared olive-trees to absorb the malarial effluvia of the Campagna. Nor has this fact been overlooked now ; for in many cities of the world, rows of trees have been planted in the streets, to serve as arteries for the circulation of purified air. Unfortunately, New York is a glaring exception to the rule, although no city ever presented finer opportunities for the cultivation of arboreta. When Henry Hudson discovered Manhattan Island, he found it covered with a primeval forest, traces of which may still be seen on Washington Heights and along the Boulevard Lafayette. In the days when the city barely extended beyond Fourteenth Street, and when our population was still comparatively poor, the trees surrounding the dwellings of our citizens were objects of pride and solicitude. To-day, the numerous stumps in the sidewalks of downtown streets bear silent witness to that ruthless process of extermination which has despoiled our city of its fairest ornaments.

The conspicuous absence of trees from the residential streets of modern New York is hard to explain. Rich men who live here only during the winter appear to take very little interest in their fellow-citizens who are compelled to remain in town all summer. In some instances, indeed, the absence of trees in front of houses situated upon our park and river fronts seems to suggest a fear on the part of the owner that foliage might obscure architecture, apparently oblivious of the fact that the beauty of a dwelling is frequently enhanced thereby. As it is, few of our side-streets are embellished with vegetation ; and even along the Boulevard—an avenue highly favored by nature—the trees are neglected. This is true also of Seventh Avenue above Central Park, St. Nicholas Avenue, and of all other thoroughfares not placed under the jurisdiction of the Park Commissioners—a body which should be authorized to exercise control over every avenue upon which the preservation of the trees is desirable. Except in front of St. Luke's Hospital, Morningside Drive, which is the glory of upper New York, is to-day barren of trees on its western side ; while on the historic King's Bridge Road the few trees still remaining are sadly neglected. What must we think of a corporation that recently spent the enormous sum of \$7,000,000 on the construction of the Harlem Speedway, without exercising sufficient foresight to provide that fine avenue with a row of shade-trees for the protection of riders and drivers and their horses ?



How different are the conditions in other American cities! Boston has its Commonwealth Avenue and other fine parkways which connect the old town with the suburbs. Buffalo boasts its Delaware Avenue, the ideal of an American boulevard, lined with comfortable homes, each surrounded by its garden. The residential portion of Euclid Avenue in Cleveland is equally beautiful, and even the founders of Chicago have shown their appreciation of verdure. When I visited that city, Michigan Avenue was lined with cottages surrounded by gardens, and presented a distinctively rural aspect. These cottages have now been superseded by substantial residences, hotels, and club-houses; and the avenue, which, forty years ago, was hardly open beyond Twelfth Street, the present site of the Illinois Central Railroad Depot, has been extended for miles. Yet such is its attractiveness to-day that it is everywhere referred to as a model of elegant municipal construction.

But why go as far as Chicago? Have not our friends across the bridge their Ocean Parkway and other shady driveways? In the Borough of Brooklyn a person that injures a tree is brought to justice; in Manhattan, arboreal laws are not enforced. The maltreatment of a dog is punishable; while the destruction of the silver maple, which may live and shelter our progeny for five hundred years, is not regarded as a serious offence. The forestry laws of Germany prohibit a person from felling a tree on his own premises without the consent of the authorities. Indeed, so stringent are these laws that when permission is granted to take a tree from the Black Forest, the owner is required to plant two in its place. The advocacy of such severe measures in a country like our own, where many acres of forest land are annually converted into railroad ties, is, of course, out of the question. Nevertheless, something should be done to arrest the wholesale destruction of our trees, and the establishment of societies for this purpose should be strongly encouraged.

The proposed extension of our highways renders a rigorous enforcement of our arboreal laws still more imperative. The development of New York has been, in some respects, somewhat similar to that of London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Philadelphia, and other cities located on rivers. First confined to Manhattan Island, it has gradually spread across the river—this extension toward the east having been accelerated by the narrow shape of the island, which renders communication from north to south extremely difficult. Thirty-five millions have now been voted for the tunnel to connect

Park Row with the Bronx and Spuyten Duyvil ; and it is further proposed to raise a loan of millions of dollars for parks and driveways in the thinly inhabited districts above One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. Yet the early accomplishment of one of the chief objects of the tunnel, the extension of the city northward, is a matter of serious doubt. A ten-mile ride underground must remain disagreeable in spite of all modern improvements ; nor is it likely that the poorer classes will migrate northward so long as land in that section is comparatively expensive. The enormous growth of Brooklyn consequent upon the building of the bridge has demonstrated that municipal expansion naturally tends eastward—that the inclination of the city is to expand in that direction rather than to lengthen. Far more important, therefore, than the tunnel is the proposed bridge over Blackwell's Island, which, when completed, will enable East Siders to reach that geographical centre of Greater New York where lots which, in Harlem, would bring from one to two thousand dollars may be bought for as many hundred, and where a whole cottage may be rented at a rate not exceeding the price of a single room on the East Side. The reason is plain enough. Queens Borough has a population of about 135,000 upon an area of 142 square miles, while the two Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx together harbor a population of over 2,000,000 upon an area of sixty-two square miles.

In view of these facts, Queens Borough, which undoubtedly is destined in time to become thickly populated, should be made as attractive as possible to prospective residents. No district of Greater New York presents finer opportunities for boulevards and for the creation of parks and playgrounds. Here, at last, we may relinquish that rectangular system which makes most American cities look so commonplace, and adopt, instead, diagonal crossings, with small parks and squares at every convenient point. The larger thoroughfares at present existing should be widened, and thus eventually become united with the central approach to the bridge. One of these, Jackson Avenue, leads from Thirty-fourth Street ferry to the charming village of Flushing, where shade-trees in great variety have for several generations been cultivated by public-spirited citizens. Another, Thomson Avenue, and its continuation the Hoffman Boulevard, leads to Jamaica, whose Forest Park, although nearer to the Battery than Grant's Tomb, is almost unknown. This sylvan retreat comprises 500 acres of virgin forest, traversed by secluded driveways



and situated on hilly ground commanding a very extensive view of the surrounding country.

These are but a few examples of the excellent opportunities for municipal improvement afforded by the most extensive borough of Greater New York. The following table shows the annual total expenditure of four of the most important cities in the world, together with the amounts each of them has used for parks and parkways :

	TOTAL BUDGET.	FOR PARKS, ETC.
London .....	\$68,739,000	\$537,950
Paris .....	\$71,735,000	\$500,700
New York.....	\$92,520,000	\$1,729,000
Chicago.....	\$32,000,000	\$1,250,000

Those who know the advantages of London and Paris over New York and Chicago, and compare the economical administration of those cities with our own, will appreciate that we have still some lessons to learn in municipal government. LOUIS WINDMÜLLER.

## THE REMNANT OF OUR NATIONAL ESTATE.

THE founders of our government left to their successors a material legacy greater than any recorded in the history of nations. This material heritage left to the people of the United States, and in great part recklessly squandered by their representatives, was a public domain that seemed likely to preclude forever the development of a "land question." Of the present area of the United States, not including island possessions, 2,889,175 square miles, or more than three-fourths of the whole, once belonged to the Government—that is, to the entire nation. Under what Mr. Joseph Nimmo calls "the wise and beneficent policy" of transferring the public lands to actual settlers at the lowest possible cost, all parties have competed with each other in dissipating this magnificent estate. When Congress hesitated to give the money of its own generation to an importunate corporation, it was always willing to compromise by mortgaging the industry of future generations through lavish grants of land.

In Europe, the land question is the question of how to deal with existing landlords. If there were no landlords, there would be no problem. If the land of England belonged by unquestioned legal title to the people of England, there is probably no responsible statesman in the kingdom who would propose to sell it or to give it away.

This problem is one from which we started free. Except in the older States the National Government was the sole landlord. In future ages men will scarcely believe that we went deliberately to work to introduce the very complications from which we were initially free. Practically, all the immediately available part of our public domain is gone. We have given away mining and arable lands to anybody that would take them; we have sold timber lands to speculators at two dollars and a half per acre when the trees on them alone were worth from ten to a hundred dollars; and we have made the "actual settler" a stalking-horse for the landlord. The process has been varied. Sometimes the settler has taken up his claim in good faith, and has then sold it on securing his patent. Sometimes he has lost it through the devouring mortgage. Sometimes he has



been the mere hired man of the speculator, and has taken up his quarter-section for his employer's benefit in consideration of a small fee. Sometimes the capitalist has bought vast areas of railroad land and fenced them all in, enclosing alternate sections of government land and freezing the small settlers out.

So far, so bad. The 1,200,000,000 acres already thrown away include almost all the land upon which a man with no capital but his hands and his industry could hope to settle and extract an independent living from the soil. That chapter is closed. The scramble for the poor crumbs of Oklahoma and the Sioux Reservation gave formal notice of the fact. But is nothing more to be done? Are the American people to resign themselves to a position of contented landlessness? Fortunately there is one part of our domain which has not yet been disposed of, because nobody as yet has wanted it. It is what is commonly known as the "arid region," and comprises those lands on which the natural rainfall is insufficient to mature crops. The region contains some of the most fertile land in the country. All it needs is water, and, in some parts at least, there is an abundance of water if it be properly used. The Government still owns about 560,000,000 acres of land outside of Alaska. Most of this is in the arid belt: a large part of it is hopelessly barren mountain and desert; but much is fertile soil, easily susceptible of reclamation. Probably a hundred million acres could be irrigated at once without extraordinary expense, and millions of acres more could be brought into use as the system of irrigation became developed and improved.

On this last landed reserve the pressure of population is already beginning to be felt, and irrigation is becoming a "live issue." Some years ago a Senatorial Committee made a tour of the arid region, investigating the capabilities of the country; and, as a result, bills for the promotion of irrigation are pending in both houses of Congress. But, in all the discussion of this subject, it seems to be taken for granted that the Government has no interest in the land except to get rid of it at the earliest possible moment. One scheme provides for the alienation of the land in small tracts, under the conditions of the Homestead laws; another proposes to distribute it among the States; and another would take for a model the Desert Land Act, which allowed a single person to take up a tract of 640 acres on condition of reclaiming it. With the combined assistance of this law and of the Southern Pacific grant, one "settler" acquired an imperial domain of 500,000 acres of the richest land in California. The traveller

could drive for thirty miles along the outside of this humble farmer's fence without seeing a farmhouse.

What does the Government gain by disposing of its lands in this way? In this single instance it has given away a property which is worth at least \$10,000,000 now and will be worth \$50,000,000 in a few years, and it has not acquired a class of small freeholders in return. It could have insured forever the maintenance of a race of small tenants on that estate, paying moderate rents to the government, enjoying security of tenure, and making a good living for themselves. Instead, it has preferred to turn it all over to a single landlord, who has worked it as Southern plantations were worked before the war, and who, to carry out the parallel, has imported trainloads of negro laborers from the South.

It has been the theory of our land laws that every American citizen is entitled to a share of the public domain. We have carried out that theory by the artless method of allowing every citizen to take his chances in a general grab. We have offered 160 acres of land to anybody that could find a piece to suit him, and would agree to make his home on it. Those American citizens who have been unable or unwilling to move to the frontier themselves, and have had scruples against hiring others to take up land for them, have been deprived of their share of the common inheritance. A simple arithmetical computation will show that even if everybody tried to get a homestead there would not be quarter-sections enough to go round, so that the great majority of the people would have to remain landless. It is as if a bequest consisting of ten city lots in Philadelphia were to be left to a hundred persons—men, women, and children—some living in California, some in Montana, some in Texas, some in New York, and some in Maine, and a Court should undertake to divide the property among the heirs by giving the ten lots to the first ten claimants who should take possession of them. The right of the poorest sewing-girl in a Pearl Street tenement to her share of the public domain is as good as that of any of the speculators who are fencing it in; but how, under existing laws, is she going to get it? The only just and scientific way of dividing landed property among a heterogeneous multitude of owners is to divide the proceeds of it; and since there are insuperable objections to the plan of trying to sell our public domain for anything like its real value, the reasonable method of procedure is to rent it and apply the returns to the expenses of the Government.



Some of the arid lands of California that have been reclaimed by private enterprise have risen in a few years from a valuation of \$1.25 to one of \$500 an acre. A hundred dollars an acre is a common price, and it is probable that within a few years not a single acre of good irrigated land in California can be had for less than fifty. Let us assume that the measures shortly to be adopted by Congress will result in the early reclamation of 100,000,000 acres of desert land. At \$10 an acre the value of this property would be \$1,000,000,000 ; at \$50 an acre it would be \$5,000,000,000 ; at \$100 an acre it would be \$10,000,000,000. By what right can any Congress give away this splendid inheritance of the whole American people to the first squatters who may happen to scramble for it?

In California, tenants often pay more than \$5 an acre rent for bare land and settle the water rates in addition. At such charges, the Government could draw \$500,000,000 a year from 100,000,000 acres—enough to pay all its legitimate expenses without taxation and allow a handsome contribution to the treasuries of the States. And nobody would be burdened : the rents could be fixed with a generous regard to the earning capacities of the land ; the Government would be no rack-renting landlord, like those who are now flourishing under the protection of its preposterous laws ; nobody would take up a farm unless he saw his way clear to paying his rent and getting a good return for his money ; and the “unearned increment” would go to the whole people, to whom it justly belongs. The farming population would gain by the new system. Under the present conditions in the arid regions, the men who actually bring small tracts to their highest state of cultivation are burdened by enormous fixed charges on their land. The men who take up 160 acres each under the Homestead laws are not those who, in the language of the real estate circulars, “make the desert to blossom as the rose.”

Sometimes a capitalist secures a vast domain at the outset and gains the entire benefit of the unearned increment for himself ; winning great applause as a public benefactor when, in the course of time, he graciously consents to sell off a part of his estate in small tracts at \$20, \$30, or \$40 an acre. A common order of progression is this : The pioneer settler drifts along from Pike County, Missouri, builds a cabin, and establishes himself on a quarter-section of land with his hogs, dogs, and chickens. He scratches the ground every year, and takes the chances of raising a crop of wheat without irrigation. Occasionally he succeeds ; more often he fails ; but, as the value of his

land is steadily rising, the storekeeper lets him have flour, sugar, tobacco, and whiskey, and takes his note at outrageous interest. In the course of years the bill gets too large to be allowed to run any longer, and the storekeeper takes the land. He holds it, renting it out on shares, until the speculator comes along and bonds it for perhaps ten dollars an acre in anticipation of a boom. The speculator puts up a notice claiming most of the water in the adjacent river, starts an irrigating ditch, and puts the land on the market in twenty-acre lots at twenty dollars an acre. When a few lots have been sold, he raises the price to fifty dollars; and before the various farms he has bonded are disposed of, he is selling for \$100 an acre the land for which the original settlers scarcely got whiskey and tobacco. The men who pay this price take what money they have left and begin to plant trees and vines. They are burdened from the start with annual interest payments of five or ten dollars an acre, with the whole principal sunk in addition. If they were renting from the Government they would have no more to pay in rent than they now have to pay in interest, and their capital would be free for current operations. Whatever money they had they could turn over every year, instead of being compelled to lock it up once for all in their land.

It is a mistake to suppose that the average small farmer of the West would rather own his land than rent it on easy terms with assured possession. As it is, the nominal owner is usually not a real freeholder—he is only a tenant of the mortgagee. There are always more applications for a farm that is to let than for one that is for sale. With the Government as landlord, with speculative prices abolished, and with permanency of tenure as security for improvements assured, this tendency would be still more marked.

There is an additional reason for the maintenance of the common ownership in the arid lands. It is, that the system of private ownership, which works after a fashion in rainy countries, is productive of infinite confusion in regions dependent upon irrigation. The owner of forty acres of land in Illinois or Indiana is independent of all the world except the storekeeper. He plants his corn, and the rain waters it. He interferes with nobody, and nobody interferes with him. But in the arid regions no farmer can work by himself. Without water the land is worthless, and the water must be shared with hundreds of others. The entire territory dependent upon a given stream is an entity, and should be administered on a general system.

The attempt to reconcile Eastern notions of property in land and



water with Western conditions has been responsible for an endless waste of money and energy, and has hindered the reclamation of the desert more than any other single cause. The theory of the common law is, that the owner of the land on the bank of a river has a right to the undiminished flow of the water in its old channel. This theory, destructive of all possibilities of systematic irrigation, has been applied to California with disastrous results. The money and labor that have been spent by riparian owners and appropriators in fighting one another for the right to monopolize the life blood of the State would have checkered the plains with vineyards. The universal assumption having been that the resources upon which all depend must, in the order of things, be grabbed by somebody, the only question until recently has been whether they should be grabbed by the persons who had squatted on the lower course of the streams or by the persons who had stuck up notices of appropriation higher up.

Of late years an attempt has been made to combine private ownership in land with public ownership of water in irrigation districts. It is too soon to tell how this scheme is going to work, but anybody who has ever done any practical farming in an arid region can imagine the difficulties that are likely to arise under such an arrangement. A body of private land-owners engaged in a work in which the co-operation of all is necessary resembles the old Polish Diet with its *liberum veto*. One man, cranky or selfish, standing upon the inalienable constitutional rights of property, may upset a whole broadly planned scheme of improvement. To insure the best development of an irrigable region, it is essential that the supreme proprietorship of both land and water shall be in the hands of the community. The right of private possession ought to be preserved whenever practicable; but in the last resort the unquestioned power to manage the whole territory for the general good should belong to the representatives of the entire people. The dominant need in the development of the possibilities of the arid region is system, and a thorough system is impossible in the present state of affairs.

I have spoken of the probable returns from a hundred million acres of land. But when we consider that of the 560,000,000 acres still in possession of the Government much more than a hundred million can be eventually cultivated; that a large part of the remainder is valuable for grazing; that in the mountains there are rich mines of coal, gold, silver, copper, and tin yet undeveloped; and that there are vast stretches of forest whose preservation is essential to the future

welfare of the country, it is obvious that the wealth still at our disposition is incalculable. Even the remnant of our national estate is a noble inheritance. Shall we throw it away as we have thrown away all the rest? At the present time the revenues annually drawn by private individuals from lands practically given away by the Government would not only meet all our public expenses—National, State, and local—and leave us free of all taxation, but we should have left a surplus for such useful enterprises as no government has yet felt rich enough to undertake. Instead of applying this stream of wealth to such purposes, we have burdened industry with double taxes, one for the support of the Government, and the other, and vastly heavier tax, to pay the speculator for permission to use the land the Government foolishly gave away.

It is a curious fact that the American people can see clearly the truth about this subject when it is presented on a small scale, but that they are utterly blind to it on a large one. When a city owns a few lots every one agrees that it ought to keep them. San Francisco has a little business property, the income of which goes toward the support of the schools. If anybody should advocate the sale of that property he would be set down as a corrupt jobber, and people would ask what there was in it for him. In building the sea wall along the water front of that city, the Harbor Commissioners have reclaimed a number of triangular bits of ground that could be made valuable for storage and other purposes, and public sentiment is so impressed with the importance of retaining these tracts that it forbids not merely the sale, but even the lease of them for more than a few years at a time. And yet if all the land of San Francisco were public property to-day, as it was a comparatively short time ago, in all probability the first thing that would be done would be to appoint a land agent and sell it off to the first comer.

Before the Canadians injured our sealing industry we leased the sealing privilege on two small islands in Alaska for enough to pay the entire cost of the whole Territory, principal and interest, within ten years. If we had followed our usual policy we should have sold the islands of St. Paul and St. George, seals and all, for \$1.25 or \$2.50 an acre, or else we should have given them away to the first "actual settler" that came along and filed a claim. Most people will admit that we adopted a wiser course. The reason we adopted it was that it seemed the only way to preserve the seals. But aside from that, did it not justify itself from a financial point of



view? If there had been no question of preserving the seals at all, would the people have consented to give away a resource that had shown its ability to turn nearly a million dollars a year into the National Treasury? And if it would have been wrong to give away the seal islands, why was it right to give away the great gold mines on Douglas Island, which support the largest stamp mill in the world? Why was it right to turn over to millionaires instead of to the people the profits of the Anaconda, the Calumet and Hecla, the North Bloomfield and the Consolidated Virginia? Why is it right to give to reckless lumbermen the privilege of destroying for their own immediate profit the magnificent and priceless forests upon which the future habitability of the country depends? It is time for a radical change in our methods of dealing with the remnant of the public domain, and, in my opinion, the proper steps to be taken are these :

(1) The immediate and absolute repeal of all laws authorizing the permanent alienation of any portion of the remaining government lands.

(2) The appointment of a Commission to classify these lands according to the purposes for which they are best adapted.

(3) The substitution of leases for patents in all grants to individuals or corporations ; the conditions of the lease to be regulated by the character and situation of the land.

(4) The opening of the entire public domain to actual settlers, with assured possession during compliance with the terms of occupancy ; all lands below a certain margin of cultivation to be free from rent until such time as the progress of settlement makes them substantially valuable.

These measures would save for us something of the splendid patrimony which we are now recklessly dissipating. But they must be taken promptly if they are to do any good. Already even Alaska is fixed by the glittering eye of the promoter ; the forests of Maine, of Michigan, and of California are becoming a memory, and from Arizona to Washington the choicest spots of the West are becoming the prey of the boomer.

SAMUEL E. MOFFETT.

## THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

ON February 5, 1900, the President of the United States transmitted to the Senate for its ratification an agreement which has become known as the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. Shortly before its transmission to the Senate the Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, and the British ambassador, Lord Pauncefote, appended their signatures to the convention. The treaty thus proposed was negotiated to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Senate referred the treaty to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which reported it on March 9 with the following amendment :

Insert at the end of section 5 of article 2 the following : “ It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 of this act shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defence of the United States and the maintenance of public order.”

Senator Morgan was the only member of the Committee opposed to the amendment, and the Administration was reported as greatly displeased with the action of the Committee.

The amendment did not satisfy the opponents of the treaty. They declared that it was vague, inadequate, and unsatisfactory, and that if it were adopted it would breed international complications. It was as unsatisfactory to the State Department as it was to Lord Pauncefote ; and as soon as the text of the proposed amendment was known it is said to have been cabled by the Ambassador to the Cabinet in London, with the emphatically expressed opinion that the amendment should not be accepted by Great Britain. The amendment is regarded as practically nullifying the original agreement. If amended in the form proposed, the treaty would probably be the most self-contradictory agreement ever concluded. The amendment seems to be an attempt to embody two antagonistic principles in the same compact. After providing for the neutralization and non-fortification of the canal, it gives the United States the right in time of war to nullify the whole arrangement. The nations of Europe



cannot be expected to guarantee the neutrality of the canal if the United States are to be at liberty to disregard the provisions of the treaty. If the powers of Europe accept the amendment, they will accept anything. It does not seem within the range of probability that Great Britain, or, indeed, any other European state, will accede to such an agreement.

It is said that this amendment is similar to the one in the Treaty of Constantinople of 1888 neutralizing the Suez Canal. Between the two, however, there is a most important difference, which the Senate Committee has ignored. It is agreed, it is true, in Article X of the Constantinople Convention that certain stipulations of the treaty shall in no case occasion any obstacle to the measures which the Imperial Ottoman Government might think it necessary to take in order to insure, by its own forces, the defence of its other possessions situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea. But in the succeeding article it is expressly declared that the measures which the Ottoman Government might take for the defence of its possessions should not interfere with the free use of the canal, neither should they extend to the erection of any permanent fortifications. This restriction of power is not embodied in the Senate amendment. The exemption granted to Turkey in Article X of the Suez agreement was not embodied in the original draft of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty because it was not thought applicable to our conditions. The United States have no waterway that corresponds geographically to the Red Sea on the western coast of Arabia. Since we have no such possession in or near Nicaragua, we have no need to reserve a special right to defend it. As Senator Morgan explained to the Committee and to the Senate, Turkey made no reservation of a right to defend Constantinople when she reserved the right to defend her coast on the Red Sea, which is an approach to the canal.

In 1854 the Dallas-Clarendon treaty was negotiated to settle certain disputes that had arisen under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It failed because of an amendment which the Senate made to the clause relating to the Bay Islands of Honduras, an amendment which the British Government declined to accept. We predict a like fate for the Hay-Pauncefote agreement should the Senate amend the treaty in the manner proposed by its Committee on Foreign Relations. The legal effect of such an amendment would be the annulment of the neutralization of the canal.

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty is intended to modify, not to abrogate,

the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The convention of 1850 deprived the United States, and Great Britain as well, of the right to obtain exclusive control over the ship canal. The first article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is as follows:

The Governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America; nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have to or with any state or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same; nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any state or government through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other.

The convention of 1900 modifies that of 1850 by providing in the first article that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States. No like concession is made to Great Britain, which still remains subject to the restrictions imposed by the convention of 1850. The principle embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty—that the canal is not to be fortified—is re-asserted in the Hay-Pauncefote agreement; and the same is true of the “general principle” of neutralization established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was concluded April 19, 1850, by John M. Clayton, at that time Secretary of State under President Taylor, and by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British Minister at Washington. Its ratification in the Senate was secured by a vote of forty-two to eleven. Webster, Clay, Cass, and Seward were then members of the Senate; each voted for the ratification of the treaty, and each afterward became Secretary of State. Salmon P. Chase, who represented Ohio in the Senate, voted for the treaty, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, opposed it. In 1853 Mr. Seward made a speech in the Senate defending the treaty, and later in the same year Mr. Everett did likewise. The latter was not a member of the Senate when the treaty came before that body for ratification, but, like the others named, he filled at one time the office of Secretary of State.



No other treaty the United States ever made has been so much criticised and denounced, yet it afforded a peaceful solution of a situation which in 1850 was regarded as very grave—a situation which we were not prepared at that time to accept as a *casus belli*.

In providing for the neutralization of the canal, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty is in accord with the historic American position. From 1825 to 1880 the statesmen of the United States favored an inter-oceanic canal which should be open on equal terms to all nations and be neutralized by the joint guarantee of all. The construction of a ship canal through Central America was one of the subjects proposed for discussion at the Panama Congress of 1826. In the instructions which Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, issued to our commissioners to that Congress, he stated that if the work should ever be executed so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of just compensation or of reasonable tolls.

In 1835 the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the President to open negotiations with other nations, with the view of protecting, by treaty stipulations, any canal that might be constructed to connect the two oceans and of insuring "the free and equal navigation of the canal by all nations." In 1839 the House of Representatives passed a like resolution. In a special message to the Senate, February 10, 1847, advocating a neutral canal, President Polk declared that the interests of the world at stake are so important that the security of this passage between the two oceans could not be suffered to depend upon the wars and revolutions which might arise among different nations. In 1849, in his annual message, President Taylor declared that the canal, if constructed under guarantees of neutrality, would become a bond of peace instead of a bond of contention and strife between the nations of the earth. He added that he had no doubt the great maritime states of Europe would consent to a proposition so fair and honorable. In the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the United States and Great Britain guaranteed the neutrality of the canal, which was to be forever "open and free."

The United States have negotiated other treaties upon the like principle. In 1846 a treaty was made with New Granada in which the United States guaranteed "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus of Panama in return for certain rights of transit across the isthmus granted to the persons and the property of citizens of this

country. In 1867 a treaty was made with Nicaragua in which certain rights of transit between the Atlantic and the Pacific were granted to the United States and to citizens thereof, with their property. In return, the United States agreed to "protect" all such routes of communication and to guarantee "the neutrality and innocent use of the same." It was also agreed that the United States would employ their influence with other nations to induce them to guarantee "such neutrality and protection." In 1864 the United States made a treaty with Honduras, and guaranteed the neutrality of the route or road of the Honduras Interoceanic Railway Company.

In 1854, Mr. Buchanan, then minister at London, admitted that the main feature of the policy which dictated the Clayton-Bulwer convention was to prevent either Great Britain or the United States from being placed in a position to exercise *exclusive control, in peace or war*, over any of the grand thoroughfares between the two oceans. In 1860 Mr. Buchanan had become President of the United States, and in his annual message to Congress said: "The discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty between the two governments, which at different periods of the discussion bore a threatening aspect, have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this government." The discordant constructions referred to did not relate to the neutralization or fortification clauses of the treaty.

In 1857, General Cass, at that time Secretary of State, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Napier, declared in a communication dated October 20: "The United States, *as I have before had occasion to assure your Lordship, demand no exclusive privileges in these interoceanic passages, but will always exert their influence to secure their free and unrestricted benefits, both in peace and war, to the commerce of the world.*" In November of the same year General Cass stated that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was intended to establish a general principle in reference to all practicable communications across the isthmus. That principle, he declared, was that the interoceanic routes should remain under the sovereignty of the states through which they ran, and should be neutral and free to all nations alike. The policy was that, in order to prevent any government outside of those states from obtaining undue control or influence over those interoceanic transits, no such nation should erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, etc. Like statements were made by Mr. Marcy, by Mr. Seward, and by Mr. Fish, when they filled the office of Secretary of State.



In 1880 a new policy was announced. In a special message, dated March 8, 1880, President Hayes said :

The policy of this country is a canal under American control. The United States cannot consent to the surrender of this control to any European power, or to any combination of European powers. If existing treaties between the United States and other nations, or if the rights of sovereignty or property of other nations stand in the way of this policy—a contingency which is not apprehended—suitable steps should be taken by just and liberal negotiations to promote and establish the American policy on this subject consistently with the rights of the nations to be affected by it.

In 1881, in his inaugural address, President Garfield also pronounced for American control. The new policy, however, was more fully disclosed in the state papers of Secretary Blaine and Secretary Frelinghuysen. In June, 1881, Mr. Blaine addressed a communication to Mr. Lowell, our minister at the court of St. James, in which he called attention to the guarantee, by the United States alone, in the treaty of 1846 with New Granada, of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, and said :

Any attempt to supersede that guarantee by an agreement between European powers, which maintain vast armies and patrol the sea with immense fleets, and whose interest in the canal and its operation can never be so vital and supreme as ours, would partake of the nature of an alliance against the United States and would be regarded by this government as an indication of unfriendly feeling.

In the same communication, Mr. Blaine declared that during any war to which the United States of America or the United States of Colombia might be a party, the passage of armed vessels of a hostile nation through the canal at Panama would be no more admissible than would be the passage of the armed forces of a hostile nation over the railway lines joining the Atlantic and Pacific shores of the United States or of Colombia, and that the United States of America would insist upon their right to take all needful precautions against the possibility of the isthmus transit being in any event used offensively against their interests upon the land or upon the sea.

In a communication dated November 19, 1881, Mr. Blaine informed Mr. Lowell that the government desired to have cancelled every part of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty which forbade the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it. He also informed him that the acquisition of military and naval stations necessary to the protection of the canal, voluntarily ceded to the United States by the Central American States, was not to be regarded as a violation of the agreement to abstain from making any

acquisition of territory in Central America. And the Secretary went on to say :

If it be asked why the United States object to the assent of European governments to the terms of neutrality for the operation of the canal, my answer is that the right to assent implies the right to dissent, and thus the whole question would be thrown open for contention as an international issue. It is the fixed purpose of the United States to confine it strictly and solely as an American question, to be dealt with and decided by the American governments.

As to warships he repeated what he asserted in a previous note :

In time of war, aside from the defensive use to be made of it by the country in which it is constructed and by the United States, the canal shall be impartially closed against the war vessels of all belligerents.

When Mr. Frelinghuysen came into office as Secretary of State, he informed Mr. Lowell, on May 8, 1882, that the President considered it unnecessary and unwise, through an invitation to the nations of the earth, to guarantee the neutrality of the transit of the isthmus. Mr. Lowell was instructed that in the opinion of the President the formation of a protectorate by European nations over the isthmus transit would be in conflict with the Monroe doctrine.

But when Mr. Cleveland came into power we find a return to the historic American doctrine. In his message of December, 1885, he declared :

Whatever highway may be constructed across the barrier dividing the two greatest maritime areas of the world must be for the world's benefit, a trust for mankind, to be removed from the chance of domination by any single power, and must not become a point of invitation for hostilities or a prize for warlike ambition. . . The lapse of years has abundantly confirmed the wisdom and foresight of those earlier administrations which, long before the conditions of maritime intercourse were changed and enlarged by the progress of the age, proclaimed the vital need of interoceanic transit across the American isthmus, and consecrated it in advance to the common use of mankind by positive declarations and through the formal obligation of treaties.

The principle of neutrality as applied to the canal originated with the United States. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations called attention to this fact in its report of March 9, 1900, and said :

As to neutrality and the exclusive control of the canal and its dedication to general use, the suggestions that were incorporated in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty came from the United States, and were concurred in by Great Britain. In no instance has the government of the United States intimated an objection to this treaty on account of the features of neutrality and its equal and impartial use by all other nations.



The bill introduced by Mr. Hepburn in the House on December 7, 1899, and now pending before that body, makes no provision for the neutrality of the canal. Not only is this an extraordinary departure from the policy of the United States, but the Committee, in reporting the bill favorably to the House, made an equally extraordinary declaration. The Committee announced that they desired a canal that might be used to discriminate in the matter of tolls between a foreign vessel and one "made in an American shipyard, out of American material and by American labor, and loaded with American merchandise." To the latter class of vessels the Committee would grant the use of the canal free of toll. If the United States should adopt the policy the Committee advocates, they would call forth the indignant protest of the civilized world. The arguments in favor of this discriminating policy have already been denounced as contemptible and pettifogging, and a humiliation to every American who cares for his country and wishes to respect its institutions. We do not look for its adoption by a nation that led in asserting the right to the free navigation of rivers, and that succeeded in securing the abolition of the Sound Dues which Denmark had levied for 500 years.

A neutralized canal is not only the historic policy of the United States, but it is the policy as well of Nicaragua and Costa Rica and of the nations of Europe. In 1887 Nicaragua granted the Menocal concession under which the Maritime Canal Company, incorporated by Act of Congress in 1889, carried on its operations. That concession provided for the neutrality of the canal and for the equal right of all nations to use it on payment of the tolls. In 1898 Nicaragua granted what is known as the Eyre-Cragin concession. Under this concession the canal is to be neutral; in case of war traffic is not to be interrupted; and the port at either end is to be free. Spain has a treaty with Nicaragua, made in 1850 and still in force, in which it is agreed that any canal that is built shall be neutral. Belgium made a similar agreement with Nicaragua in 1858; France, in 1859, and Great Britain, in 1860.

It has been objected that the treaty "revives" the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In reporting to the House of Representatives the Hepburn canal bill, February 17, 1900, and in speaking of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce declared that Great Britain "still uses this ghost of a dead treaty to frighten the people of the United States from securing the great advan-

tages certain to flow to us from the successful completion of this great undertaking." In view of the fact that we have never convinced either Great Britain or ourselves that the treaty is dead, the Committee's statement is, to say the least, surprising. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty has never ceased to be obligatory upon the United States from the time it was entered into, and all talk about its being "revived" is based upon utter ignorance of the facts. Neither the President, nor the Congress, nor any Secretary of State has ever asserted that it was either void or abrogated. A Senate Committee at one time reported in favor of abrogating it, but this course was not adopted.

As Secretary of State, in an official communication dated February 16, 1877, Mr. Fish acknowledged the treaty to be "still subsisting." In 1881 Mr. Blaine recognized it to be in force when he expressed the hope that Great Britain would "concede certain modifications," the rest of the treaty "to remain in full force." Mr. Frelinghuysen only expressed an opinion that the treaty was "voidable," and this opinion was predicated solely upon a hypothesis and not upon a positive assumption of fact. Mr. Frelinghuysen is the only Secretary of State who has intimated that the treaty was voidable, and his argument has not commended itself to any of his successors in the office. Mr. Olney, when Secretary of State, referred to the treaty as a subsisting engagement; Mr. Day is quoted as entertaining the same opinion, and it is well known that Mr. Hay shares that belief. In their report submitted to the Senate on March 9, 1900, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations said :

But before 1860 every American President and diplomatist who had discussed the subject adhered to the declaration that the treaty had not been abrogated and was in full force as to all its provisions. . . Since 1860 the Clayton-Bulwer treaty has been in some way recognized by the government in each of the succeeding administrations as a subsisting compact. . . This treaty is, therefore, open and existing as a binding and unexecuted compact, with the express approval of the United States as to the question of our control over the canal and our right to build and fortify it. It is executed and therefore unrepeatable as to all other questions and matters covered by its provisions.

Not only is the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in force, but most of our publicists understand very well that it would be most unwise for the United States to set it aside, even though it should be conceded, which it is not, that there are legal grounds which would justify such action. The treaty imposes most important restrictions upon Great Britain, and these restrictions should not be removed. That



power, like the United States, has coasts and seaports on both oceans, and may sometime desire a canal across Nicaragua under her exclusive control. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty prohibits her from constructing it, and does not allow her to acquire even a coaling or a naval station anywhere in Central America. The treaty, so far as it restrains the power of Great Britain, is a treaty to be enforced. So far as it unwisely restricts the power of the United States it is a treaty to be modified. Under no circumstances is it a treaty to be given up if satisfactory modifications can be secured. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty without amendment secures such modifications as the interests of the United States require. It is to the credit of the Secretary of State that the new treaty leaves the old one in force, the defects of the old being remedied by the provisions in the new.

It has been objected that the treaty is subversive of the Monroe doctrine. This is a repetition of the objection advanced by Mr. Frelinghuysen against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The objection is certainly not well taken. The Monroe doctrine prohibits European interference intended to alter by force the constitution or form of government in an American state. It also prohibits any future European colonization of the American continent. As understood by President Polk and President Cleveland, the doctrine also precludes the acquisition of additional territory on the American continent by any European state. This is all there is to the Monroe doctrine, and in not a single particular does this treaty conflict with it. On the contrary, it is in full accord with it. The neutralization of the canal is an agreement to keep hands off, and that is exactly what the European states are required by the Monroe doctrine to do.

It is conceded that no American Secretary of State ever went farther than Mr. Olney in applying the Monroe doctrine. But it never occurred even to him to claim that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty violated that doctrine. On the contrary, he claimed that the treaty was a fulfilment of that doctrine when he declared :

We are also indebted to it [the Monroe doctrine] for the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which both neutralized any interoceanic canal across Central America and expressly excluded Great Britain from occupying or exercising any dominion over any part of Central America.

The opponents of the treaty seek its discredit by claiming that the agreement creates a European "protectorate" over American territory, which they would have us understand constitutes a violation of

the Monroe doctrine. The charge might have been made with more reason against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, for that did make it the duty of Great Britain along with the United States to "protect" certain interests. But when the charge is made against the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, it is without even a shadow of justification, and, when made against the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, it has never produced a very profound impression upon the country.

The supremacy of the United States on the American continent, about which Richard Olney expressed himself in plain language in his correspondence with Lord Salisbury in the Venezuelan controversy, is not surrendered or imperilled by an agreement not to fortify a canal that is to be neutralized, and which is not even in our own territory. If the treaty should be ratified, the United States, to use Mr. Olney's language, will still be as "practically sovereign" throughout America as before, and "its fiat" will still be law. The objection has also been made that the treaty provides for European control of distinctly American affairs. But, as a matter of fact, the only control the treaty provides for is control by the United States.

Those who object to a control based upon the consent of England argue that the right to assent assumes a right to dissent, and they deny the right of England, or any European power, to interpose an objection to the construction of the canal by the United States. It is certain that England has a right to object to the assumption by the United States of the sole control of the canal, its right to object being derived from the Clayton-Bulwer agreement, under which the United States and England covenanted for a joint control. Whether the United States will recognize any other European state as having a "right" to object may be a question. But it is well enough to remember the treaties which Nicaragua has already made with certain of these nations, before referred to, which expressly guarantee the neutrality of any such canal.

It has been objected that the United States should have the right to fortify any canal that it builds. That the United States should have a fortified canal was the proposal of Mr. Blaine. It is necessary, however, to understand that the agreement not to fortify is based upon the agreement not to attack. What reason is there for fortifying what cannot be attacked? The Treaty of Berlin in 1878, in order to increase the guarantees which assured the freedom of navigation on the Danube, which it recognized as of European interest, provided that all the fortresses and fortifications existing on the



course of the river from the Iron Gates to its mouths should be razed, and no new ones should be erected. When Belgium was neutralized, it was agreed by a convention signed at London, in 1831, that the fortifications named therein should be totally disarmed and demolished. And when the London conference of 1867 placed the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg under the guarantee of the Powers as a permanently neutralized territory, it was a part of the agreement that the fortifications were to be demolished. The convention of 1888, which imposed a neutral character upon the Suez Canal, prohibited its fortification. Other like instances may be cited, as in the case of the Free Town of Cracow, neutralized by the treaty of Vienna, and of the Black Sea, neutralized by the treaty of Paris.

It is well to remember, in this connection, that the agreement not to fortify does not involve the surrender of a right which the United States now possesses. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty says: "No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent." But in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the contracting parties had agreed that neither would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same (the canal) or in the vicinity thereof. The question of whether we shall or shall not fortify is, therefore, not an open question. We have already agreed that we shall not fortify, and from that obligation we have never been released.

Senator Davis, the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, is quoted as saying that the cost of fortifications for the canal would be enormous. He declares that anywhere from \$50,000,000 to \$80,000,000 would be required for the purpose. What reason is there for supposing that the United States, which have so long utterly neglected to fortify their own coasts, would ever complete, at so great an expenditure, the fortifications of a canal so far removed from their immediate frontier? However that may be, the United States ought not to assume so great a burden of expense when the assumption of it would leave the canal less secure than it would have been if reliance had been placed in the guarantee of the nations.

The naval experts who have spoken on the subject have expressed the opinion that it is not practicable by land fortifications to defend the canal successfully against modern guns and armored battleships. But if land defences can be constructed which would prevent the seizure of the canal, its safety would not thereby be absolutely secured. A single shot landed within the canal works from an enemy's ship, or a charge of dynamite properly placed by one of his secret agents,

might destroy the canal or render it useless for the time being. It is not to be a smoothly flowing waterway, but one interrupted by ten immense locks. These locks are to be so closely associated, and so dependent mutually, that the naval experts say the work of destruction could be made complete by the exercise of the simplest and most easily directed agencies. These experts tell us that the detonating energy of a single stick of dynamite could injure the mechanisms beyond repair and paralyze all traffic for months to come. They warn us that no watchfulness could guard against a resort to these agencies, and that no precautions could insure immunity from disaster. They inform us that shore emplacements can be of no war value in the protection of the canal, and that its defence must be essentially naval in character. They instruct us that the logical and only real defence of the canal is based upon principles of strategy that are immutable, and that the controlling element depends upon the command of the sea. They advise us that the key to the situation is to be found in the control of the Caribbean Sea. Admiral Dewey has not hesitated to say that he is opposed to fortifying the canal. "To fortify," he has said, "will simply result in making it a battle-ground in case of war"; and he added: "Fortifications will be enormously expensive and ought not to be erected."

It has been objected that, under the treaty as proposed by the Secretary of State, the canal would be a menace to the United States; that it would provide an expeditious way for an enemy to attack the Pacific coast, as it is to be open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality. Those who advance this objection need to be reminded of the fact that there are but two conditions under which it is possible for the nations of the world to agree on the neutralization of the canal—the warships of all belligerents may be excluded from the canal, or else all may be allowed to pass through the canal without discrimination.

Those who have studied the subject carefully have come to the conclusion that the wiser policy is to regard an interoceanic canal as always open to the ships of the world on terms of perfect equality. That was the policy which the nations adopted as to the Suez Canal. It is the policy which the Hay-Pauncefote treaty proposes for the Nicaragua waterway. Reflection will convince most persons that it is wiser to allow the ships of all nations to enter the canal upon an equality—and thus secure its neutralization—than to deny them



that privilege, thereby endangering the safety of the canal while involving the United States in the enormous expense contingent on the fortification and defence of the waterway, to say nothing of the political complications that would ensue.

It is highly creditable to the press of the country that the leading papers have discussed the treaty on its merits, and have approved or disapproved it without reference to partisan considerations. Such papers as the "Evening Post" and the "World," of New York, although not in sympathy with the Administration, have commended the treaty and called for its ratification, while the "Times-Herald" and the "Evening Post," of Chicago, and the "Sun," of New York, notwithstanding their ardent devotion to the President, have not hesitated to denounce the treaty in most unsparing terms. The New York "Evening Post" declared that what Secretary Hay had done was so plainly in the interests not only of this country but of all the world, was so undeniably in the line of progress and humanity, that the friends of civilization and peace should see to it that his statesman-like achievement be not crippled or defeated.

On the other hand, the Chicago "Times-Herald" said that the treaty was born dying if not dead, and declared that the United States had fallen back twenty years in the negotiations. It added: "The people will not accept the recession. Neither will the House of Representatives, which can block the passage of a Nicaragua bill if it may not act directly on the new convention. Neither, we believe, will the Senate, before whom that convention must come for ratification." The Chicago "Evening Post" said: "There is not a single practical argument for a neutral canal." It announced that if the American people had to choose between a neutral canal and no canal at all, the overwhelming majority would prefer no canal at all. The New York "Sun" was equally severe in its criticism. It declared that the people of the United States would not tolerate the spectacle of our enemy's ships being escorted safely through the canal and then sent out to prey upon our commerce or seaports, while our men-of-war following them through the canal were held the allotted twenty-four hours before being permitted to put to sea. The "Post," of Washington, an Administration paper, repudiated the treaty and called for its rejection by the Senate. "For our part," it declared, "we shall regard the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a more perilous blunder than that of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of fifty years ago."

It is worthy of note that almost without exception the leading papers of New York supported the treaty. The "Journal," as was to be expected from its well-known hostility to the President, opposed it. The opposition of the "Sun" was not surprising, for it is a pronounced advocate of a strong foreign policy, and believes in carrying things with a high hand. It is somewhat remarkable that the papers of Chicago should have been as pronounced in opposition to the treaty as those in New York were in its favor. The Chicago "Journal" stood alone in that city in its advocacy. The Chicago "Tribune," a paper devoted for years to the interests of the Republican party, declared the treaty was one which never should have been laid before the American Senate and asserted that Secretary Hay had spent so much of his time abroad that he was out of touch with the American people, adding, "If the duty of framing the pending treaty had been assigned to Lord Pauncefote alone the result could not have been more in harmony with British interests." The "Inter Ocean," the most intensely Republican paper in Chicago, called the treaty "mere diplomatic patchwork."

When a paper like the Atlanta "Constitution" calls the treaty a "criminal blunder of international negotiation," its attitude may, unjustly, I think, be attributed to partisan considerations. The same may be said, and with equal injustice, of the attitude of the New York "Tribune," which declared that the majority of the people of the United States would hail the ratification of the treaty with joy. But it is very certain that only a strong sense of public duty led the New York "Evening Post" to advocate the treaty, and the Chicago "Times-Herald" and "Tribune" to oppose it, contrary to their party predilections in each case. A high sense of public duty has also led Mr. Cleveland to break the silence on public matters he has generally maintained since his retirement to private life, and to advocate the ratification of the treaty.

HENRY WADE ROGERS.



## JOURNALISM IN JAPAN.

JOURNALISM, like a great many other new institutions which are now fairly well established in Japan, came to us from the West. As its seed was planted in a rich soil, its growth has been rapid, and its ramifications are now firmly established in the national life.

To show the nature of the soil in which the seed of the modern newspaper was planted, some explanation of the conditions which prevailed in Japan under the old *régime* must be given. Formerly the country was divided into about 360 *hans*, or territories, under feudal lords ; and although they appeared to be closely united under the Emperor, as the supreme head of the state, and under the Shogun, as the military and administrative chief, these *hans*, excepting those brought into relationship through marriage or the adoption of heirs, were practically secluded one from the other, just as Japan as a whole was isolated from the rest of the world.

In those days, education was almost wholly confined to the ranks of the *samurai*, or feudal vassals. As a general rule these had their homes in the strongholds of their lords. Consequently, so far as matters of interest in any particular *hans* were concerned, there was no need of the printing-press as a means of circulating news ; while, as regarded events in other territories, it was hard to obtain information, each *han* having been jealous and suspicious of its neighbors, guarding its own affairs with the utmost secrecy. Practically, international relations did not exist, and so there was no incentive or necessity for keeping well informed as to the affairs of the outside world. As for the peasants and the common people, they lived happily and contentedly under the generally benign rule of their feudal lords, not caring the least for what was passing beyond their own immediate environment.

Under these conditions the naturally inquisitive disposition of our people remained for a long time dormant. A gradual awakening began, however, in the second quarter of the present century, when men like Shihei Hayashi, Noboru Watanabe, Choyei Takano, and others conversant with Dutch—the only European language in which Japanese scholars of that day were proficient—eagerly collected all

available information respecting the course of events abroad, and printed and circulated it with their own comments. On the other hand, the high functionaries of the Baku-fu, as the Shogun's government was termed; accustomed to ease and luxury, and loath to have their gross ignorance of domestic and foreign affairs unveiled, did their utmost to suppress these energetic and patriotic *samurai*, arresting, imprisoning, exiling, and, in some instances, executing them.

Watanabe, an enlightened and talented writer, was the man marked earliest for such persecution. In order not to compromise his feudal lord, who would otherwise have been held responsible, he finally committed suicide, which was an honorable form of executing the death sentence permitted only to knights. Takano, a physician and an accomplished Dutch scholar, was twice arrested and imprisoned, and, in order to escape the ignominy of a felon's death, also committed suicide. But the most enterprising and daring of this little band of reformers was Shihei Hayashi. Having learned on one occasion that Russian explorers were molesting the aborigines of Yezo, he went to that island and gave effective assistance against the trespassers. When he returned to his native province he published and secretly circulated several pamphlets on national defence and other timely topics, in which he condemned the ignorance and incompetency of the Baku-fu officials. This brought him under the official ban, and finally, like his fellow reformers Watanabe and Takano, he was forced to commit suicide.

Considering the difficulties with which these men had to contend, their limited knowledge of foreign languages, the paucity of foreign books and of other publications, and, above all, the strict espionage of the authorities, we cannot fail to admire their energy, fortitude, and patriotism. They were pioneers in the efforts to form an enlightened public opinion; and although their courage and devotion would doubtless have made them run any risks to obtain a quicker and more regular method of diffusing useful news, the time was not ripe, and all they could do was to circulate pamphlets at irregular and considerable intervals.

However, there was one feature of Japanese life under the feudal *régime* which was favorable to the establishment and growth of journalism. Under the rule of the territorial lords, freedom of speech was by no means tyrannically suppressed. As a general rule, these nobles were carefully educated from early youth in the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. They were surrounded also by advisers—elders of



the house, as they were called—selected from among the ablest and most experienced of their vassals, whose duty it was to advise their masters upon all matters of importance. The system was one calculated to impress upon the nobleman a realization of the responsibilities of his position and a due respect for the opinions of others. The study of the political doctrines inculcated by Confucius and Mencius did much to make him liberal and tolerant ; for, although China was in their day, as it is now, an absolute monarchy, the political philosophy of the sages named was not by any means moulded in the same cast. On the contrary, their sayings are full of a genuinely democratic spirit. Mencius goes so far as to declare that a dynasty could, and should, continue so long only as its line of action was acceptable to the will of heaven—that is, to the people. He said that such wise Emperors as Yao and Shun did not disdain the suggestions of peasants.

Now it is a curious fact that while in China the sayings of these ancient philosophers have been studied merely as models of literary style, the tendency in Japan has been toward the practical application of their teachings. Small wonder, therefore, that education based upon such broad and liberal doctrines should have caused Japanese feudal lords not only to concede to their elders and counsellors the right freely to express their views, but to encourage the same freedom among vassals generally. Thus in the *samurai* were fostered a habit of frankness in the enunciation of his views and a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of his master and of his fellows. In the broader field of national affairs, education, training, and usage impressed upon him the duty of redressing the wrongs of the people and of correcting abuses of power ; and when journalism was introduced he found in the new vocation a natural and an effective instrument of reform. This explains why, at the inception of journalistic enterprise in Japan, the leaders were mostly of the *samurai* class, and why the profession itself was regarded as a most honorable one.

Later on, when a great many *koshimbun*, or small newspapers, sprang up, which catered to the unsavory tastes of the lower classes, there was a tendency to disparage journalism. Nevertheless, the post of managing editor or editorial writer on a high-class daily is fully appreciated, and among the younger members of the profession there are a number of graduates of the Imperial University, and of other colleges of repute. Many officers of the Government, also, have been, or are still, connected with journalism, including cabinet ministers, vice-ministers, members of parliament, governors of prefectures, and

others of corresponding or lesser rank. The ranks of other professions have also been drawn upon for prominent names, as witness the case of Mr. Yukichi Fukuzawa, a noted pioneer in the introduction of Western education into Japan, who is the proprietor of the Tokio "Jiji Shimpō"; of Mr. Jiuko Sugiura, another distinguished educationalist; and of Dr. Ukichi Taguchi, an economist of the free-trade school.

According to the latest statistics, there are now published in Japan 745 periodicals, of which Tokio has 201, Osaka 56, and Kyoto 51. The report from which these figures are taken does not give the number of daily newspapers, but I estimate that it is about 150. Tokio alone has twenty. And yet, a little more than twenty years ago there was not, throughout the whole of Japan, a single regular publication to which the name newspaper could justly have been applied.

The earliest attempt in Japan to publish anything in the nature of a periodical was made in 1863, by a publisher known as Man-hio, at Yedo, now Tokio. The publication was in pamphlet form, and consisted mostly of translations of items of news from Dutch newspapers published at Batavia, the chief port of the Dutch East Indies. From this circumstance the periodical was known as "The Batavia News." Man-hio was publisher to the Government office known as "Bansho-chosio"—literally, "Bureau for Investigating Barbarians' Books"—an institution which was the nucleus of the Imperial University. At the suggestion, and with the assistance, of the professors of this Bureau, Man-hio undertook the publication of the "News"; but the enterprise was not long-lived. Following this, many periodicals cropped up, published at irregular intervals as occasion required. Among my collection of these early so-called newspapers I have specimens of the "Yenkin Shimbun" ("News of the Metropolis and Provinces"); the "Bankoku Shimbun" ("News of All Nations"), published as the organ of the English missionaries; the "Moshio-gusa" ("Collection of Sea Weeds"), edited jointly by Mr. Ginko Kishida and an American, the first genuine newspaper published in Japan; the "Chiugai Shimbun" ("Home and Foreign News"), edited by Mr. Kishida alone; and the "Koko Shimbun" ("News of Society"), edited by that talented journalist and politician Genichiro Fukuchi. Other periodicals of those early days were the "Tokio Shimbun" ("Tokio Newspaper"), the "Nichi Nichi Shimbun" ("Daily News"), the "Shimbun Zassi" ("Collection of News"), and the "Nissin Shinjishi" ("Journal of Daily Events"), which last was published in Japanese by an Englishman.



All of these publications were brochures of a dozen or more leaves, printed from wooden blocks, with rude sketches by way of illustrations. In glancing through their pages we discover that the primary object of the publishers was to supply their limited circle of subscribers with such useful information of foreign affairs as they could obtain, and especially to show how Western nations had attained to civilization and power. Little mention was made of domestic news, save by occasional brief references to the most important events. The number of regular subscribers to these publications was naturally limited, although various ingenious devices were employed to increase their circulation. One method was the employment of hawkers, who, as they went from place to place, read aloud the contents of the paper; another was the use of catchy signs in the many picture shops of Tokio. But, notwithstanding these and other novel advertising schemes, none of these pioneer ventures in journalism ever attained any great success, and the longest-lived among them did not last for more than two years.

The first successful daily newspaper established in Japan was the "Mainichi Shimbun" ("Daily News"), issued first at Yokohama in 1871, and afterward published in Tokio. This paper was printed originally from wooden blocks. A year or two later, when a type-foundry had been established at Tokio, movable metal type and wooden blocks were used indiscriminately, but from about 1873 or 1874 the former only has been employed. Mr. Saburo Shimada, at one time Vice-President of the House of Representatives, and still an influential member of that body, a journalist of wide attainments, universally respected both in his public and private capacities, is the chief proprietor and editorial writer.

The Tokio "Nichi Nichi Shimbun" ("Daily News") was established in 1872, and holds high rank among the Japanese journals of the day. It is owned by Baron Miyoji Ito, ex-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, and through its columns Baron Suyematsu, ex-Minister of Communications, first attained distinction. That veteran journalist, Mr. Genichiro Fukuchi, was for a long time identified with it; and at present Mr. Chisen Asahina, who has travelled extensively and has marked ability, is its chief editorial writer. This paper exerts great influence among the official class.

The "Hochi Shimbun" is the next in chronological order, having been first published at Tokio under the rather inelegant name of "Yubin Hochi Shimbun" ("Carrier of News by Post"). On its edi-

torial staff are such noted politicians as Mr. Yukio Ozaki, ex-Minister of Education, and now leader of the Progressionists in the House of Representatives, and Mr. Katsundo Minoura, ex-Vice-Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. The "Jiji Shimpō" ("The Times") is another influential Tokio daily. The proprietor is Mr. Fukuzawa, the renowned educationalist already mentioned, and the paper has a large circulation in business circles, where many of his former pupils hold leading positions. The "Nippon" ("Japan") is a comparatively young newspaper, but exerts a great deal of influence among those who call themselves enlightened Conservatives, whose guiding principle is the conservation of nationalism among the students. The editorial staff is composed principally of young men, well educated, undoubtedly, but not all of ripe experience; consequently, the editorials, though, as a rule, brilliantly and powerfully written, have the fault of being too academic. The Tokio "Kokumin Shimbun" ("The Nation") had formerly a very large circulation, and, besides its daily issue, at one time published two monthly magazines, the "Kokumin-no-Tomo" ("Friend of the People") and the "Far East" (in English); but of late the circulation of the paper has fallen off, and the magazines have been discontinued.

The foregoing newspapers, with the addition of the "Japan Daily Times," edited entirely in English by a Japanese staff, may be called the O-Shimbun, or large papers, which command more or less political influence and still maintain the journalistic spirit and traditions of earlier days. Other political papers published in Tokio are the "Yomiuri Shimbun," which literally means "Selling by Reading," an old method of circulating news in our country; the "Chiuo Shimbun" ("Central News"); and the "Jimmin" ("The People"), the organ of the liberals. As yet, however, these papers do not appear to have attained any great amount of influence, all but the first named being of recent origin. The "Yorodzu Choho" ("Morning Items") and the "Asahi Shimbun" ("The Rising Sun"), both of which have a large circulation, are not generally ranked among the high-class journals.

Although at present each Japanese city and town of any importance has one or more daily newspapers, outside of the metropolis there are only two which command any very considerable influence. These are the "Mainichi Shimbun," the chief editor of which is Mr. Takashi Hara, a talented writer who was Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Chino-Japanese War, and the "Asahi Shimbun."



Both are published in Osaka, and have a very large circulation, particularly in the western half of the Empire.

To summarize the journalistic situation in Japan, it may be said that at the outset, when news was circulated only in pamphlet form, the primary object of the publishers seems to have been to propagate useful knowledge respecting the affairs of the Western world. Subsequently, when daily newspapers were established, the educated *samurai* not only enlightened their readers on foreign matters, but promulgated their opinions upon political, social, and economic questions. For this they were, as already explained, well fitted both by training and by inclination. I do not mean to say that they were able to discuss intelligently all the abstract problems of science, religion, or metaphysics, but their culture and mental equipment at that time sufficed for the requirements of their profession. The ideal of the journalism of that time being the moulding of national politics, the institution of social reforms, and the instruction of the people, the editorial writer naturally held absolute sway in the newspaper office. Consequently, the position of managing editor or of a writer of miscellaneous items was regarded with scant favor by ambitious journalistic aspirants. This tradition, and the customs to which it gave rise, still survive among the so-called "large" newspapers, whose editorial staffs are composed of the ablest talent to be found in the journalistic world.

But the latest tendency, particularly among the minor newspapers, is to give greater influence to the managing editor, who, in former days, as the head of the business department, held quite a subordinate position. The editorial writers are being reduced to the same rank as the writers in other departments. In fact, on some papers, they are no longer allowed to express their views freely and independently, but are completely subordinate to the managing editor, whose sole object is to sell his paper, principle and tone having no weight with him. This tendency is due to the strong competition among the newspapers of the metropolis, where, notwithstanding the hunger for news, twenty dailies are more than enough to satisfy the cravings of all possible subscribers. In this mercenary struggle the minor papers, with their scant sense of dignity and honor, naturally come out best; but, under the circumstances, it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the larger political dailies still maintain the high tone and spirit of former days.

T. J. NAKAGAWA.

## SOME RECENT PLAYS AND PLAYERS.

THE season of dramatic entertainment which has just ended ranged between extremes—from “Sapho” to the “Elder Miss Blossom.” The fact that the public showed extraordinary interest in “Sapho,” and that from the box-office point of view it might have been the most successful play of the season, had the performances not been stopped by the police, may be the cause of considerable reflection to the moralists who occasionally write upon the decadence of the drama. The deductions of these moralists are usually extremely interesting, but, I fear, quite erroneous.

There is no decadence in the drama. Public taste has not changed a whit. The whole philosophy of success or failure in a play can be summed up in the simple dictum that the public likes any play which is well written, well constructed, and well acted—any play which is a good example of its type. The public never has countenanced, nor would it to-day tolerate, a play which is immoral, simply because it is so. To be stamped by the public approval a play must have in it something which strikes a note of human experience, something to redeem the equivocal question with which it deals. A play based on such a question is never received by the public for what there is wrong in it, but because of its human strength ; nor has there ever been—in this country, at least—a successful play of the type of “Camille,” “Zaza,” or “Sapho” in which the certainty of retribution for wrongdoing was not shown and enforced.

The success of plays like “Sapho” will be found to lie in the fact that they give a strong presentation to certain phases of human life. But here comes in a larger question. Should certain phases of human experience be shown on the stage at all? The answer to that question is really an individual one. Obviously there is a large class of people who would find a strong moral lesson in “Sapho.” The novel on which the play is based was written by Daudet for his son to read on coming of age. The author desired his boy to learn, through this book, the consequences of an immoral life, in order that he might avoid it ; and there is no doubt that, with a growing knowledge of



life, we become more competent to escape its moral pitfalls. This fact is frankly recognized in foreign countries, but in this country we still shut our eyes to it. Ignorance of vice, however, is not virtue ; the latter consists in resisting what we *know* is wrong. Nevertheless there should be a limit to the presentation of some sides of life on the stage. In regard to certain experiences, reticence is not hypocrisy.

It is true, as I have said, that no play of this kind has succeeded simply because it deals with a certain topic ; the necessary element of retribution is always present. Moreover, to attain success, plays of this kind must have artistic qualities and must make a strong appeal to human nature ; otherwise they leave no lasting impression. There must be something in them which leaves a lingering sense of pity for the leading character. Certainly, in the plays which I have named there is nothing to encourage any spectator to follow in the footsteps of the heroines. To die of consumption, to give up the man you love, to see your idol shattered after a series of heart-breaking, soul-wearing contentions—none of these finalities offers an alluring prospect. Nevertheless, so end the careers of Camille, Zaza, and Sapho.

As the public this season was more concerned with the last named, I may say that, in my opinion, the impression it made was highly repellent. There was so much quarrelling, so much heart-suffering, so much that was absolutely painful in it, that it should have had an absolutely deterrent effect upon any one about to take an immoral step.

As regards Miss Olga Nethersole's production of the play, it was on the same high, artistic plan which she has shown in former seasons. She is a woman of artistic sensitiveness, and her own acting was a combination of the graceful and the pathetic. Being her own manager and her own stage-producer, she deserves full credit for the manner in which the play was presented. Better stage-management than that shown in the handling of the large crowd in the ball-room scene in the first act, which is a constant succession of lively incidents, cannot be imagined, and the mounting of the play throughout was admirable.

"Sapho" having been so much in evidence this season, the following anecdote concerning it may be of interest. A certain publishing firm in this city, which had made a specialty of religious books, decided some years ago to branch out into a more general literary business. Considering the novels of Daudet, so far as they had appeared, suitable for their purpose, they contracted with him for the American rights to a manuscript on which he was then engaged.

The manuscript came over : it was "Sapho." Imagine the feelings of these publishers when they discovered, on reading the manuscript, the class of book they had contracted for as a first departure from their religious publications. They immediately cabled to Daudet : " 'Sapho' will not do."

It seems that Daudet's friends considered that a high honor had been conferred upon him by the purchase of his manuscript by an American publishing house. To celebrate the event they tendered him a banquet. It was in the midst of this banquet that the cablegram, " 'Sapho' will not do," was received. The distinguished author puzzled over it a moment, then passed it around. The guests read and pondered it. Finally, they concluded that it referred to the difference in the spelling of the name in the two languages. Accordingly they despatched the following cablegram to the American publishing house : " All right, spell it 'Sappho.' "

This play is only one of many recent instances of the successful dramatization of novels. To show how the position of the novelist toward the stage has changed, it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that Maude Adams, with "The Little Minister," still draws crowded houses wherever she plays, and that among the distinguished successes of the season have been Mrs. Fiske's "Becky Sharp," William Gillette's "Sherlock Holmes," "Ben Hur," "The Only Way" (a dramatization of "A Tale of Two Cities"), and James K. Hackett in "The Pride of Jennico." Formerly a manager used to look with pity upon a playwright who came into his office with a dramatization of a novel in his pocket. The novelist who demanded for himself a place on the stage was an individual still undiscovered. But now a magic change has come over the relation between manager and novelist. One of the first dramatizations of a book to bring about this change was "The Prisoner of Zenda." Its success was very great, not only with the usual theatre-going public, but with a class of people entirely outside.

A hint to the wise is sufficient, and no people are quicker to perceive the trend of popular taste than theatrical managers. They found out that the dramatization of a book attracted to the theatre those who had read and enjoyed it, whether they were regular theatre-goers or not, and thus added immensely to the theatrical *clientèle*. The movement well started, a great impetus was given to it by Charles Frohman's production of "The Little Minister," with Maude Adams as Lady Babbie. For three seasons this play has now



run practically to "standing room only," and has made a fortune for manager, author, and actress. Mr. Barrie himself dramatized the book, and it is said that when the play is given in New York and other large cities his royalties average \$1,000 a week. Yet it was Barrie who said to Mr. Frohman, just after the novel had been published, "One thing I am sure of, there is no play in it." A playwright with whom the manager consulted agreed with the author that no successful play could be made out of it. Some months later, Mr. Barrie came over here to attend an International Copyright meeting. A few days after his arrival he saw John Drew and Maude Adams in "Rosemary." After the performance he dashed into the manager's office, exclaiming, "I have just seen my Lady Babbie on your stage, and I will write the play for her."

William Gillette's "Sherlock Holmes" is a model piece of construction, and, as played by him at the Garrick Theatre, was so successful that at any performance it would have required a Sherlock Holmes to discover a vacant seat. The merit in the dramatization lies in the fact that Mr. Gillette, who made it, has put all the mystery of a book of 340 pages into a play of two hours and a half, and has preserved all the characteristics of a collection of thirty stories, without using one of these. He has simply taken the main character of the book, and has preserved his traits so well that, although the scenes of the play are entirely original, the audience feels the book through it all. "Ben Hur," as dramatized by William Young, and "The Pride of Jennico," by Mrs. Abbey Sage Richardson and Miss Grace Furniss, are excellent specimens of stage-craft; and Mrs. Fiske's production of "Becky Sharp," by Langdon Mitchell, a son of Dr. Weir Mitchell, was one of the most serious and artistic productions of the season. As in her famous performance of "Tess," Mrs. Fiske is physically wholly unsuited to the *rôle* of "Becky." It is the brilliant mental force of the actress which breaks through all physical limitations and places her stage creations of these two characters among the most significant pieces of acting to-day. Henry Miller's Sydney Carton, in "The Only Way," offered him some of the best opportunities in his career, and he made ample use of them.

The dramatization of books is the latest stage phenomenon, and it has assumed such importance that the writer of a novel now seems to have the manager in view while he is writing for the publisher. The writer of a book may not become his own dramatizer, but the dramatization, even if by other hands, is profitable to him. With the dra-

matic writer the problem is to find his subject. The book gives it, and the theatrical manager is willing to compensate the writer in liberal fashion. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that, during the past year, the American writers of books have been among the best writers of plays. The theatrical manager now takes the same chair as the editor, and accepts fiction for the stage, as the latter does for his magazine. With the first symptoms of success of "To Have and to Hold," the author of that novel received for the dramatic rights offers enough by wire and letter to fill a large scrap-book.

It is a great satisfaction to know that the successful dramatization of books has not interfered with the success of original plays. In "Robespierre" Henry Irving and Miss Terry played two highly lucrative engagements at the Knickerbocker Theatre. A notable play of the season was Clyde Fitch's "Barbara Frietchie," in which the title *rôle* was charmingly acted by Julia Marlowe. At Daly's Theatre, Daniel Frohman maintained the traditions of that famous house with a series of original plays, brilliantly acted and superbly mounted. Two delicious comedies, "Miss Hobbs," by Jerome K. Jerome, delicately acted by Annie Russell, and "My Daughter-in-law," with Ellaline Terris and Fanny Brough, were cleverly given at the Lyceum. "The Tyranny of Tears" attracted John Drew's usual large following; and the Kendals' production of "The Elder Miss Blossom" was a triumph of purity and sweetness in theatrical art. There was no falling off in the public's interest in Richard Mansfield's "Cyrano," and in the other *rôles* from his repertoire. Stuart Robson made a neat hit in "Oliver Goldsmith," one of the delightful comedies of the year; while Esmond's "When We were Twenty-one" charmed the audiences of the Goodwins.

One of the best plays of comedy and sentiment seen here in many a day was produced at the Empire Theatre—"Brother Officers," by Leo Trevor. William Faversham played the hero, Lieutenant Hinds; and by her sweet and sympathetic portrayal of the heroine, Lady Roydon, Margaret Anglin added considerably to her growing reputation. Jessie Milward is the regular leading lady of the Empire Stock Company; and the substitution of Miss Anglin in "Brother Officers" shows how careful the manager must be to consider the casting of a play from every possible point of view. Why was Miss Anglin substituted for Miss Milward? Empire Theatre audiences have always seen Miss Milward and Mr. Faversham in plays which found them united before the final curtain. In "Brother Officers," Lady Roy-



don does not love Hinds. Indeed, the leading motive of the play is his self-sacrifice for the man she loves. The management argued that the sympathy of the audience would go out to Hinds, and that it would feel a certain sense of disappointment at his not getting the woman he cared for. There is one thing an audience cannot stand—keen disappointment; and as Empire audiences had always been accustomed to see Faversham, as the hero, win the love of Miss Milward, as the heroine, the management feared that if Hinds failed to win both Lady Roydon and Miss Milward, the play would also fail with the audience. Therefore it went outside of the company and engaged Miss Anglin, with whom Mr. Faversham had never acted before. This seems like stretching a point; but the playgoing public is extremely sensitive.

I have already mentioned "The Pride of Jennico," in which Mr. Hackett appeared. It is a melodrama of an extreme, romantic type, and clearly belongs to the Anthony Hope style. It is remarkable what a strong hold melodrama has on popular fancy. The fact is that final judgment upon a play is rendered, neither by the manager who accepts it, nor the actors who interpret it, but by the eyes and ears that see and hear it. Those eyes and ears dearly love a lover and the persecuted man or woman of melodrama. "Give me the old story, a good limelight, and a good orchestra to play shivery music, and I will defy all the literary people in the world," is a familiar managerial expression. But to a successful melodrama there is more than the old story, shivery music, and a good limelight. Really the heart interest in plays of this kind is very strong, and the types, though exaggerated, are not more so than in the novels of Dickens. I think that a good melodrama like "Hearts are Trumps," which presents the life of to-day very much as Dickens did the life of his day, is quite worthy to be ranked with the works of that novelist. The play has been one of the great successes of the season.

Have you ever stopped to think why romantic plays such as the two last mentioned are followed by an audience with such breathless interest? The reason is, I believe, that in a well-constructed play, and in a melodrama even more than in any other, the playwright takes the audience into his confidence. Nothing is more fatal to a play's success than to make an audience believe that the story is going to develop in a certain way, and then surprise the audience by twisting it in an entirely different direction. An audience should never be surprised. The greatest skill in a playwright is to allow his audience to

anticipate events of which the characters in the play itself are apparently still in ignorance. The play in which the audience is constantly saying to itself, "You poor little fool, can't you see he is duping you?" has in it the element of a great success. The greatest delight of an audience is to know in the third act something which the hero or heroine is not going to discover until the fifth.

In "The Pride of Jennico," for instance, the audience knows that the lady in waiting, whom Jennico marries, is really the Princess, and the whole tension of the play lies in the audience's absorbing interest in the question, "How soon will Jennico discover the real personality of the woman he has married?" That is the reason why, although the Princess has more acting to do than Jennico, the latter, nevertheless, is the star part of the play. In watching the performance of this play, it was surprising to me to note how quickly the audience dropped each character after he or she had discovered the identity of the Princess, until its whole interest was centred upon Jennico. When he at last discovered what the audience had known all along, it was time for the curtain to go down, and down it went, amid great applause, because every one in the audience was immensely pleased to think that he or she had known, from the very start, something which it had taken Mr. Hackett nearly three hours to find out. Therein lies the whole secret of successful play-writing.

I consider the production by E. H. Sothern of Meltzer's English version of Hauptmann's "Sunken Bell" one of the most important events of the season. Heinrich, the bell-founder, and Rautendelein, the mountain sprite, are decided departures from the parts which Mr. Sothern and his wife, Virginia Harned, have been acting. Their repertoire has been of the Hope-Dumas style. "The Sunken Bell," I need hardly say, is one of the great dramas of the latter part of the century—highly imaginative, and while immensely effective as a mere play deals, at the same time, with a profound metaphysical problem.<sup>1</sup> Successfully to place a drama of this kind upon the English-speaking stage is an achievement of which any actor may well be proud, and I hope Mr. Sothern's ambition may be spurred on to the production of other plays of equal significance and importance.

I understand that next spring Mr. Sothern is to give an elaborate production of "Hamlet." This reminds me that we have heard very little Shakespeare this winter. I do not recall any Shakespearean play of note this season, except the Irving-Terry representation of

<sup>1</sup> See THE FORUM for December, 1897, p. 432.



“The Merchant of Venice” and Modjeska’s “Lady Macbeth.” Is the public’s interest in the greatest of dramatists falling off? I do not think the lack of Shakespearean productions indicates this. I heard an experienced manager say that if he could find an actor who could play “Hamlet” as well as Edwin Booth, he would mount that play for a whole season’s run in New York. The fact is, that Shakespeare appeals, as no one else, both to parquet and gallery; but the standard of acting has been greatly raised of late years, and now in the greatest plays the public will accept only the greatest actors.

I must not close this article without referring to the highly interesting performances of Japanese plays given in the native language by Sada Yacco and Kawakami, and to another Japanese play, an adaptation by David Belasco of “Madame Butterfly,” a pathetic story, in which the leading part was played with great depth of feeling by Blanche Bates. These may have been mere bubbles upon the surface of the dramatic stream, but they were iridescent.

Taken all in all, this season has been one of great variety. We have had the problem play—I suppose “Sapho,” and “The Degenerates,” which Mrs. Langtry gave, can be dignified by that name—tragedy, sentimental drama, melodrama, comedy, farce, and what not? Letting everything pass in mental review, I can see how every success confirms and reconfirms my theory that public taste does not change—that the play which is a first-rate example of its type is always sure of success.

GUSTAV KOBBE.

# The Forum

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JUNE, 1900.

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## THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARDS THE CHINESE.

THE attitude which the United States has just assumed in reference to the action of European powers claiming spheres of interest in China is unquestionably the most important diplomatic event in the affairs of the Chinese Empire since the treaty of Nankin, in which the first five ports of the country to be thrown open to foreign trade were formally specified. In acquiring territory in China, the desire of European nations generally has not been to secure people to govern so much as to attain for themselves special and exclusive privileges of trade. In such enterprises each Power has endeavored to obtain, in a given region, the right to enter free the goods of her own citizens while taxing the importations of every other nation.

Of the nations against whom tariffs have to be erected, in operating such a system, the United States stands in the first rank. By reason of her tremendous and highly wrought industrial power she can undersell any other nation in many, if not in most, commercial products in any market to which she has access. Save for the tariffs of France, Russia, and Germany, the United States could supply those countries with many articles which they consume, to the detriment of native producers, just as in London English manufacturers are now undersold by their American compeers. Any sphere of influence in which the United States should have trading rights equal to those of the nation in possession would be a useless sphere. Practically, it

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would belong, not only to the European nation nominally possessing it, but also to the United States.

No unusual perceptive powers are required to see that if the United States secures equal trading rights in all spheres of influence an end will be put to that particular line of European policy in the Far East. This is exactly the object for which all intelligent and patriotic Chinese have striven ; but the end has arrived before it was expected. They deemed that the United States, when confronted with possible action in this respect, would consider that her interests in the Far East were not yet sufficiently advanced to admit of interference which might possibly have to be sustained by warlike demonstrations. These interests, of course, would never be other than those of trade ; and it was felt that great effort should be made to awaken in American manufacturers and producers an interest in the markets which the Orient presents, and to bring to their notice the enormous demand in the East for articles of American production. It has been the special aim of Mr. Wu Ting-fang, the Chinese minister at Washington, to induce all legitimate American enterprises to take part in the industrial development of China ; and the Consulate-General, working with the whole body of Chinese Consuls in the United States, has been unceasing in its endeavors, through every channel promising success, to make shippers realize the conditions of trade in the East, and to give them a knowledge of the opportunities open there.

The present Administration, however, has grasped the Eastern Question, and has fully appreciated the status of the United States in relation to it. It realizes, too, that of all the nations of the earth, the United States has the most promising future in China, and that her interests are indissolubly bound up with the preservation of China's government and the integrity of the Empire.

This awakening of the States to the existence of China as a field for commercial enterprise is most comforting to the Chinese people. To the achievement of Admiral Dewey at Manila Bay is to be credited the attention which the Orient has aroused in the minds of the most restless and progressive people in the world. So long as China was 10,000 miles away from the back-door of the nation, what happened to, and within, her was of little more concern to the average American than a disturbance of corresponding moment in the solar heavens ; but when United States merchants realized that Hong Kong and Canton were nearer than any other foreign ports to an American possession, then the Empire, of which Canton is a part, and

Hong Kong a port of entry, grew to be of as much interest to Americans as any other trading country.

Taking advantage of this, the Chinese officials resident in the United States have done what they could to make China understood and discussed ; and in this work an immense amount of aid has been rendered by such institutions as the International Commercial Museum and Export Association of Philadelphia, the California Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Manufacturers' and Producers' Association of San Francisco. The writer is in a position to see some of the effects of this agitation. Though Consul-General for China for three years, until the fight at Manila not a dozen persons called upon him with plans for going to China in commercial ventures. But since May, 1898, there have been over 100 such visitors, representing many of the largest manufacturing concerns of the East and the West. When the exports and imports between the United States and China are footed up for 1899, the totals will prove a veritable surprise. From computations to date the figures indicate that the imports will exceed \$22,000,000, an advance of \$3,000,000 since 1894, and that the exports will be over \$12,000,000, an advance of \$6,000,000 since the same year.

These results are gratifying ; yet the totals are a bagatelle to what they should be when we consider that China contains over 400,000,000 of sober, earnest, practical, and industrious people, producers and traders by instinct, and anxious to possess the goods and implements of the West.

The policy of the Administration at Washington will do much to popularize the United States in China, especially amongst the trading classes at the Free Ports. But there are yet some dark spots on the disk of trade, and these need to be burnished off by vigorous rubbing. The best cleansing powder is better knowledge of the Chinese people and wider trade relations with them. The spots to which I refer are the laws of this nation toward Chinese immigrants. The laws of the United States prohibiting Chinese immigration are without parallel in the codes of the world, and can only be compared to the regulations of the Chinese nation itself in a period of its history to which we would under no consideration revert.

Moreover, in addition to its inherent injustice, the statute is based on a misconception of conditions and a mistake in facts. It had its origin with the rabble. Its promoters were speakers from the tops of soap-boxes and the tail-skids of drays. It was caught up by politi-



cians when the clamor had gathered strength with the mob, and when appearances indicated that the latter could poll votes enough to elect its ringleaders to office. Whenever a calm and dispassionate inquiry into the conditions was held the verdict was sure to be in favor of the Chinese ; and it was on this account that the friends of justice in Congress held out so long against the demands upon that body for measures of exclusion.

Nevertheless, the situation here as regards the Chinese was remarkable, and in the nature of things could not occur again. The Chinese were brought here to grade and build the Central Pacific Railroad. A thousand miles of railroad had to be laid across deserts and over mountains—perhaps the most difficult feat of railway construction which, up to that time, had been attempted in the United States. The road was to be built, too, in a part of the continent that was practically without inhabitants, and, therefore, in advance of settlement. White workmen could not be had. Three thousand miles yawned between the reservoirs of population, and the journey was tedious and slow ; so the building of the railroad had to be pushed at once. Ten thousand men were needed, and rake and scrape as the builders would, only 800 whites could be gathered to engage in the work.

In this exigency the experiment with Chinese laborers was tried. At first it was thought that they would prove inefficient—that they were too light of body to stand the heavy work ; that they could not endure the fatigues of the occupation. A few were put on the lightest part of the work, and since these proved their ability to perform well all they were set to do, the experiment was extended, and before long Chinese were doing all the unskilled labor which the work required. They received but thirty-one dollars per month and boarded themselves, while the whites were paid forty-five dollars per month and found. Yet, according to the testimony of James Strobridge, superintendent of construction, and Charles Crocker, one of the five proprietors of the road, who had charge of the construction, the Chinese were more reliable and more efficient laborers than the whites. They could excel the whites in any branch of the work, whether light shovelling or the heaviest rock-drilling ; and a body of Chinese even excelled in results an equal number of picked Cornish miners who were set to drill one end of a tunnel through a mountain. The Chinese were put upon the other end, and the two gangs started from a shaft at the centre.

In order to supply the thousands of Chinese required for this great work the coolie ships were kept running to and from China, bringing their loads of immigrants from Kwang-tung province. There was no trouble concerning the Chinese so long as the road was building. Hittell's "History of California" recites how the white laborers and the "China Boys" marched together in parade, and how the former made speeches to the latter, extending their hands in comradeship.

Suddenly, however, the road was finished; and this army of 15,000 laborers was idle and at large. In a strange land, among a strange people, with no capital but their ability and willingness to work, they flocked to San Francisco. Here they swarmed upon the streets, and, conspicuous from their racial characteristics, gave the impression that there was an immensely larger number of them in the district.

The industries of the city and of the adjacent parts of the State could not at once absorb so large a number of workers without displacing many of those who already held jobs; but the Chinese had to live; and the question being distinctly one of wages, they could, if forced, live on very little. Their reputation as superior workers to the whites had been established by their employment on the railroad; and so on every hand were found employers who discharged their white employees and put Chinese at lower wages in the vacancies thus made.

Added to all this, the steamships kept coming in from China bearing still larger loads of coolies, who had embarked under the belief that their services were required in building the road, and who, when they arrived, found the employment market as tightly shut as the door of Ali Baba's cave. At the same time there came thousands of white laborers, immigrants borne overland by the newly running trains, each with the belief that jobs were to be had in plenty in California, and that wages were high. These found on their arrival that most of the work was being done by Chinese, who were giving satisfaction, thereby closing the doors against the whites. Of course, such a condition could not last long without an agitation on the part of the white unemployed. The conditions admitted of the manufacture of political capital. Among the idle there were many who were ready and able to step forward and avail themselves of the opportunity.

The results of this agitation we know. On the Pacific Coast there were men strong in character, of independent natures, and with a



keen sense of justice—men like Col. F. A. Bee, and George F. Seward, once United States minister to China—who knew the Chinese people and who fought the agitation with all their eloquence and power ; but such self-sacrificing men, though they occur in all communities, are never numerous. In that long-drawn battle the most grossly exaggerated statements on all points in opposition to the Chinese were made and accepted by the prejudiced as truth. It was stated that there were 2,000,000 Chinese in California, whereas the Custom House reports show that, subtracting those who left the country from those who came in, there were never at any time over 100,000 in the State. Of these, 25,000 drifted to other parts of the country, leaving at most but 75,000 in California.

The Chinese are not a migratory people. They are very set in their ways, and are averse to moving to strange fields, and thus severing the ties that have bound them to their country for generations. Migratory peoples are always aggressive ; they enter insidiously at first, and then push their way by force of arms. This has never been a characteristic of the Chinese. China is surrounded by small states, Corea, Japan, the Philippines, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Annam, and Borneo. These are trifling provinces when compared with China, and the latter could have overrun and annexed them hundreds of years ago if she had desired. They are all rich in natural resources, and are highly inviting as fields for Chinese industry. But the Chinese Government has never disturbed them ; and the Chinese people have never entered their fields in more than casual numbers. The Chinese in the United States come from two or three districts in Kwang-tung province. It would be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to induce individuals of the lower classes from other parts of China to leave their country for any other. They are satisfied with China, and are willing to plod along in the footsteps of their fathers. And even among the Kwang-tungs it is a grave matter for a man to tear himself apart from his family, friends, and surroundings, to launch out upon a new venture in an unknown land. It requires some nerve and intellectual force in the man, besides a strong incentive.

In the case of the building of the Central Pacific Railroad the incentive was strong. The coolies thought they were leaving China with the certainty of finding employment at remunerative wages. No man intended to remain abroad, any more than did the New England settlers when they came to California in search of gold. The Chinaman proposed to work and save money, and with the latter to

return to his home in China, to pass the balance of his days. That the Chinese worked hard is true, but that thousands of them returned with no money is also an undeniable fact. Many of them invested their earnings in small industries in the State, having decided to remain and establish themselves as members of the community.

Had the Kwang-tungs not been induced to leave their native land upon the definite offers made for their labor, they still might have immigrated to this country ; but they would have come in small bands, just as they now drop into Canada and Mexico. They would have spread abroad in a gradual way, and their value as acquisitions to the population would have been recognized from the material wealth which they would have produced, from their enterprise in the small ways with which white men will not concern themselves, and from their laboring in situations in which whites will not work. Had such been the case the Chinese would not have worked for less wages than the whites. This is manifest from the fact that in California to-day they will not work for wages at which white labor can be procured. Chinese cooks and household servants command from forty to fifty dollars per month, and are the best servants on the coast. Chinese laborers get thirty dollars per month, while in San Francisco alone hundreds of white men are daily taking jobs which do not pay them more than twenty-five dollars per month, and, in addition, have to board themselves. In San Francisco there is a large firm of Chinese fruit-packers employing perhaps 300 hands. A few years ago they discharged all their Chinese help, and put white girls in their stead, for the sole reason that the latter would work for less wages than Chinese would accept when the quantity of work was considered. That they found this policy to be wise is demonstrated by the fact that after a trial of three years they are still tabooing the Chinese and employing whites.

A California surveyor-general, testifying before the Congressional Investigating Committee which held its sessions in San Francisco in 1876, declared that the Chinese, up to that time, had added \$289,700,000 to the wealth of California in the redemption of the tule lands alone. Had they enjoyed freedom of access to the country up to the present, there can be no question that they would have produced more than ten times that sum in material wealth forced from the California soil and worked up into various industrial forms. California's loss through the operation of the exclusion laws has been the greatest calamity ever befalling the State. She is a billion dollars



poorer to-day than she would have been had the exclusion laws never been passed. This is a palpable fact, and the sooner the productive and commercial elements of the State wake up to this truth and demand the repeal of the statute, the better it will be for their own resources and the general welfare.

Chinese fit into the world's industry in ways which do not conflict with white labor. They work up the odds and ends of materials and convert them into useful forms. The tule lands mentioned were reed swamps upon which whites would not work at any price, owing to the prevalence of malaria. During the past summer many tons of fruit were dumped overboard from the wharves at San Francisco because the canneries were full, and hundreds of tons were left rotting on the trees for lack of a market. With a considerable Chinese population in the State, there would have been those who would have bought up all this waste fruit and put it through some form of preservation that would have made it a marketable product. In California to-day thousands of acres of gold placer-land are being worked by Chinese, the returns from which are so small per cubic yard that white miners will not bother with it; yet the Chinese—the most faithful and persistent of laborers—make a good living out of it, and add large annual sums to the gold output of the State.

And so it is in many forms of industry. If the Chinese were free to come and go, as are the Koreans, the Japanese, the Javanese, the Siamese, there would be hundreds of industries in California, and in the other States, which do not now exist, the materials for which go annually to waste. But if reason should once more prevail on this subject, and the exclusion laws should be repealed, the government would need to assert a strong hand in behalf of the Chinese, for outrages upon our people often occur.

As I write these lines there is before me an item clipped from a morning paper reporting an assault which has just been made upon a body of Chinese by some lawless white men, at Lindsay, California. Owing to a scarcity of white labor, the orange growers of that vicinity, in order to avert the loss of their crops, brought in a train-load of Chinese to help with the picking. The white laborers began to hold meetings against the Chinese, and to stir up trouble among the working-people, with the result that a mob gathered with sticks and stones and made an attack upon the unoffending Chinese; driving them from their work; and forcing them to take refuge for their lives in empty box-cars, in which they were hauled away from the place.

Now the white laborers were not harmed in any way by the presence of the Chinese ; every white person thereabouts who desired occupation being employed at full time and full pay so that he could not earn more if he wished. The fruit which the Chinese were picking would, without their labor, have been wasted ; and the preserving of it, which added to the wealth of the community, should have received the commendation of every sober mind. A mob in California is not different from other mobs, and the predominant quality of any mob is that it will respond to any babbler who tries to stir up its passions. The Lindsay assault was an expression of pure race prejudice. If the ranchmen had been picking their fruit with some kind of machinery, to the exclusion of hand work, nothing would have been said to them. Such outbursts of race hatred would not be possible were there not a sentiment in the laws to back them up. The code of the country is to blame ; for the mob at Lindsay simply reflected the spirit that inheres in the law.

But with all the harshness of the exclusion laws they were never designed to affect any but the laboring classes. They were not intended to be used as an instrument to exclude educated men traveling in pursuit of knowledge, merchants coming from China to this country to buy goods or to start an industry here, or those going from this country to China and returning. Such are the men on whose shoulders trade rests, and it was never for an instant proposed that the statute should act as a sword to sever the trade relations of the countries. Yet we recognize that this very thing is now being done ; though, I believe, unwittingly. A great President of the United States once said, "The way to secure the repeal of a bad law is to enforce it." So it may be that Providence has designed the method now being pursued by the Chinese Department of the Immigration Bureau to show the people of the United States, and particularly the present wise and broad-minded Administration, that the exclusion laws do harm to this country in its trade with the Orient, that they kill new industries, and that they foretell the destruction of the very thing which the President and his advisers are trying so hard to establish ; namely, commercial preëminence for the United States in the East.

Since the law denies to Chinese laborers the right to enter the country, there should be, as an offset, a liberal policy regarding the classes allowed to enter. Yet this is not the case. The utmost rigor is exercised toward the merchants and travellers coming to the United



States ; and no mechanism which ingenuity can devise could more effectually operate to keep these classes away. Scarcely two months have elapsed since sixty-three merchants from Southern China, coming to the United States for commercial purpose, were prevented from landing at San Francisco, because their certificates disclosed that a word had not been translated from the Chinese original into the English—a lack which may have been as much the fault of the American representative in China who viséed the papers as of the Chinese official who issued them. The English version recited that they were merchants, but did not state what kind of merchants.

The Chinese official representatives in the United States tried hard to secure the landing of these people upon some kind of an arrangement whereby they would not be put to the loss and inconvenience of returning to China merely to have such a small defect corrected. But the Department was inexorable, ignoring all former decisions and precedents. No regard was paid as to how much these intending purchasers in American markets lost by the delay, nor was there any doubt expressed as to whether or not they had come to this country to buy their goods. They were compelled to return to China, and the reports received from them state that they will make their purchases in England.

Nor is this harshness confined to the visitors from China. It is extended with even more severity to resident Chinese merchants who go to China intending to return to their business in this country. Many of the Chinese merchants of the United States are exporters to China, and find it necessary to go there once in a few years to look after their affairs. Under a recent ruling of the Department this trade promises to be entirely broken up ; for it cannot be imagined that henceforth any merchant will attempt to go to China with any serious hopes of ever getting back to his business in this country.

The law requires that a merchant leaving the United States and desiring to return shall provide himself with a certificate, and with two white witnesses who will testify that they have known the merchant for a year prior to his departure, and that he has been a merchant during that time. Under the construction put upon this by the Chinese Inspectors' Department, and under the instruction of the Treasury Department and the rules which have been formulated thereupon, the witnesses must testify that they knew the merchant every day continuously during that period, and that they severally knew that he did nothing else and had no other interests than that of

keeping a store. It is obvious that no person could swear to this knowledge about the affairs of another ; and if any one attempted to do so a little cross-examination would break him down.

Further than this, Chinese merchants returning by way of San Francisco to remote points in the United States are detained in that port until their papers are sent to their home towns and viséd by the postmaster of the place, a banker, or some other witness. This is the practice employed by the Bureau, notwithstanding the fact that the merchant upon leaving the country deposits a duplicate of his certificate with the Bureau. When he returns, he presents the original, the duplicate is dug up, and then, and not till then, are the papers sent back to his home to be verified. If personal enemies, or any of those who are opposed to the Chinese as a race, are consulted, they will of course make an unfavorable report. As a consequence, the merchant is prevented from landing, and his business, his property, and all else are lost to him. At least he must settle his affairs through whomsoever he can get to act for him, without any chance of defending himself against the acts of those who might seek to take advantage of him under the circumstances. By the ruling of the Bureau, the certificate which the merchant prepares before he leaves, and which, under the law, would entitle him to reënter the country, means nothing. It can be swept aside by the adverse report of one of the persons to whom it is sent for visé, and this very thing is repeatedly done.

It occurred recently that a merchant from an interior town had his certificate witnessed by the postmaster of the place of his residence. He went away, and on his return the certificate was sent to the same postoffice for examination. It happened that the postmaster who had signed the certificate was then out of office, and that a successor had been appointed. This person knew nothing about the merchant ; but—being doubtless an enemy of his predecessor—he stated as a general proposition that his predecessor was unreliable and could not be believed about anything. Thereupon, and upon that statement alone, the merchant was denied landing, and all of his business interests and property were lost, in order that a political grudge might be satisfied.

While this certificate is travelling back to the home town of the merchant to get the endorsement of the postmaster—an utterly unnecessary performance—the merchant is kept a prisoner in a dirty dungeon in San Francisco, called the Detention Loft. While there



he is not allowed to see any one from the outside, or to communicate with any except those within, and is under the constant surveillance of a customs officer. He suffers here sometimes for weeks, but often for months. It is common for those imprisoned to plead with the Inspectors of the Bureau to allow them to return to China and lose all their possessions in the United States, rather than endure a longer period of such confinement. I recall also the case of a merchant, returning to his home in Montana, who was held in this loft until his papers were sent to that town to be confirmed. The months rolled by, and the papers did not come back. Finally, believing they never would be returned, and the merchant's supply of money having given out, some friends in San Francisco sent him back to China. The papers arrived all correct four months after they had been sent away ; but they were of no avail to the merchant. He was in China, possibly driven to distraction or destruction.

In this prison are held, for long periods, Chinese gentlemen worth hundreds of thousands of dollars ; men of vast interests, tea merchants, scholars, owners of extensive establishments of chinaware, bankers, owners of ships. They are deprived of their liberty, and subjected to indignities of exquisite refinement, while their pecuniary loss is beyond computation. Indeed, it does not seem possible to devise a scheme whereby greater impediment, discomfort, and hardship could be imposed upon the merchants of China doing business in this country in an orderly manner. By recent rulings of the Treasury Department all Chinese bankers, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and missionaries are debarred from the United States as not being entitled to enter this country—a ruling which was never made or thought of before, and which entails an additional hardship upon the Chinese.

These things, we believe, cannot endure. We have too much faith in the President of this great nation, in the Houses of Congress, in the wisdom of the American people generally, and particularly in those influential producers who have their eyes fixed upon China as a shipping point, not to feel certain that these barriers to trade and progress must be wiped away, and that the broad enlightenment which distinguishes the American people among the nations of the world will soon characterize their dealings with the Chinese as with other peoples.

Ho Yow.

## THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE IRISH QUESTION.

THE Irish Question, which, from the date of the revolt against Parnell, steadily declined in importance and public interest, has suddenly come to the front again, and, after the war, occupies the foremost place in the public mind in England to-day.

The process by which this result has been brought about is significant, and is worth investigating. The war of aggression against the two small South African Republics must in the nature of things have far-reaching effects upon the future of the British Empire ; but what would have been thought of any one who suggested at its commencement that one of its effects might be the advancement, perhaps the settlement, of the Irish Question ?

Yet to-day this may be said to be within the range of probability. When the war commenced Ireland was divided into at least three or four separate political camps, each busily engaged in fighting its domestic rivals, to the great amusement and advantage of the common enemy, England. The cause of this state of disunion, namely, the downfall of Parnell's power, is well known, and there is no need for me to deal with it here. The effects of this disunion are equally a matter of common knowledge. The power of Irish members in the House of Commons was frittered away. The great popular agitation in Ireland, without which Irish members of Parliament are powerless, withered away and died. The support of the Irish people in America and the sympathy of the nations of the world, which sustained Parnell's movement, disappeared, and again English statesmen congratulated themselves on the collapse of the Irish Question.

This was the position of affairs when the South African War began. But an extraordinary and quite unlooked-for result immediately occurred. War in South Africa made peace in Ireland. This war outraged the public conscience of our people. Not that they had any antecedent ties of sympathy with the Boers, who, in race, religion, and national characteristics, were the very reverse of the Irish. They saw, however, the cause of Ireland to some extent reproduced in the history of the South African Republics. They saw solemn



treaties violated ; they saw the independence of small and weak states attacked by the same giant who had oppressed Ireland ; they saw the same motives underlying the conquest of the Transvaal as had animated the conquerors of Ireland ; and their sympathy went out freely to a brave people “rightly struggling to be free.”

Next came the painful consciousness of the utter impotence of a disunited Ireland to make her influence felt, or even her voice heard, on behalf of liberty and right ; and, suddenly, all dissension in Ireland was hushed. Almost before England realized what was going on Irish leaders and parties had coalesced, and for the first time in ten years the eighty-one Nationalist members appeared as one body on the floor of the House of Commons. Thus, peace in Ireland was produced by war in South Africa. It is only two months since this peace was proclaimed, and already the results are apparent. In Ireland a great popular national organization, on the lines of the old National League, is springing into being. The Irish members in the House of Commons have proclaimed their complete independence of all English parties. They are once more a power and a menace, and the Irish Question has once more arisen phoenix-like from its ashes.

In another way, also, this iniquitous war has served Ireland. It has afforded to English statesmanship a striking object-lesson of the disastrous effects of the past misgovernment of Ireland. Of the policy which led to the war there are many divergent views throughout the British Empire ; but once the Empire had become committed to the war, there was an almost unanimous response from all parts of the world—from all the children of that Empire—to the call to arms. From Australia and Canada willing aid came to the Empire in its difficulty and its peril. From one land alone in all that world-wide Empire there was no friendly response, but, on the contrary, bitter and uncompromising hostility ; and that land was Ireland. From wherever free representative institutions had been conceded to the people, from wherever the people were permitted to govern themselves, came expressions of loyalty ; and it was only from the one land which is still denied its freedom that England looked in vain for good will and assistance. This, I feel sure, has sunk into the public mind of England. It has been emphasized in a truly startling manner by the history of the war. On the field of battle England has in the end been obliged to rely upon the genius and the valor of the generals and the soldiers who are the sons of that land which is still vainly clamoring for its rights. The recent visit of the Queen to Ireland is

a proof of what I say ; and more than likely has served to intensify the feeling which undoubtedly exists in England at this moment—that Ireland has been treated unjustly, and that the Empire itself has suffered severely in its prestige and its power by the injustice. The Queen has returned, or perhaps I should say she ought to have returned, from Ireland convinced that if Ireland is worth keeping it is worth conciliating and must be conciliated.

I believe we are rapidly nearing a great development of this Irish Question. I have always believed that the Local Government Act which came into operation last year was the greatest step, and the step that will count most, in the granting of Home Rule. There is no denying the fact that the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule schemes was due to the belief on the part of the masses of the English people—a belief instilled into their minds by unscrupulous politicians—that the Irish people in their own country were incapable of governing themselves in a sober, steady, and tolerant fashion ; that religious rancor and class hatreds were so intense that it was impossible for men of different creeds and parties and classes to work amicably together under free institutions.

It was with fear and trembling that England consented to the passage into law of the Local Government Act. Under that measure there is intrusted to public bodies, elected by the widest popular franchise, the administration of all the local affairs of every county and city in Ireland. The assessment and disbursement of all taxes for local purposes—in fact, complete administrative, as distinguished from legislative, control of local, as distinguished from national, affairs is placed absolutely in the hands of the people. Up to last year these functions were entirely in the hands of the nominees of the Crown. Now what has been the result of this change ? The working of the new system has been a complete and admitted success. The administration of local affairs has been better and more economical than it ever was before. Men of all religions and politics and classes have been elected to these boards. Landlords and tenants, Catholics and Protestants, Orangemen and Nationalists sit side by side and amicably transact the business of the country. I say the success of this Act destroys the chief argument against Home Rule ; and I believe the day is near at hand when, by general assent, Ireland will obtain Legislative Home Rule in a Parliament in Dublin.

There is another question very near to the heart of Ireland, which, by general assent, is rapidly nearing its solution. I mean the



great problem of the higher education of our Catholic youth. At present the Catholic youth of Ireland may be said to be without university training ; and, in view of this fact, the number of Irishmen who rise to distinction in every walk of life and in every land is an astonishing tribute to the natural genius of the race.

This problem is probably little known by American readers, and it may be of interest to explain it in a few words. The British Government in the days of Elizabeth founded and endowed the University of Dublin as an exclusively Protestant institution for the purpose of planting the Protestant religion in Ireland. It remained exclusively Protestant for 200 years ; and, notwithstanding some efforts made within the last fifty years to extend the benefits of the education given there to other denominations, it remains practically a Protestant institution at the present day. The governing body is entirely Protestant ; the teaching body is entirely Protestant ; and its traditions are entirely Protestant. It has a Protestant Divinity school within its walls, a Protestant chapel, a Protestant service, and Protestant preachers. Mr. Balfour has admitted over and over again that Trinity College is practically a Protestant institution ; and he recently declared that if it were as Catholic in fact as it is Protestant, he should consider it a very unsuitable place of education for Protestant parents to send their children to.

Under the circumstances Catholic parents do not send their children to Dublin University. No one wants to tamper with existing endowments. What is asked is simply equality. The demand is based upon the fact that Catholics pay taxes as well as Protestants, that they are equally anxious to get university education and equally fit to profit by it. This claim is now supported by leading men on both sides of the House of Commons, and its triumph is inevitable.

We are on the eve of a dissolution of Parliament. Should Lord Roberts reach Pretoria before the harvest a general election will, it is generally believed, immediately follow. Whatever party is returned to power, the reunited Irish members, in all human probability, will be masters of the situation. The educational reform of which I have been speaking, a further reform of the land question, the redress of the financial injustice under which we suffer, Home Rule itself, are all, in my opinion, well within our grasp, if we can preserve our ranks unbroken and can secure the support and confidence of our fellow countrymen abroad for a few short years more. J. E. REDMOND.

## DO WE OWE INDEPENDENCE TO THE FILIPINOS?

RECENTLY, with graceful rhetoric and in a distinguished forum, it has been argued that the Filipinos were our allies against Spain, and the conclusion drawn is that honor requires us to acknowledge their independence. The charge has been often refuted, but now it comes in such a formidable guise that it must, in the interest of historic truth, be answered again.

Let us, as briefly as we can, cite the witnesses who deny the charge. In the preliminary statement of the old Philippine Commission, bearing date of November 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey says: "No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him then (May 19, 1898) or at any other time." Under date of December 18, 1899, Gen. Merritt says: "There was positively no agreement between Aguinaldo, or any of his representatives, and myself that looked toward coöperation between us." (See the New York "Independent" of January 4, 1900.) August 13, 1898, Aguinaldo wrote to Gen. Anderson: "My troops are forced by yours, by means of threats of violence, to retire from positions taken." (See page 399, Senate Document No. 62.)

In a proclamation issued by Aguinaldo at Malolos January 5, 1899, he said: "The Americans . . . disembarked forces at the town of Paranaque, and took up positions all along the line occupied by my troops . . . taking possession of many trenches constructed by my own people, by the employment of astuteness, *not unaccompanied by violence*. They forced a capitulation on the garrison of Manila. . . . In this I took a very active part, *although I was not notified*." July 28, 1898, Consul Pratt wrote to his government: "I held out no hopes to him of any kind, committed the Government in no way whatever, and in the course of our conferences never acted upon the assumption that the Government would *coöperate* with him (Gen. Aguinaldo) for the furtherance of any plan of his own. . . ." (See page 358, Senate Document No. 62.)

Gen. Anderson wrote to Aguinaldo, July 23, 1898, that if he did not aid him in securing horses and supplies he would have to pass him



and make requisition directly on the people. (See Senate Document No. 62, page 394.) Gen. Greene (see Senate Document No. 62, page 43) says that Aguinaldo did much to thwart Gen. Anderson, going so far, in a letter of July 23, 1898, as to warn Gen. Anderson not to land troops on Philippine soil without his consent. On February 4, 1899, at Malolos, Aguinaldo declared war; proclaiming that peace and friendly relations between the Philippine forces and the American forces of occupation were broken, and that the latter would be treated as enemies. (See Otis Report, page 95.) In August, 1898, Aguinaldo asked Consul Williams, "Why do not the American generals operate in conjunction with the Filipino generals?" (Senate Document No. 62, page 398.)

All these quotations tend to show that there is no truth in the charge that the Filipinos were our allies. There is just as little truth in the allegation that all the Filipinos are supporting Aguinaldo and fighting us. Practically this war is waged by the Tagalos, who number a million and a half of people. In an article published in "The Independent" of April 19, 1900, Lieut. Horace M. Reeve, aide-de-camp to Gen. J. C. Bates, says that up to date in the southern islands of the Philippine Archipelago no American soldier had been called on to fire a shot. These southernmost islands, he declares, include nearly one-half of the Philippines, "containing besides the Sulu Archipelago the islands of Mindanao and Paragua, which are respectively the second and third largest islands after Luzon; other small islands are included in this district."

The statement made by Lieut. Reeve as to the condition of Mindanao must be qualified by recent advices. There has been some disorder lately in that island caused by robber bands in the mountains. In fact, even in Luzon the attacks on our troops come from banditti, who pillage the natives on all occasions. According to the recent utterances of Gen. Otis there is no longer any organized resistance to us in any island.

It is well known that the tribe of the Macabeebes has declared for us *en masse*, and has sent troops to fight for us and with us. It certainly will not be disputed that the island of Negros openly indorsed and adopted our cause. Nor will it be disputed that there are many Filipinos of the highest standing at Manila who are our friends, and that numbers of them have taken the oath of allegiance. These people all want us to stay in the islands. It would appear, therefore, that a majority of the Filipinos are friendly to us. If that be so, how

far shall the doctrine that we must have the consent of the governed be construed to extend? Does it mean that we must have the consent of all the governed, or does it mean the majority of the governed? In either case at least a little time ought to be conceded to the Administration to ascertain what the wish of the people really is.

If this doctrine means that every Tagalo must become loyal before we can lawfully annex Luzon, it is probably true that there never can be a lawful annexation. Under such conditions no government in the world would stand a minute, not even our own. Under such a construction no gun could have been lawfully fired against the people of the South in 1861. To require absolutely, and literally, that every person shall consent to a form of government before it can operate on him is simply anarchy. To this complexion the anti-imperialist is rapidly coming. He is imitating his French predecessors, and, in his love of abstract freedom, he is rushing into a carnival of license unbridled by law.

The total area of the Philippine Islands is 115,000 square miles. The area of Mindanao is 37,500 square miles; of Palawan (or Paragua), 5,630; Negros, 3,090; the Sulu Archipelago, 775; the Calamianes, 339 square miles. The Malolos government never held or controlled any of these islands. We do hold and control them, and by what principle shall we be called on to surrender them? We bought them from Spain, and we hold them by their own consent.

The anti-imperialist asserts that Spain had no rightful sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. Why not? She had ruled them for 300 years. Even on his own theory the claim of the anti-imperialist must be practically limited to the island of Luzon. Looking, then, at Luzon alone, what was its condition when Dewey arrived there? When Admiral Dewey arrived at Manila there was no insurrection existing. In the Preliminary Report of the Philippine Commission, page 7, in a memorandum expressly stated to have been furnished by the Admiral (page 4), he says: "Upon the arrival of the squadron at Manila it was found that there was no insurrection to speak of, and it was accordingly decided to allow Aguinaldo to come to Cavite on board of the 'McCulloch.'" Aguinaldo called on the commander-in-chief, "after which he was allowed to land at Cavite and organize an army."

Why did the Admiral allow Aguinaldo to land and organize an army? He answers that question himself on page 4, cited: "This was done with the purpose of strengthening the United States forces



and weakening those of the enemy." It is not uncommon for a nation at war to stir up rebellion against the opposing sovereign among his people. It was claimed that England stirred up the Indian tribes against us. It is, however, the first time in history that it has been claimed that an insurrection so produced creates an estoppel against a warring nation to take for itself the territory in which the insurrection broke out.

Wars will be greatly simplified hereafter if the fact that an insurrection is fostered by one belligerent shall be a conclusive reason that it cannot annex by treaty the particular territory which is in insurrection. The military man of the future will sedulously avoid making any use of the people who live in the seat of war. If he asks for wagons and horses, as Anderson did, he is acknowledging the independence of the rebels against his own country as well as all others. If he renders the least assistance, as Dewey did, he is bound to install the rebel leader as ruler. According to this reasoning, when we recruited colored soldiers in Alabama during our war we bound ourselves to make that State free and independent.

How do we hold Porto Rico? Some people say that she rebelled against Spain and came to us voluntarily, and we have had many fine bursts of eloquence on that account. Other people, including, notably, Gen. George W. Davis, say that we bought the island, or conquered it, or both. In a paper printed in the "Washington Post," Tuesday, April 24, 1900, Gen. Davis, over his own signature, quoting from testimony given by him, says: "It seems to me . . . that the persons composing the Porto Rico population whom we forcibly annexed to the United States, or brought them under our sovereignty without consulting them, have as good a moral right to enjoy trade privileges as have the inhabitants of Hawaii."

Take either horn of the dilemma. If the Porto Ricans rebelled against Spain they are entitled to their independence; and if, as Gen. Davis says, we conquered them, they are still more entitled to it. According to the anti-imperialist we cannot hold people whose territory we buy, nor people that we conquer. We can hold nobody who does not come voluntarily, and this rule extends to every man, woman, and child. If this discovery had been made a century ago we would have had no territory now but the thirteen colonies—if even we could have held them. We must reject "a cession of sovereignty, which implies that sovereignty may be bought and sold and delivered without the consent of the people."

What moonshine is this doctrine ! Let us give back to France the Louisiana purchase, to Virginia the northwest territory, California to Mexico, Alaska to Russia. There is not a recorded line in any of the treaties making cessions of territory to us, or to any nation in the world, which provides for the consent of the occupants thereof. Evidently such a thing is impracticable. If France had insisted on such a theory there would have been no cession of Alsace and Lorraine. It is quite doubtful, also, whether, if the people of the Louisiana purchase had been polled, they would have ever given up allegiance to their adored France. There cannot be much doubt that if our brethren of the South had been accorded the privilege "of the consent of the governed," there would be here now four republics, or monarchies, instead of one great and indestructible Union, which honorably and rightly and justly—in spite of all this sentimentalism—was pinned together by bayonets.

Again, we hear that Spain could not rightfully sell sovereignty to us, and that we could not rightfully buy it from her. Why not? Presumably because by our prestige, by our arms, Spain had been rendered powerless and Aguinaldo had roamed at will over Luzon. All that was done while the war was on. Every act done by the rebels and ourselves was an incident in the great drama of war, whose end and solution did not come until December 10, 1898. It was anciently the doctrine that one could not buy property which was held in adverse possession by another person than the proposed vendor—that you could not buy a lawsuit. I believe, though I cannot speak positively, that, in Indiana at least, that doctrine has been exploded. It never did apply to nations.

In this particular case, if we grant that native insurgents may rise against the power which has owned and governed them for 300 years, may hold a small part of the Archipelago without any acknowledgment by any nation of their independence, and may, on the ground of occupation only, claim territory as their own—still what becomes of Manila? Aguinaldo never held that city. What becomes of the islands whose names are hereinbefore cited? If the doctrine of *uti possidetis* is to prevail, we should still hold the chief city and one-half of the islands.

The legal argument should be abandoned. The anti-imperialist should rest his case on simple charity, on philanthropy, on quotations from the Scriptures. In this realm of reasoning there are vast fields of gentle suggestions, which commend themselves to many excellent



people. Unquestionably there is great division as to the mode of carrying them out. Many persons believe that to build up a great free government in the Orient is a splendid work. Many persons think that to take free institutions to a nation that has been enslaved is a noble thing to do. To transplant our benign laws to the Philippines, to divorce church and state, to establish common schools and colleges, to bestow individual freedom on the people—these are great and honorable ends. Say that we are all agreed on these principles, there still remains a consideration of the mode in which we are to accomplish them.

The anti-imperialist says, "I would require all foreign governments to keep out of the islands." How would you do that if you gave them independence? What right have you got to interfere with the action of an independent country? Are you the Don Quixote of the world to break a lance for all peoples? Is there a particular text of international law which authorizes you, having no material interest in a country, to intervene for a whim of the diseased imagination? Whenever your rights under international law are touched wrongfully, light the fuses and prepare for war; but do not wander around the world always attacking the governments of other peoples, always fostering insurrection, always boasting of yourselves.

We so-called imperialists desire as ardently as the anti-imperialists to keep foreign nations from securing ownership of the islands, and in order to do so we think we ought to hold and keep them as and for our own. We are advised to "offer to the people of the Philippines our help in maintaining order until they have had a reasonable opportunity to establish a government of their own." If we to-day announce to the Filipinos that we intend to hold them for only a "reasonable" time, we shall by that announcement give the reins to anarchy. Every foreign merchant will leave the islands. He will not live under Filipino rule. Every native who is now for us will turn against us.

It is the opinion of Gen. Otis, recently expressed, that the war has been largely fomented by professional politicians, who expected to make a fortune out of the agitation. The property owners, says Otis, are tired of the struggle, but they implore us to remain in the islands. They anticipate anarchy when we leave, which will end in absorption by a foreign power.

If we announce that we intend to hold the islands temporarily only, no native who is now friendly will ever befriend us. The

Tagalo and many of his friends in this country claim that this very day he is capable of governing himself without our assistance. If it is right that these people should be independent, why postpone the day? According to recent utterances, their state papers are the finest in the world, and they possess every qualification for independence. This is nonsense, of course, but it is pleasing to the ear of the professional agitator.

If, after all the fighting, we announce that we are beaten, we shall be considered as trespassers and intruders, and such we shall be, because if we are not going to hold the islands we have no business whatever there. I understand individual charity, but I do not understand why the people of this country should be taxed to support a great army and navy to create for an alien people a government in which we are to have no share.

It is curious that, amidst all this war of words, no member of Congress has been found brave enough to introduce a bill rescinding the Treaty of Paris, declaring the Tagalos free, and proposing to withdraw our troops. Let that be done. Let us find out whether the political party that wins in November will declare either for immediate evacuation, or for a tutelage extending over a short period of years. Such a platform would no doubt rally to its support many eloquent dreamers, but it would be condemned by the great body of the practical people. Other propositions announced by the anti-imperialist orators go over again the doctrine of non-interference by the European powers, and are simply amplifications of what has been already commented on.

If there is such great danger of foreign interference had we not better hold the islands? No country then will interfere with them. England has belted the globe with possessions. Even now she is conquering new ones, and Europe and ourselves hold our hands. The world stood by while we stripped Spain of her colonies. There will be no danger from any source as long as our Flag flies in Luzon. We cannot tell what may happen when it is removed. We cannot foresee the civil strife, the anarchy, the foreign aggressions that may occur. As much as we love freedom, we cannot pledge ourselves in advance to secure, at all hazards, to the Tagalo not only independence, but indefinite possession of the Archipelago. Why not leave the question to be decided in the future? When another Australia shall have risen above the tropic seas, when another Canada shall have been born on the equator, it will be time enough to weigh the



issue what to do with the Philippines. Let us not throw now a new apple of discord among them.

In all the argument that I have been reviewing there has been nothing said about the fact that Aguinaldo made war on us. Always our country is held to blame. From the 13th day of August, 1898, when Manila was taken by our troops, to the 5th day of February, 1899, he kept the armed ranks of great numbers of troops investing our lines. By what right did he besiege us? On that day he let loose the dogs of war. Praise his courage, his patriotism, his ability of composition! You have done it handsomely. You have just failed to place him on the same pedestal that Washington stands on. Let him stand in history, if you please, with the great defeated leaders of rebellion, with Jefferson Davis and Kossuth.

Yes, we can all—even the imperialists—admire heroism and gallantry, although we deplore their exhibition in a wrongful cause. But for Aguinaldo to make war on us after he had been assured by Gen. Otis on all possible occasions that we would not make war on him, that we would only defend ourselves, was the stupendous blunder of a misinformed and misguided man. He imagined that we would not fight, that he could drive us into the sea. He imagined, too, that a majority of our own people would applaud his butchery of our soldiers. He has consolidated our people against him. Whether the Constitution goes with the Flag or not, when the Flag is fired on every honorable instinct of our nature rises for its defence. Whatever betide, we will stand by the soldiers who are fighting under the Flag; and in this particular case we do it proudly, because no Christian gentlemen ever bore more insult and contumely than they did before—at last and in self-defence—they answered the murderous volleys that were fired at them.

CHARLES DENBY.

## COLLEGE PHILOSOPHY.

A FEW years ago I gathered and printed a list of some 300 textbooks upon logic, ethics, psychology, metaphysics, and allied philosophic departments, which have been used in American colleges. Nearly a score and a half of these I have used myself, and I have looked over more than 150. In nearly all the eighteen colleges at work in this country at the beginning of this century, and in the great majority of the 400 that have since been founded, these are the culminating subjects, especially of the A.B. course, taught usually in the last two years by the President, around whose personality in old times the entire course centred, as it does now in small colleges.

Under the old *régime*, as in the "Laws, Liberties and Orders" of Harvard, confirmed annually from 1642 to 1646, everything focussed in religion. The bachelor's degree was given to each scholar able to read the originals of the Old and New Testaments into the Latin tongue and to resolve them logically. The master's degree required a synopsis of logic and a defence of theses. Mather in his "Magnalia" regrets that at Harvard they show less veneration for Aristotle than at Oxford. Progress consisted in adding New Testament Greek and then Hebrew, including systems of divinity, especially those of Wollebius and Ames.

The logic cult, however, was first and most persistent, because it was not only the organon of law, but also, and far more so, of theology and the method of divinity. Disputations, weekly and semi-weekly, were the focus of interest, and everything centred about correct methods of syllogistic reasoning and the avoidance of fallacies. The rules of deduction were the norms of all thinking, divine or human, and logic was the tool by which the church wrought out its system. It was the guide of life, the culmination of the higher education, and the only recognized method of investigation.

The next period may perhaps be most conveniently marked by Whitfield's advent in New England, in 1740. He complained that college instructors neglected to pray with, and examine the hearts of, their pupils; that most schools and universities had sunk into "new



seminaries of paganism " ; and that their light had become " a darkness that could be felt." His revivalism, with its " sudden and temporary turns of distress and joy," with its " furious zeal . . . which hath in many places burned into the very vitals of religion," nevertheless resulted in an essential change of spirit in most evangelical American colleges.

Durfee shows how the early history of Williams College was chiefly marked by efforts to secure the conversion of the students. Its dark periods were years of spiritual drouth, and its bright hours were the seasons of awakening, as in 1825, when there were " thirty converts in thirty days." In his account of Amherst, Hitchcock says that its religious history is " more important and interesting than anything pertaining to it." He enumerates fourteen revivals up to 1863, and estimates that 350 gave themselves to Christ there, very many of whom determined to enter the Christian ministry. Whatever else may be said of this movement, it is impossible to read the histories of the colleges of these days without recognizing from this source a great access of interest and vitality to its philosophical work. The very least that can be said of it is that it met after a fashion a certain need of adolescence, and gave instructors a new hold upon student life.

A third ethical movement may be marked by the brief introduction to the study of ethics written by President Clapp of Yale for his students, in 1765, and also by the work of the Alford chair at Harvard, in 1789. Clapp sought to place upon the right foundations the old morality—which colleges had taught previously in an incidental way—that " Virtue is not by nature, but by a divine gift " ; that the chief rule is to avoid anomia or sin ; that Greek philosophy came from Moses and the prophets, etc. Ethics encountered great opposition at first, and never came to its independent rights until the Unitarian movement. Faith was deemed better than works ; even if these were not mere " filthy rags," they could not save men. As early as 1716 Cotton Mather condemned even the rudimentary ethics then taught at Harvard as a " vile form of paganism " at best : for him ethics was " impietas in artis formam redacta." It suggested Cicero, Plutarch, and perhaps even the Stoa.

If this prejudice existed in the logical, it was greatly intensified under the revivalistic, *régime*, and after deists had attacked the clergy for a century in the name of ethics and natural religion. Mark Hopkins, with his semi-theological ethics, was a radical innovation

in the eyes of President Griffin, his predecessor, who preferred to appeal, as he could so urgently, to the exhortation to instant repentance.

Although taught from the first, it was only after revivalism and interest in its political branch—favored by the Declaration of Independence and the liberalizing thought of Channing—that ethics slowly advanced to an academic position first beside, and then above, logic. Unlike the former, it developed a distinctively American type, and, more than any other collegiate department, came to represent our national *ethos*. At first theological, virtue consisted in likeness to God. His will was the supreme warrant of duty ; impenitence and unbelief were among the chief sins. The whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and part of the nineteenth, showed only a very slow transition from the view that morality was a code revealed in the Scriptures to the conception that it was best studied in the innate intuitions and sentiments of man. Dreary as Clark, Shaftesbury, Cudworth, Hutchinson, Adam Smith, Beattie, Mackintosh, and even Paley seem to us, they humanized ethics by transferring its criterion from the arbitrary behest of an extra-mundane being to the same inner oracle that Socrates revered.

In this country political rights and duties are also laid down in our text-books on ethics, even the good Quaker Dymond almost justifying war. Since MacBride the physiological factor has appeared ; and this subject, broadened by Jouffroy, later developed into the most nationally characteristic of all branches. If we widen our view to include the scores of books for young men and women, sermons, courses, guides, and manuals, we shall realize the uniqueness of this American product. Manuals like those of Gow, Comyges, and Yonge, and such as the French Government now authorizes, contain records of good deeds and lives ; others treat each virtue serially with various methods of grouping ; while in still others theory comes to prominence. From all this it is plain that, next to the religious motive, one of the great mainsprings of the higher education has been the desire to impart to collegiate youth the best moral influences, motives, and ideals, and that instruction in this field will lose its chief support in public sentiment if it is not made practically effective here.

The old deductive logic of Aristotle began as a set of rules for the game of dialectics among the disputatious Greeks. The charm of personal encounter and rejoinder, of dialogue and colloquy, from the sophists to the great forensics of Abelard and the theses of



Luther, has given zest to this work. In the early American colleges, at the weekly or semi-weekly debates, imaginary responders were set up if there were no real ones. It was the method by which all the doctrines of theology and metaphysics were forged out and forced home upon reluctant minds. It was the organon of the soul in dealing with ideals, categories, and intellectual species ; and one portion, the forms of predication, created its handmaid, grammar.

Logic presided over rhetoric and oratory, in which Roman education culminated, and which have always cadenced the soul of ingenuous youth. It is the method of classification and of the evidences of Christianity, and is one of the very greatest romances of the human intelligence. Nevertheless, its prestige has declined, and with reason ; partly because it has lapsed to the *ex post facto* work of explaining past achievements ; partly because its newer forms, induction and Hegelian dialectic, and the forms that Boole and Lotze have tried to give it, have at least broken the charm of the old idolatry.

At adolescence there is a deeper sense of morality than is possible before—a needed tension and stress of emotion. It is a period when, whatever may be the truth about it, it is a wholesome pedagogic method to apply a transcendental supernatural cult, and perhaps to incline youth to regard duties as divine commands, because this method is simply an effective form of appeal to that larger portion of life which is instinctive and emotional and exists before the intellect has fully come to its power. Though the higher religious life be more and more conceived as a growth, and less as a conquest or alien irruption, it is needful to arouse the deepest sense of the sacredness and mystery of duty—to make it a passion, if only as a safeguard against degradation. This tends to make the heart strong, warm, and healthful, to prevent it from growing pessimistic, indifferent, decadent, and makes for that high type of virtue which to be pure must first be passionate.

I doubt if the nerves of collegians now are tonic enough to play, as of yore, those awful and soul-quaking anthems of Socratic conviction of ignorance or of Pauline conviction of sin ; nor would I bring back the day of Baxter's " Call " or of the " Admirable Convert." I am clear, however, both as a psychologist and a teacher, that many of our latest text-books in ethics, which volatilize ethical sanctions into metaphysics of the most tenuous kind, which seriously discuss the hedonistic calculus as if the worth of life and even virtue depended on it, or argue that current morality is a survival of a faith now dead, do

not tend to sanity in this land of ours. The subtleties of speculative ethics should not obscure the plain sense of right and wrong ; and methods that originated with other races and stocks to meet other needs cannot satisfy those of this age and land.

A copy of the first edition of Locke's essay, given to Yale in 1714, two years before Jonathan Edwards entered as a lad of thirteen, has had much to do with the history of philosophic thought at Yale, and in this country generally. At the age of fourteen Edwards read Locke with an enjoyment, as he tells us, such as "the most greedy miser finds when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold." At the age of seventeen he drew Berkeley's conclusion without having read him. This bore little fruit in philosophic instruction for many years ; but as the history of philosophy became known, and it was seen how Berkeley's almost juvenile scepticism about the existence of the external world deepened into Hume's disbelief in the *ego* or self, and then widened to Kant and the heroic German age, American philosophers drew back.

With an heroic affirmation of reality, the Scotch school, having common sense as its watchword, short-circuited this tedious *détour*. It held to an immediate conviction of right and wrong, nonsuited the whole question of reality, which was ascribed to an immediate sense, and discussed in the most lucid way practical matters of association, desire, will, feeling, raising no quarrel with religion, and not unsettling the young. Under President McCosh and others, it developed an amicable *modus vivendi* with the new psychology and with religion ; it has given to education in this country about all the philosophic basis yet popularly recognized ; and it has been in wholesome and fructifying rapport with practical life at every point. The psychology of common sense, as represented by many text-books of the Porter type, does business on the basis of a vast capital of material. It has only the difficulties about it which are inherent in every large and well-compacted field of thought, without requiring the mind to get into an unreal, falsetto attitude. It became a synthesis only less uniquely and characteristically national in this field than the constructions in ethics ; and at one time it seemed likely to become dominant everywhere, despite the transcendental and Hegelian cult that formed such an important, though chiefly non-academic, episode of a decade or two.

The method of the modern professorial shepherd of souls, if he holds that the so-called "theory of knowledge" is central among the



philosophic disciplines, is often something as follows : He meets a class of juniors or seniors absorbed in objective life—science, literature, art, or history. First, perhaps, he takes an objective subject—the brain, hypnotism, something experimental ; and then, or without any such prelude, raises the question of the trustworthiness of sensation. That color, sound, and other secondary qualities are subjective it is very easy to prove. How about form, weight, or extension ? The retina inverts its images, which are at best on a curved surface of two dimensions, and the brain cells involved are doubtless distributed in an entirely disparate way. The subtle Bishop of Cloyne, who in his youthful years denied that the eye could ever inform us of reality, and led us to infer that even the mother sense of touch was no less incompetent to do so, and in his mature years preached the gospel of tar-water, is the usual guide through the outer circles of this facile descent to Avernus.

Having lost the external world, Hume is invoked for the next lower circle, at the completion of which the young novitiate understands that there is also really no *ego* or self. The Kantian baptism follows, and it is now a very easy lesson that space and time have no existence save in the mind that creates them. The great and blooming cosmos, then, is an eject, project, objectivation of something subjective, so that at bottom, as the residuum of the Cartesian exhortation to doubt as radically as possible, there is no real and sure thing in all the universe save the present thought or sensation of the individual.

This *ens realissimum* is then the goal beyond which we cannot go. It is the only *aliquid inconcussum* which no scepticism can question. This flitting present psychic stuff is the primordial material of experience ; but in itself it is unconnectable with any other psychic state save indirectly or by mere sequence. It has no value ; it is not mine, because there is no self save as one or a group of these states ; there is no past or future except as the other of these states. They are, in themselves, absolutely non-spacial, incommunicable, and indescribable ; and from them we can infer nothing strictly concerning even the existence of an external world, much less concerning the relations of things in it.

This volute or solipsistic hoppo is the pilgrim's first goal. It is one of the newer, but already most worn, of all the pot-holes in the great, roaring, eddying current of human thought. It is attractive, to be sure, but to a somewhat different class of minds from those that of old muddled themselves over the tortoise and Achilles, the possibility

of motion in a flying arrow, or the *sylllogismus crocodilus*. Indeed, although appealing to the same mildly paranoëic minds, it has a different, and perhaps deeper, root. The precept of doubting to the uttermost may be applied to religious belief. Religious and ethical foundations are then the first to reel and totter under the influence of the spirit that always denies. The youth who takes this in earnest soon finds himself reduced from confidence to an ignorance that seems hopeless.

Physical trainers tell us that few men strip well. This is also true when the Carlylean clothes of convention, opinion, belief, and every vestige of the creed of childhood are stripped off. Even those who have not themselves actually been scorched in this hell of adolescence, but have come within full sight of it, have had their mental eyeballs seared. They are condemned to regard nature as more or less unreal ; for them it is deflowered of its freshness and bloom ; natural science must forever be something only moderately commendable to them, and even if it becomes a vocation it is pursued with abated ardor. I often wonder whether any one who has been subjected to a vigorous treatment of this kind in youth has ever attained eminence afterward in the study of any of the sciences of nature. It has a worse and more blighting effect in that it teaches one to distrust the deepest instincts of the soul, and makes the whole objective world seem a little afar, as behind a maya-like veil.

This experience, it must be admitted, is often a strange exhilarant for thought and poetic and metaphysical expression. There is a quaint and moving pathos about those who have ever really stood, or even affected to stand, in this Ultima Thule of self-involution. Formerly the ecstatic worked himself up to the seventh heaven and lost the earth in the contemplation of God and superessential being. His modern congener is lost to all else in the contemplation of his own inner states. The latter alone are real and true, and if he ever has any other knowledge or belief, it must be laboriously manufactured out of this mother lye of experience. He is reduced back not to the condition of primitive thinkers before all we call culture existed, but to a hypothetical mesh of weltering, amoëboid, psychic rudiments from which he must evolve himself.

Socrates once humorously said that the bridge of his own nose was so low and his eyes so prominent that he could roll the latter inward till each gazed full into the other. This must have been a singular experience, and would make a new and interesting chapter in



optical psychology ; but to roll the eyes of the soul inward until they see only knowledge of self and knowledge of the knowledge of the self, until infinity is found in the far perspective of this involution, is a yet stranger thing. Many literary novelties utterly impossible before are now easy. Do these psychic states, in themselves utterly unconnected, drift together in shoals by chance, or are they bundled up into personalities by bodily or brain sequences on which we must rely for everything causal? What a vast and almost megalomaniacal respect for themselves human aggregations of atomic mind states acquire, when it is realized that the whole vast cosmos, even space itself, is essentially and really created by and projected from them as caryatides, bearers of the universe ! How plastic everything, even natural law, seems ! There are as many possible cosmoses as there are combinations and permutations among all its elements, and how far above the old delusion of any absolute truth, duty, law, etc., we have ascended ! How supreme over its base creation, matter, mind becomes ! How near the divine creative energy is each thinking subject ! How dull the souls that labor with matter as if it were ultimate, or with human opinion as if it could be taken seriously !

What is the way out of this charmed circle of agnosticism? Can the professor who has thus shipwrecked his students save them from drowning? Is he able to build up the world again from his acosmic elements? There are, fortunately, many ways of rescue, academic and non-academic ; but, unfortunately, each professor usually has his own private, patent way, and discredits all others. If outside the college walls a few earnest, or even malingering, souls drift toward any such "urposition," they either commit suicide in despair, become cynics or nihilists, take refuge in selfishness, or perhaps throw themselves into the creed of some rather saturated orthodoxy—it may be even Catholicism. Under ordinary circumstances, a vital soul thus flayed knows no rest till it can at least cicatrize ; often it is like a chemical element in a nascent state and combines with substances with which under ordinary conditions it has little affinity.

The epistemological hebamist is not hard and unsympathetic, and is very anxious that his class should not suffer needlessly or long ; but chiefly that they should be saved according to his method. But they must feel themselves completely lost, even if they do not feel that "other refuge have they none." To be sure, a few of the most brilliant American epistemologists in all their own philosophy stop here. They believe in right habituation, in all the practical virtues,

the cultivation of memory, reason, and healthful sentiments ; but the above residuum of things, incombustible in the hottest fire of scepticism, they deem the last syllable of human thought. This standpoint favors brilliancy and stimulates paradox, because everything is an open question ; and however strenuous and effective their argument, it ends in a collapsing confession that the other side of everything is perhaps, after all, true. It goes with a special proclivity for insoluble questions instead of for those that may be resolved.

But as Dante grappled with the shaggy sides of Satan frozen in the middle of the earth, and turned himself around at the centre of gravity to shoot through to the other side, so the student is told that henceforth he must sift everything through consciousness, and trust no more to tradition, inclination, or instinct, and is thus psychologically stood on his head. Even if the way out is by a *salto mortalis* to a transcendent being, this shooting the chutes must be done as an implication of self-consciousness and with a teleological goal. It is absolute, if not personal, and, in a very choice and select sense, divine thought and purpose in the world that is real and has power to save ; and consciousness is sifted for arguments, and construed in conformity, with the interests of this hypothesis. Thought and being have the same author ; and their parallelism either converges in him or is itself the finality of a Malebranche. The religious "ways out" are manifold, but they all postulate an analogy made unwarrantably close between belief in the external world and in God, soul, and other theological concepts. Indeed, these latter often have precedence, because they are closer to thought or more reënforced by feeling. A belief in a transcendent world and its occupants is, then, one form of escape.

Another mode of jail delivery for these youthful souls in prison, with a number of variants, is ethical. Not the plain precepts, go to work, do your obvious duties, "look outward not inward," cease this folly of doubt, etc. ; but something far more elaborate. This universe is a gigantic self, for Fichte has said it, and the centre of the self is the will. This principle, modified by Schopenhauer, is the master key of the universe, which we cannot rightly understand save by interpreting energy as will. This fadges very well with the Wundt theory of attention and apperception as rudimentary will, and thus by carefully picking one's way through these stages, under competent guidance, the weary mariner makes a landfall at last.

This is a pleasant and stimulating *détour*, and has the great ad-



vantage of piloting the pilgrim through some of the most interesting and newest thought in the philosophic field. The metaphysical part of it makes a congenial and tasteful historic background for the laboratory material which is unusually rich here ; but it has the inevitable effect of implicating what God made much plainer, and it, too, needs all the energy that a desperate struggle for psychic existences can give to get through it. It may claim to be not so much a theory of knowledge as of will ; but it is a will theory with many metaphysical implications, addressed chiefly to the gnostic instincts, and might be called essentially sophronistic.

The effects of any drastic course in epistemology, by whatever method, greatly need an attention they have never yet had. Let us consider those who have the distemper in the most thorough and complete form with every prescribed symptom and stage, and who achieve the completest salvation possible. These become the *beati possidentes*, who, like the youthful and bulbous-headed Theætetus, learn to love and thrive on this diet of boiled cobwebs, as Heine calls it. They who have experienced the inner illumination become adepts, expert in the initiation of others. Their first mark is a certain aloofness from the world and life—things are not as they seem ; the sense of reality which the vulgar feel has gone ; the things others strive for are not worth while. Just as dogmatic assertion tends to weaken the sense of veracity, so to work out by consciousness what our deepest instincts give, both weakens and teaches us distrust of the very best and choicest of all the things of the soul.

These persons can work for and with others, but their thinking is in a different language, and their feeling in a different register. They are fond of challenging or “holding up” the methods or results of both science and common sense, if they have not the Kantian visé. They deal in reasons good and bad for what healthy souls believe by instinct, because a life unexplained is not worth living, and no actions can be virtuous unless judged by knowledge. Everything must be done in, or go through, consciousness, and eternal warfare is waged upon all within us that is *naïve* and spontaneous. Perhaps they are sadly anxious about the logical character of the universe, and ambitious of constructing some new bridge across the chasm which separates thought from being and reality from appearance ; or perhaps the world has no substance and seems hollow at the core ; and occasionally they may fall a prey to the night terrors of the baffled ontologist. They slowly adjust themselves to live in an altitude

so high that there is danger of mental asphyxia, where the view is wide, but where nothing can be seen distinctly for the distance and haze. Although physically they frequent the haunts of men, they are really mahatma living in remote places, prodigies of premature and extreme senescent wisdom.

The great majority, however, do not attain any such degree of esoteric perfection, but live on a lower plane. All the beliefs of childhood and youth are gone, and their illusions exposed. With these the possibility of whole-souled enthusiasm and interest in life is reduced. Their atmosphere has lost its due proportion of oxygen. This is precisely the philosophy of the spirit of *nil admirari* and indifference. Devotion, admiration, praise, faith, world-reforming convictions cannot thrive, but wither, in this air. The mind can criticise, satirize, and parody with great cleverness. It can even crepitate and scintillate over certain eclectic themes, and excel in compilation ; but the creativeness inherent by nature in every adolescent mind is gone, and in its place there is an interesting and fastidious moral if not mental invalidism.

Perhaps Aristotle had such cases in mind when he insisted that no young man should be allowed to study moral philosophy ; and so did Plato, who would flog young men who continued this study too long, although he allowed the citizens of his ideal state to return to it at the age of fifty, after they had been duly seasoned in the world.

I have no space here to characterize adequately the details of this cult. I regard it as an interesting modern edition of the almost world-old tradition or philosopheme of the fall and redemption of man ; the Eleusinian mysteries, the church doctrines of conversion or of many savage rites of initiation, which are psychological variants of the same theme. It is a cult which distinctly has its place ; but, like the others, it is wretchedly inadequate to its great work, because it is a symbol of life itself, and its processes should end only in old age. Its conclusion is the standpoint normal and characteristic to the grand climacteric of senescence. Indeed, life consists in a kind of nautilus growth—an eternally transforming and enlarging of our ideals.

This treatment of the youthful soul is wrong, because it turns the mind inward at a stage which nature designed to be the most objective. Never is there such a hunger and assimilative capacity for all facts and laws of concrete nature and life. Young men would do better to be left far more to the tender mercies of professors in other departments, because in this they are psychically starved ; and the re-



sult is what always follows a too impoverished diet, precocious maturity, and senescent cephalization. Sometimes, on the other hand, the effects of starvation in the later stages of mental growth are very analogous to its effects upon maturing larvæ. They are arrested, and the last stages of growth and the final molt, which normally result in the full insect, do not take place. So the professor attempts to step-mother nature and to pick off the last cast; and, of course, the effect is damaging, especially if one gives any credence to the old pedagogic saw that an ounce of heredity is better than a ton of education.

Again this exactly inverts nature's order. She does not pick off the deciduous leaves to make room for the buds. Those who know the true *Georgics* of the mind diligently foster growth everywhere, devote themselves to positive work, and leave the negative processes of decay to take care of themselves. This is the time of life when the power of the soul is measured not by its capacity to doubt, but by its power to believe. Even superstition or extra belief probably has a great and necessary function here, because it nourishes the life of the feelings and instincts at a time when they are more dominant over the intellect than at any other stage of life. A positive state and habit of mind tending to absorb knowledge to the saturation point is what is wanted. How much one can hold to is a better test of the health and vigor of the soul than how little.

The soul hungers for all the positive knowledge there is, and its new foliage is always crowding off the old. Sentiment and intuition in all their manifoldness now better express the true and full nature of the soul than does the understanding. How successfully can the freshness of life—which we have now the best anthropological reason to maintain touches its highest point in college years—be preserved, and all that we mean by youth be conserved, into old age? This should be the problem—not how the sad wisdom of years can be affected in the early twenties.

The epistemological method and goal are very akin to those of the ancient sophists, although dealing with different subject-matter. In their knowledge-shops appeal was made to the disposition of men, often younger than our college students, to play with ratiocination. It almost seems as though at a certain time the brain-centres, hitherto more or less isolated, began to be knit together by association fibres, so that there is a distinct nascent period for argumentation, and particularly for love of fallacies. This, no doubt, has its place, and if properly cultivated in scholastic disputations does service;

but both to aggravate and direct it to themes unbecoming man's estate is the fatal Hubris of the Greek tragedies, which the gods avenge. Point for point, too, these philosophers seem avatars in the modern world of the scholastics of the days of Abelard. Then the question was whether words could express reality, as now whether thought or sense can know it.

I know it will shock some of my colleagues, and even my best and most revered philosophic friends, when I say that, as for me, my teaching shall henceforth assume boldly and squarely that man has a body and even a brain, and that the external world is every whit as real as anything else. As Socrates said of the great sophists, I would rather be refuted by their arguments than to use them. I wish my thinking to be "natural" thinking, and cannot doubt but that there is something in the human soul that knows its own wherever found, by a method which leaves proof far behind. I prefer to invert the Cartesian slogan and say *sum, ergo cogito*, and would adopt Maine de Biran's formula of *volo, ergo sum*, or perhaps even Hobbes', "I count, therefore I am," rather than the old view. I will no longer hark back to Kant, great as he was and high as his place in history must always be, but will look forward to a larger philosophy of the future, which I think this country is destined slowly to evolve.

I believe that most, though not all, students are better if trained to follow men like Fechner, Fouillée, Sergi, or our own Schumann—who, after teaching this theory of knowledge for years, renounced it—and keep out of agnosticism, rather than to get out of it in ways laid down by Kant and all his epigoni, or even those of the subtle, learned, and very ably wrought-out ways devised by Hodgson, Renouvier, Ward, James, Royce, Garman, Münsterberg, and others. I object to treating my science or my consciousness like a St. Martin's stomach by pulling out and examining its content to study the stages of assimilation; and still less can I work in the very narrow limits prescribed for psychology in the over-elaborate classifications and definitions of some of my contemporaries. Wherever life is most intense and reality seems most real, there the student of the inner life should find his theme and seek to be at home.

Psychology, as I hold it, and try to teach and have it taught, rests on a broad basis of general biology. It attempts to impart the largest, richest body of facts possible concerning the instincts and habits of animals, the life and customs of savage, of barbarous races, and of children. It always insists upon the importance for every one



of a good general knowledge of the history of philosophy, including ethics and logic ; but it teaches the systems sympathetically, rather than critically. It makes large use of the laboratory and of modern studies of the brain, and seeks to apply its results at every practicable point to religion, art, education, history, and every other department of active life. It postulates an expansionist's policy for psychology, and seeks coöperation and contact as widely as possible ; nay, more, it even regards all the great systems of the great thinkers in an objective way and studies their origins ; seeking for them, and for even the epistemological movement itself, a psychological explanation as the ultimate one, regarding everything in all its work from a purely objective, natural-history standpoint.

This view is frankly evolutionary, and holds that whatever nature is we are ; that nature is the truth of all things ; and that whatever does not agree with it is by every token false. As Goethe held as true whatever was fruitful for him, so the really modern psychologist seeks one of his criteria of truth in its profitableness to his senses and its application to education, sociology, art, religion, and life, and does not teach a psychology *versus* life, as a recent book ought to be called. He does not ostentatiously condemn and evict common sense, our national muse, as dear to and as characteristic of us as *Gemüth* to the German or *esprit* to the Frenchman, from his workshop, but welcomes her assimilative processes as modes of thinking the universe in the easiest way as essential to the very existence of a republic, determining everything and making the voice of the people the work of God. He cares little for the old fiddling on the categories, whether the philosopher's lyre be strung with the Aristotelian ten strings or the two of Schopenhauer.

The ultra-epistemologist seems lacking in a quality of mental virility ; his voice is raucous, and we cannot wait for his idle proclamations in pretentious volapuk of what knowledge is, what it is possible to know, what is the nature of mind and actuality, especially if he shows a disposition to challenge or even tie up the work of science till his spurious mortgage is cancelled. Why longer muddle the subjective and objective ? Why hypertrophy the self-consciousness we cannot define, and which may often be from its origin less a normal than a remedial function ? Is it not better to evolute than to involute ourselves ? Must the soul thus encyst itself to metamorphose into a higher type of psychic life ? My own answer is ready and decided.

G. STANLEY HALL.

## AN UNWRITTEN CHAPTER IN RECENT TARIFF HISTORY.

IN May, 1897, the writer was directed by the Secretary of the Treasury to proceed to Washington to "attend a conference of the Senate Finance Committee." This meant that I was to be with the minority party of the Finance Committee as expert during the time the Dingley Bill was under consideration.

As finally passed, the tariff act called for an estimate of the revenue derivable from its provisions. The estimate of \$200,000,000 which I submitted as the revenue for 1899, as stated in the "Evening Post" of July 2, 1897, showed a greater amount of revenue than the estimates of other officials. I based my figures on trade action, and on the intrinsic conditions of our manufacturing industries—the only bases on which it is possible to form an estimate that is worth consideration. This estimate of \$200,000,000 was practically realized by the imports. The duties collected from imports of merchandise represented in the various schedules amounted to \$200,873,429.23, against my estimate of \$200,341,869. The table given below shows my various estimates side by side with the duties that were actually collected :

Schedules.	Estimate of Revenue for the Fiscal Year 1898-99.	Actual Revenue of the Year 1898-99.
A. Chemicals, oils, and paints .....	\$6,674,600	\$6,461,000
B. Earthenware and glass .....	8,125,000	8,001,000
C. Metals and manufactures.....	12,990,000	7,500,000
D. Wood and manufactures .....	1,650,000	1,669,000
E. Sugar.....	52,564,000	61,629,000
F. Tobacco .....	14,322,881	10,627,000
G. Agriculture .....	9,839,000	12,406,000
H. Spirits, etc.....	8,064,000	8,247,000
I. Cotton and manufactures.....	17,542,000	17,735,000
J. Linen and fibres.....	7,853,907	10,683,000
K. { Wool .....	13,620,000	3,948,000
{ Woollens.....	18,475,000	13,270,000
L. Silks.....	13,935,000	13,506,000
M. Paper, pulp, books.....	1,443,946	1,374,000
N. Miscellaneous.....	13,141,520	.....



That the estimated revenue was so near to the actual one proves that for merchandise in which our ability for supply is deficient, the demand is fairly constant. The discrepancies do not contradict this. In the "F" and "G" schedules conditions intervened which could not be foreseen. The difference in "F," cigars and tobacco, is accounted for by the Spanish-American and Cuban-Spanish wars, and in "G," by the newly levied duties on tea. In "sugar," "E," an excess importation in 1899 accounts for the greater yield. The heavy importations that preceded the passing of the tariff of 1897 restricted the imports in 1898 so much as to account for the succeeding heavier importations of 1899. In "J," linens, the importations were much heavier than had been anticipated. The increased duties evidently did not diminish the demand. We cannot make linens in this country, though we give some fabrics that name; and since the demand is constant increased duties serve to increase the price to the consumer, or cause the dealer to sell an inferior fabric at the old price.

The metal schedule shows \$5,500,000 less than the estimate of \$12,990,000. Nearly all of this loss falls to tin plate. As late as 1893 imports in this commodity amounted to \$17,630,000. My estimate for 1899 was \$7,000,000. The importations were but \$2,670,000.

In my reports to the State Department (see Consular Reports Nos. 64 and 97) in 1886 and 1888, I had informed the United States Government, after personal inquiry into corresponding labor fields in the most advanced works of England, Germany, and the United States, that in steel-rail making—in all the branches from the coal and the ore to the finished rail—our expenditure in labor was not higher than in any one of these countries, certain computations to the contrary notwithstanding. Pig iron alone gave a higher rate, as little machinery had then been put in use at the furnaces; but this was fully balanced by lower labor cost in other branches.

This information came in the nature of a surprise at that time; but the phenomenal development of our exports of all the furnace and mill products in iron and steel is but a verification of the data then produced. Tin plate, largely dependent on hand labor, was thought to be a manufacture secure to Wales. But, as shown above, American genius for machine production has enabled us to cope with that subject.

The wool and woollen schedule ("K"), however, shows at first sight an unaccountable falling off; and it is to this item that my comments will be devoted. In 1894, when the so-called Wilson tariff was

before the Senate, Secretary Carlisle appointed me to attend the Senate Finance Committee in an expert capacity. The difficulties that surrounded the Committee were greater than in 1897. A contemplated reduction in a tariff always meets the organized opposition of all the beneficiaries of legislation. The crippled and the moribund appeal to the compassion of the legislator whose hand is raised to strike the blow. But the perpetual invalid had no need of fear. The disposition of the Senate was a kindly one. The greater therefore was the necessity to exercise caution in accepting the doleful tales of desolation of homes and destruction of firesides that would follow a lowering of the tariff rates. Besides, proportions had to be maintained.

The cotton manufacturers had prepared a "scientific system," advancing three-tenths of a cent on all cotton yarns per number on singles, and advancing four-tenths of a cent on yarns above singles. This appeared so perfect a system that little opposition was made to it at first, especially as it came so near the French system, which, it was said, worked admirably. The difference lay in this, that the French tariff was based on an average of 10 to 15 per cent on yarns, the American on 50 to 60. The French spinners aim at protection; the American, at a complete monopoly.

In the yarns from American ordinary cotton it was found that the duties would range up to 85 per cent; in Egyptian and Sea Island yarns, the average showed 60 per cent; and in the higher finished yarns, 45 per cent. Duties of this magnitude would, of course, be prohibitive in all but the highest priced yarns. This principle could not be adopted, even by protectionist Democratic Senators. Protection was to be granted on a very liberal basis, yet it was not to duplicate the cost of the duty-free material besides the cost of manufacture. The remarkable tales of labor differences between America and England, imparted to the Committee by manufacturers' delegations, were met by inquiries into the labor cost by the piece. The manufacturers were seldom prepared to answer such questions.

However, the cost of labor in England and the statements from American competing industries were at hand. Special claims were made on behalf of the finer numbers; but these were found to be paid for at rates rather under than above the English rates. In No. 100s, for instance, the differences were 4.85 against 4.86 cents per pound; in 108s, 5.34 against 5.45 cents; in 116s, 5.64 against 6.07 cents; in 120s, 6.10 against 6.38 cents in England. In the numbers below 100s the American rates showed trifling increases toward the



lowest numbers. In weaving, it was found that, in ordinary cotton goods, the rate in America was about 20 per cent under the English cost. The rate per hundred yards of print cloth in Fall River was 36 cents ; in England, for the same cloth, it was 44 cents.

That the wool and woollen tariff would be the chief battle-ground was to be expected. The plea of the reformer that the wool tariff was not only a heavy burden upon the consumer, but a tax upon the health and comfort of the poor, was at last to be entertained. Sheep-raising had become displaced by the more profitable employment of land rapidly increasing in value : from the days of Cain and Abel, the shepherd has had to yield to the agriculturist. In 1868 the States east of the Mississippi River and north of Mason and Dixon's line had 28,500,000 sheep ; by 1895 they had less than 11,000,000. The States of the Far West, on the contrary, increased their stock from 5,500,000 in 1880 to more than 17,000,000 in 1895.

But for the work of our political shepherds little opposition would have been made to what almost everybody considered a great boon, free wool ; wool being a commodity not taxed by any nation except the United States. The wool tariff, with its different gradings, and its mixtures with cotton and shoddy in manufactures, brought upon the statute book a medley of tariff duties, presenting a luxuriant field for litigation lawyers and a source of annoyance to the importer and the appraising officer. With wool free, no excuse was left for graded and pound duties. An ad-valorem rate, progressing from the lower product to the higher, finished one, would have covered all just demands. The manufacturers, however, presented a schedule of mixed weight and ad-valorem duties, graded at different values, which, from the rates proposed, would have acted as follows : Manufactures of wool valued at 25 cents per pound would have paid 56½ per cent ; at 35 cents, 46½ per cent ; at 60 cents, 36 per cent ; at a fraction over 60 cents, 45 per cent ; at 75 cents, 43 per cent ; at 75 cents and a fraction, 51 per cent ; at \$1 a pound, 45 per cent ; at a fraction above \$1, 61 per cent ; fine dress goods, worth easily \$10 a pound, would have paid but 36 per cent.

There could be no reasonable ground upon which to base this system of unequal taxation, whose chief weakness lay in the incentive it offered to undervaluation, by the various dividing lines of values and duties. If goods valued at 60 cents could pass the Customs paying 36 per cent duty, it would not be possible to compete with goods invoiced correctly at 65 cents, as these would pay 43 per cent. Instead

of an equal ad-valorem rate on cloths and dress goods, a dividing line at the value of 50 cents per pound was adopted. It was to be 40 per cent at or below, and 50 per cent above, that price. The chief obstacles were found later on at this very point.

I shall cite one case in evidence : The chief importations were in cloths at 2*s.* 3*d.* the yard on the basis of the weight of 16 ounces. For every ounce up or down 1½*d.* was added or deducted. The net price, after deducting all allowances and adding dutiable charges, came to 53.20 cents ; the duty of 50 per cent added, viz., 26.60, brought this price up to 79.80 cents.

These were goods purchased in large quantities by importers from English houses. To these the American buyer paid a commission of 5 per cent, and half of this commission was made dutiable. The identical goods consigned to American commission houses from manufacturers in England paid no commission, and could be entered at 2½ per cent less than the purchased goods. This would not have sufficed to bring them beneath the 50 per cent line. But by means of declaring a weight slightly different from the actual one, and by invoicing the goods at 2*s.* 2¼*d.*, the goods netted only 48 cents and a fraction of the pound value, which, with 40 per cent duty added, viz., 19.20, made the goods come to but 67.20 cents. Timely discovery of this and similar attempts prevented the importation of very large consignments. Such orders had to be cancelled, as under the 50 per cent duty the goods could not be disposed of against the regular importing houses of standing.

The first step in worsted manufacturing, after the clean wool has been carded, is the combing of the wool ; this, as well as much of the preparatory manipulation, being done by automatic machinery. Justice to those smaller manufacturers who are compelled to buy their yarn, and to the yarn-maker who is compelled to buy his combings, demanded that duties should be imposed in proportion to the labor involved. But this just proposition met with fierce opposition.

In 1888 (see Consular Report No. 95) I had investigated the manufacture of worsteds in England and in America, and had based my comparisons on identical numbers and qualities of cloths. Only specifically defined objects can serve for comparison, as they leave no room for the doubts arising from the vagueness of averages and percentages. The difference between England and America in the cost of turning fine wool into combings was scarcely 2 cents. To turn these tops into a yarn of twofold 40s cost 4 cents in Bradford ;



in a mill near Philadelphia where they used Ohio XX wool the labor cost was 4.92 cents.<sup>1</sup>

The Wilson bill had proposed on fine wool tops 30 per cent and on corresponding yarns 35 per cent, while on cloth and dress goods the duty was made 40 per cent. The result would have been that tops made of free wool at a labor cost of 5 cents, and of a foreign value of 36 cents, would have paid 10.80 cents duty. Yarn made of free wool costing in labor 9.50 cents, and of a foreign value of 50 cents, would have paid 17.50 cents duty ; and the cloth made of this yarn, and importable at, let us say 65 cents, would have paid 26 cents duty. This might have been ample, perhaps, for the maker from the wool ; but those compelled to buy the yarn would have had but 8.50 cents of duty to protect them in a labor cost of perhaps 25 cents. Yarn-makers would have enjoyed the full protection on the wool (made free) as well as on the labor ; but the cloth-maker would have had only the protection on the difference between the cost of the yarn and the cost of the cloth.

The final arrangement was 20 per cent on tops, 40 per cent on yarns, and 50 per cent on the corresponding class of cloth. On the above quoted basis of prices this made the duties stand as follows : Tops, protection 7.20 cents ; yarns, 20 cents ; and cloth, 32.50 cents, and, less duty on yarn, if purchased, 12.50 cents. The duties were somewhat better arranged than by the Wilson bill, but with 40 per cent duty on yarn the corporations had carried their point to the virtual exclusion of the smaller manufacturers. It had been the contention of reformers that the heavy duties at the base of production prevented the specialization of industries, the spreading out into the finer manufacturing branches. This shows clearly enough the causes at work which prevent a development of this sort.

To make an exact comparison on equal points with English cost is a difficult matter ; the methods being so essentially different. The American mill covers the entire industry. The wool enters as shorn from the sheep, and leaves the mill door in the shape of the finished cloth. In England, and on the Continent of Europe as well, the cloth-maker buys his yarns, weaves the cloth, and sends the latter to the dyer, who dyes and finishes it. The spinning-mill, as a rule,

<sup>1</sup> The figures previously collected were corroborated by an investigation made by myself in Eastern mills, in June, 1894, in regard to the cost of labor then existing. This investigation was undertaken, by direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

does only the yarn-making part. The spinner either buys in the open market the combed wool, the tops—as they are graded in kinds and numbers—or he selects his wool and sends it to the comber. The wool-comber usually does every part of the work, from the sorting to the scouring and combing. Each of the steps in manufacture is in the hands of competent, and financially responsible, parties. The prevention of wastage is an especial advantage of the English system. It has been claimed that the waste in American mills is sufficiently large to cover a very satisfactory profit at the rate of English manufacture.

Excessively high rates of duty made the industries dependent on them persevere in negligent ways until, driven by fierce competition at home, far-seeing minds went diligently to work to stop the leakages and introduce improvements; thus paving the way to the industrial advance we see developing before our eyes. The chief obstacle to a lowering of duties has always been the claim of our higher rate of wages. But if reduced to the piece rate these differences were not formidable, and frequently showed a lower labor cost, especially in industries where we had introduced superior working methods.

In the worsted industry it cannot be said that this was the case. In the spinning-mills, however, no great differences could arise in those equipped with modern appliances. In weaving, the difference in cost was greater. A variety of accounts from England—sent by manufacturers, by merchants having their weaving done in commission weaving-mills, and by the United States Consul—showed the cost of turning yarn into a particular class of cloth to be a trifle under five cents. A profit is contained in this price for the maker, which, according to a manufacturer shipping direct to the United States, who had an interest in proving his ability to produce at low cost, appears to be about  $\frac{3}{4}$  cents per yard. The cloth in question was one on which the duty, under the tariff of 1894, at 50 per cent, amounted to 27 cents the yard. From accounts received, which I need not give in detail here, it became evident that a doubling of the cost just stated (*i.e.*, 4 cents) would have well covered the actually existing differences in labor between England and America for turning yarn into cloth of this kind.

Such claim could not, however, be made in the dyeing—an important part in the cost. In England no mill in this line has its dye-house. The work is all done by commission dyers. The price charged



for the particular cloth I have in mind was, according to direct information, 12s. 6d. (\$3.04) per piece of 60 yards, which is 5 cents per yard. American mills having their own dye-houses could not, and in fact did not, claim that they were unable to meet this price. From these statements the reader will admit that ample protection was given the industries of the country in the tariff of 1894.

In that year, for the first time in the history of American manufacture, wool of every kind was made free. For the first time the American manufacturer was given an even start with Europeans competing for his home market. For the first time he was told to go where he chose, select his staples where they were grown, and bring them into his mill to try to make what his people desired. He was given four months of extra time to import free wool before goods were permitted to enter under the reduced tariff.

The importation of wool that followed showed how the manufacturers appreciated the privilege thus given to them. In the ten remaining months of the fiscal year 1894-95, under the new tariff, there were imported 82,000,000 lbs. of clothing wool (fine wool), 15,750,000 lbs. of combing wool, and 97,000,000 lbs. of carpet wool. Carpet wool is not produced in this country, and must be imported under all circumstances. The trend of things will be seen from the statement that the average imports of fine clothing wool for the preceding four years of the McKinley tariff had been 36,000,000 lbs., and of combing wool, 5,000,000 lbs. But the 1894-95 importations were only the beginning of the avalanche. In 1896 the importations were 117,250,000 lbs. of Class I. (clothing wool), and 15,750,000 lbs. of Class II. (combing wool); and in 1897, the last year of the free-wool tariff, there were imported 200,750,000 lbs. of Class I., and 38,000,000 lbs. of Class II.

The six months from January 1 to June 30, 1897, were under the shadow of the Dingley Bill; and the wool importations covered by that period may be looked upon as speculative. But that the wools for 1895 and 1896 were imported for immediate use in the mills admits of no doubt. With the beginning of the calendar year 1895, the gates were opened for the importation of woollens under the new tariff. The imports were heavy, of course, but by no means so heavy as the outcry raised by the manufacturers made the public believe they were. The ruin worked by the "free-trade tariff," as they called the tariff that granted free wool and 50 per cent protection, we were told was appalling. Of course, if the year 1896 is compared

with 1894 a very large increase is shown. But the year 1894, anticipating the lower tariff, brought very few goods from Europe, and an increased supply was necessary to balance the dearth thus caused. Counting 1894 with 1895 and 1896, the aggregate shows no increase over the three years preceding. The excess in bulk, of which much has been made by trade papers, which seem to have expressed the views of their patrons rather than their own, is largely illusory ; *i.e.*, if we eliminate the goods of lower value which had been excluded from the list by former prohibitive tariffs.

The large importations running all through the eighties, as seen below,<sup>1</sup> were due chiefly to the fact that a great change in manufacturing had taken place. The improvement in combing machinery, and the development in wool-raising at the antipodes, had built up a new industry abroad. The fine staple—though not of the length of the old English breeds, which had supplied the combing wools in former times—could now be used advantageously in the combs ; and it produced a soft strand from which were made the fabrics that loaded our docks with cases from England, Germany, and France.

Owing, perhaps, to his ignorance of the merits of these wools, the American manufacturer was slow in adapting himself to the new conditions. He was expert in the manufacture of flannels, cotton warp, shoddy and wool goods, and a variety of lower-grade wools where he had the field all to himself. He made the accustomed use of it. After clogging the channels of trade, the auction-room relieved the tension of his own creation. In cassimeres, cheviots, etc., he held the trade exceedingly well in hand. But the demand for these was declining under a new demand, fostered largely by the

<sup>1</sup> VALUES OF IMPORTATIONS OF MANUFACTURES OF WOOL (EXCLUSIVE OF YARNS, TOPS, SHODDY, AND RAGS), IN TARIFF PERIODS FROM 1884 TO 1896.

	ACT OF 1883.		ACT OF 1890.	ACT OF 1894.
	1884-86.	1887-90.	1891-93.	1895-96.
Aggregate value.....\$	116,496,474	192,704,571	114,663,890	86,590,362
Average value per year.....\$	38,832,158	48,176,143	38,220,293	43,295,181
Populations in millions.....	56.	61.	67.	71.
Value per capita.....\$	0.69	0.79	0.57	0.61
Less cloths, etc., previously not importable.....\$				38,000,000
Value per capita.....\$				0.53
Cloths, aggregate value.....\$	32,755,194	47,110,960	39,944,683	38,184,697
Cloths, average.....\$	10,918,084	11,777,240	13,314,227	19,092,348
Cloths previously not importable.....\$				32,584,000
Average previously not importable.....\$				16,292,000
Average per capita.....\$	0.195	0.193	0.20	0.23



softer and lighter fabrics producible from the wools from the Southern Hemisphere, which, by the aid of new mechanical devices, had given such an impetus to Saxon and Yorkshire industry. The backwardness of American mill development alone explains the conditions demonstrable from this table. These facts have not been explained before, but deserve to be made clear, as they furnish the necessary key to the situation.

The free admission of the requisite wools soon made a change. As early as the spring of 1896 the importers of worsteds found that they could not meet the competition of American manufacturers any longer. They were being undersold, driven out of the market, which, under the acts of 1883 and 1890, had furnished an even and constant demand for English goods. During the calendar year 1895, the first twelvemonth of the Wilson tariff for woollens, the imports from England into the port of New York amounted to \$13,534,354 of cloths falling under the higher duties. In the months of January and February, 1896, there was practically no decline. From then to the end of the year the decline was rapid. In September and October, 1896, the imports were \$331,386, against \$2,086,762 for the corresponding months of 1895. In the four months of the season ending with December, 1896, the totals were \$800,350, against the sum of \$4,028,684 during the same period of 1895.

The advocates of a free-wool tariff have found ample vindication in these facts, which unfortunately for their cause were generally unknown. The shoddy-goods manufacturer was seriously hurt. He claimed foreign competition was the cause. But the goods which he had been in the habit of making were not those that came over in quantities. The real cause of suffering of the shoddy-goods maker was free wool. A suit of clothing of all-wool cloth could be sold at retail at a price which formerly would scarcely have bought one of the outfits which, at the edges, and in the bags at the elbows and the knees, show the nature of the material out of which they are made, and to which the name of wool can be extended only by courtesy. As manufacturers of shoddy goods use very little genuine wool, the removal of the so-called compensatory duty of 33 cents per pound on imported cloth took away an absurd rate of protection—a protection which at a much lower figure would have given undisputed possession of the trade. The worsted manufacturers expected to exclude all foreign imports of goods which they had now learned to manufacture. In this, a reimposition of the wool tariff would help them. They

would enjoy an extra protection in the compensatory duties. They would receive 44 cents on the pound of imported cloth as protection, while Botany wool shrinks only about 50 per cent in scouring, and crossbred wools shrink even less. It takes but two pounds and a half of greasy Australian, and less than two pounds of the crossbred wools, to make a pound of cloth. Hence they would enjoy a protective tariff on the wool not consumed in manufacturing, besides the ad-valorem of 50 per cent.

Many sails of hope were spread on the passing of the Dingley tariff. The bill passed into law. But the sailing was not as free as had been expected, and plenty of snags were met in the current. The six months from January to the end of June were not neglected by importers. The importations of cloths from England into New York during that time were, in the higher grade of goods, \$4,762,668, and from all other countries, in round numbers, \$1,200,000. In the lower-rated goods, \$2,447,120 were brought from England, and \$986,000 from all other countries. The total imports for the whole country in all classes of cloths for these six months were \$11,660,000, which is but \$2,200,000 more than the imports of the port of New York.

Still, in order to "fill the American market with immense stocks," the European centres of production, where goods are not piled up in expectation, but are produced only on *bona-fide* orders, were entirely cleared out of all available stock. But these stocks, along with other surplus importations that had found slower sale than anticipated, proved for a long time a thorn in the flesh. Neither the manufacturer nor the importer could reap the expected fruit. The prices of American goods set the pace. Up to last spring, the prices of worsted and woollens were, with few short-lived spurts of improvement, barely above the average of prices of the spring of 1896. If the price of wool is considered it is doubtful whether the net result was as advantageous. Immense quantities of raw wool had been imported by manufacturers, which they owned at free-trade prices. But American wools used for mixing with Botany, and other Southern, wools were higher. American wool on the scoured basis had been worth only 28 to 30 cents; it was now worth 37.50 cents. The foreign wools were not imported by manufacturers only, but also by speculators. The pressure soon came from the holders of these wools. Banks that had advanced on them asked for the return of loans. The use of cotton and shoddy in the place of wool, as a consequence of the existing high tariffs, was not without its effect.



All through this time of depression in American wool industries the English mills showed remarkable prosperity. The anomaly arose that wool, becoming scarce the world over, under the effect of droughts in Australia and an active demand at home, rose in price in England under free trade, and was low enough in America, under a protective rate of 11 cents, to enable the United States to reëxport not alone a considerable quantity of foreign wool, but to ship a good deal of domestic wool to England. No less than 3,500,000 lbs. of American wool and 13,500,000 lbs. of foreign wool were shipped in the year 1899.

Excepting in carpet wools, importations stopped with the enactment of the Dingley tariff. The stocks on hand at the time, along with the annual growth, had to serve to supply the mills. The domestic breeds have increased but little since 1896. The wool clip for 1898 was 266,000,000 lbs. and for 1896, 265,000,000 lbs.

I have made a computation of the wool consumption of Germany in 1885 and in 1898. I took the net imports of wool, and added the imports of half manufactures, cloths, etc., multiplying the former by 2 and the latter by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to make them equal to raw wool in pounds. To the sum thus obtained I added the domestic wools, and from this total I deducted the exports of manufactures of wool similarly computed. I obtained the following net results :

	Lbs.	Population.	Consumption per Capita.
Home consumption of wool in 1885.....	240,618,000	46,700,000	5.36 lbs.
Consumption in 1898 .....	368,983,000	54,500,000	6.59 lbs.

If the same basis of computation is adopted for America, a comparison of 1885 and 1899 will show a most astonishing decline. The former year gives 9 lbs., the latter but 5 lbs., as the per capita consumption. But this would not give a fair presentation of the case, as the surplus importations of 1897 went into consumption in the years following. I have, therefore, tabulated the wool and woollens going into consumption according to tariff periods, and averaged the yearly consumption under their respective headings. At the time of writing, the concluding year of the last period—1897 to 1900—has still three months to run. For these I have estimated the importations on the basis of the months for which the figures are known.

The figures are as the table annexed will show :

STATEMENT OF POUNDS OF WOOL CONSUMED IN THE UNITED STATES (INCLUSIVE OF MANUFACTURES OF FOREIGN ORIGIN REDUCED TO RAW WOOL) UNDER VARIOUS TARIFF ACTS FROM 1884 TO 1900. (IN MILLIONS AND THEIR DECIMALS.)

	ACT OF 1883.		ACT OF 1890.	ACT OF 1894.	ACT OF 1897.	
	1884-86.	1887-90.	1891-94.	1895-96.	1897-1900.	1900.
	3 years.	4 years.	4 years.	2 years.	4 years.	1 yr.
Domestic wool .....	909.8	1,095.	1,180.3	571.	1,080.5	300.
Imported wool .....	266.1	449.5	505.5	428.5	686.2	135.
Of which carpet wools .....	190.	341.	348.5	198.	360.3	100.
Yarns, tops, noils .....	12.5	36.6	7.4	9.3	7.6	.....
At rate of 2½ lbs. ....	29.5	82.3	16.6	20.9	17.1	.....
Rags, wastes, shoddy .....	.....	.....	.....	29.3	44.3	.....
Cloths .....	26.6	44.	51.6	60.7	42.8	5.5
At rate of 2½ lbs. ....	66.5	110.	129.	152.	107.1	13.5
All other manufactures esti- mated on value. .... }	75.	110.	85.	64.	74.9	11.5
At rate of 2½ lbs. ....	138.7	275.4	212.5	160.	187.	28.8
Total lbs. of wool. ....	1,460.6	2,012.2	2,043.9	1,361.7	2,122.2	477.3
Less carpet wools. ....	1,270.6	1,671.2	1,695.4	1,163.7	1,761.9	377.3
Average per year. ....	487.8	503.	511.	680.8	530.5	477.3
Average less carpet wool. ....	423.5	417.7	423.9	581.8	440.5	377.3
Population in millions. ....	56.	61.	67.	71.	75.	78.
Per capita consumption, lbs. ....	8.7	8.25	7.6	9.6	7.07	6.
Per capita less carpet wools ...	7.55	6.85	6.3	8.2	5.9	4.8

The year 1900, feeding on its own resources, would give but 6 lbs. of per capita consumption. The manufactures of wool of foreign origin, which have been added to the wool consumption of the period 1897-1900, were certainly absorbed before the beginning of the fiscal year 1900. If we deduct carpet wools, the showing is still more unfavorable to the would-be consumer of wool for clothing purposes. The first period then shows 7.55 lbs.; the second, 6.85 lbs.; the third, 6.3 lbs.; the fourth, 8.2 lbs.; and the fifth, the Dingley tariff period, 5.9 lbs. The year 1900 shows but 4.8 lbs. Comparing this statement with that of Germany, where the carpet industry has had small development, we find that Germany has actually forged considerably ahead of the great Republic in the pounds of wool consumed in the clothing of its inhabitants.

The stuff produced by our mills under these present conditions is a discredit to a civilized country. The wage-earning classes are asked



to wear so-called woollen goods, made of about 25 per cent of wool, the balance cotton and shoddy, and pay higher prices for these compounds in 1900 than they paid for first-class all-wool articles under the Wilson tariff.

The supplanting of wool by cotton for purposes of dress and clothing is something enormous. We all know what this means in a country subject to such rapid changes of temperature as is ours. You may mercerize, glue, or starch cotton, to give it a shining face, but it will still be cotton. The material obtained by skilful manipulation may serve well as substitutes, but it will, by its bulk and weight, be a drag on the person who wears it. You may rough up the face to give the fabric the appearance of wool, and put ever so deceptive a name on the label ; but in the wear it will not deceive. By the extent which these substitutions have assumed along with the manufacture of "worsted," chiefly cotton, an entirely new departure in the economy of our people, is explained the phenomenon that our wool stocks are not increased by importations and still satisfy the demand. The average for the four years ending with 1900 even shows a decided step backward, and brings our status to the one occupied by Germany in 1885. In this manner the trade, with unerring scent, chronicles the protest of the people against the rise of prices decreed by the Dingley tariff.

JACOB SCHOENHOF.

## TEACHING IN HIGH SCHOOLS AS A LIFE OCCUPATION FOR MEN.

IN looking forward to a life work, one is bound to ask oneself two questions : (1) "What service shall I be able to render to others through this employment?" and (2) "What will this employment do for me?" Nor does the second question spring necessarily from a purely selfish motive. An employment that tends to stunt a man physically, intellectually, spiritually, or socially is not apt to be the employment in which he will find his greatest field of usefulness. It is the purpose of this paper to apply these two questions to the vocation of the high-school teacher, and to see whether the opportunities and rewards of the profession are sufficient to attract to it, as a life work, a man who possesses qualities that are likely to bring him success in other professions or in business.

Applying to the profession the first question, the opportunity for service that the position of the high-school teacher affords is apparent at a glance. Philosophers, educators, and the common experience of educated people agree as to the vital significance of the years that are spent in the high school or academy. By some it is designated as the period of a new birth, the period of the dawning of self-consciousness, the time when the child first really begins to know itself ; by others, as a period fruitful in higher aspirations, when a new world begins to unfold itself and new ideals take root in the soul ; or it may be distinguished as the period during which reason makes its most determined fight against credulity, when youth begins to put away childish things and to hold fast to what it thinks it has proved ; and, finally, it may be described as a period when impulses tend most rapidly to become habits, and habits to crystallize into character. At this time in one's life, then, when the plastic nature of childhood is hardening into the fixed character of manhood and womanhood, when every influence that touches it is apt to leave a deep and lasting impression, how important it is that it should be moulded only by master hands ! To shape the lives of young people during these years—what an opportunity ! what a re-



sponsibility ! No calling can surpass it in importance, and few callings can equal it in its opportunities for good or for ill. Viewed from this standpoint alone, the position of teacher in the high schools of a great city is undoubtedly worthy of the life work of any one, and ought to command and retain the services of the most capable men and women that the country can produce.

Why is it, then, that each year sees many of our most efficient and earnest teachers stepping out into other lines of activity ? Why is it that, of those who remain and expect to remain in school work, so many are looking out with eager anticipation for chances to become principals, superintendents, or college instructors ? An explanation of these facts demands an answer to our second question, "What does the position do for the teacher ?"

There are at least three reasons why the position is often regarded by men of energy and ability as unsuitable for their life work.

In the first place, it does not command from the public the respect that attends other positions which call for no more in the way of preparation, ability, energy, and character. It may be said that this is a fault largely of the teachers themselves, that an occupation is judged in the long run by the kind of people who engage in it. Undoubtedly, there is truth in this statement ; but due emphasis ought to be laid in this case on the qualification "in the long run." To understand the attitude of the public mind toward its high-school teachers, it is necessary to recall, briefly, the history of our public-school system, and to trace a little more fully the evolution of the public-school pedagogue.

The public high school, as we find it to-day, grew up from the graded school, which, in its turn, sprang from the old-fashioned district school. From the standpoint of place, then, it is at present the head of the public-school system. From the standpoint of time, however, it is the lineal descendant of the graded and the district schools, and consequently has inherited the nature of those schools. As might be expected, with their virtues it has also inherited some of their faults. It must expect to be judged, too, by the character of those ancestors, and to be the victim of many of the prejudices that have existed against them. If, now, we turn our attention to the public-school pedagogue, he furnishes us an illustration of evolution almost as striking as that of the human race itself. The difference between the Squeers type of schoolmaster, common not more than fifty years ago, and the highest type of teacher to be found

in the schoolroom to-day, is enormous. In the past, it is true, noble souls were to be found who were wearing out their lives in the cause of popular education, but their number was small, and our pedagogical ancestry as a whole is not one that we can contemplate with feelings of unmixed pride.

View the procession : first, simple but well-meaning persons, often with more of the missionary spirit than of education ; then, objects of pity and charity, persons hired to keep school because they were not fit to do anything else ; then, for the summer months, young girls scarcely in their teens, and for the " winter school " a race of farmer-teachers, fellows who spent eight months of the year cultivating the soil and four months pretending to cultivate brains ; then, tramp teachers, young men who wished to earn a little money on their way to other occupations, and young maidens who sought to bridge over a few years profitably between the time of their high-school days and the period of matrimonial cares. Is it strange that the profession of teaching, except in colleges and universities, has not, as yet, gained a high place in the esteem of men ?

Another reason why the position does not appear to offer to men an adequate life work lies in the fact that the high-school teacher is often hampered and cramped in his proper field of usefulness by the powers above him. By those ordained to pass judgment on his work he is too often regarded as having only two functions in life : first, to cover a stated number of pages of a stated text-book in a stated time with any given class, without regard to its size, character, ability, or previous condition of servitude ; and second, to follow with unquestioning obedience, and to compel all pupils who come under his eye to follow with the same kind of obedience, a system of rules devised to reduce to the regularity of clock-work all motion in and about the school premises. On these two commandments, in many schools, hang all the present success and all the future prospects of the teacher. In dealing with his faculty, a college president usually recognizes the fact that he is dealing with full-grown men and women, who are often his equals in everything save position. Within his proper sphere, the college or university instructor is left free to work out his own salvation. He is selected for that purpose ; and the presiding officer usually understands that it is not his place to be meddling with details. The college president also recognizes the fact that, in planning for the interests of the institution over which he presides, he needs the advice of his corps of teachers, as well as their support.



But in the high school it is not always so. Between the principal and the teacher there is often a great gulf fixed. He is pleased to allude to his teachers frequently as his subordinates, if not as his inferiors. To his mind, teachers are not independent human beings employed to instil into the lives of the boys and girls with whom they are brought into touch something of their own character and their own thought. They are only his instruments, to be used by him to stamp upon the minds of the rising generation an adequate knowledge of his attainments and of his importance. This is too often the attitude of superintendents and principals toward their teachers. It is true that, before we criticise them too severely, we should take account of the material they have often been obliged to use. We should remember that between them and their teachers there has frequently been a difference—not in position alone, but also, and to a marked extent, in age, ability, experience, and attainments. Nor is the past tense alone quite adequate to the statement of this truth. This fact may partially justify the attitude of many superintendents and principals; yet too often the teacher is kept needlessly in a position of partial or total eclipse. He can hardly be blamed, therefore, if he sometimes feels longings to break away from that centripetal force that holds him in too narrow an orbit, and to swing out where he can shine as an independent star, if only of the sixth magnitude.

The third reason why men cannot afford to enter the vocation with the expectation of following it as their life work is found in the inadequate salaries attached to the position. An analysis of the nature of the service that any man can render to his fellows reveals two kinds. He can make himself useful to those around him by ministering to those desires that are already clamoring for satisfaction. For service of this nature he will usually be able to command an equivalent in this world's goods. It has a market value. Or, on the other hand, he may sacrifice his time and energies in an attempt to awaken in the souls of his fellow-beings new and higher desires. The immediate reward for such service is apt to be only derision and persecution. Human nature rebels against paying good money for being reminded of the fact that it is living on too low a plane. In general, therefore, men enter those callings that are of a missionary nature without any expectation of receiving for their services adequate compensation, and often with little prospect of securing even the means of a decent subsistence. They know that the reward of the

martyr is not in this world, and that the services of the reformer are seldom valued correctly by his own generation.

Speaking of salaries, we venture to assume that in large cities, at least, high-school teachers are not engaged in missionary work. We assume that the inhabitants of those cities are already awake to the advantages of a high-school education for their children, and that they are able to pay for those advantages. What, then, should determine the salary of the high-school teacher? Should it be an equivalent for service rendered, fixed on a business basis—an amount that he would have been able to command for his services had he engaged in another occupation? Or should the amount of his compensation be determined by the standard of living appropriate to his position and needs? Weighed in the balance against either standard, the high-school teacher's salary will be found wanting.

Chicago furnishes us with a peculiarly good example for study and comparison. The averages of the maximum and minimum salaries paid by thirty of the largest cities in the United States to their high-school teachers are \$1,991 and \$869, respectively. These averages are very nearly the same as the maximum and minimum sums paid in Chicago. In that city the pay of high-school teachers ranges from \$850 to \$2,000, less the 1 per cent deducted to maintain a pension fund for such aged teachers as the board thinks fit to retire, and the frequent cuts said to be made necessary by inadequate appropriations for the high-school fund. The highest salary that any teacher receives ranges from \$1,880, in years of famine, to \$1,980, in years of plenty. Few can hope to reach this summit before a ripe old age overtakes them ; many cannot expect to reach it at all.

The candidate, just from the university, starts with \$850. He is not a green stripling, for the examination requirements call not only for a college training, but for specialized university work in some particular field. He can, therefore, hardly hope to begin his career as a high-school teacher in Chicago much before he is twenty-five years old. Having started at \$850, less the 1 per cent, he advances by easy stages toward the maximum, \$1,980. If he ascended this ladder to affluence one step each year it would take him thirteen years to reach the top. Under the most favorable conditions, then, he would be at least thirty-eight years old before he could experience the exquisite pleasure of drawing the munificent sum of \$1,980 as his annual stipend. But he does not ascend steadily. There are two big gaps in the ladder over which no one can hope to pass,



except by friendly assistance from the school board in the way of special dispensations. As there are always a great many waiting such, and only a few can receive them at a time, the teacher is often blocked at these points for several years. In off years, too, he remains at a standstill wherever he may be, and occasionally he is shaken down by the fierce financial tempests that rage over his head.

A few comparatively young men, it is true, are now drawing the maximum salary ; but they began service in the city before the present system was adopted. Under the schedule that exists now, few can hope to reach the enviable limit in time to be able to enjoy it long. But, as \$1,980 marks the goal in Chicago, and \$1,991 the average goal for thirty of the largest cities in the United States, these figures should be taken as the basis of any comparison. Place these amounts over against the maximum compensation that a man may confidently expect if he is successful in business, in law, in medicine, or in the pulpit. Compare them with the salaries received by many men employed by individual firms or private corporations, or with those attached to official positions, in city, county, State, or nation. How they dwindle away into pitiful insignificance !

What wonder that in an atmosphere charged with the commercial spirit, in which intellectual strength is apt to be measured by its power to get gold or real estate, what wonder that in such an atmosphere the full-grown man who continues to toil in the school-room with no hope of any material compensation beyond \$1,980 a year, and often without much prospect of getting all of that, comes to be regarded by successful men in other occupations with a feeling akin to pity, and treated by them, when noticed at all, with an air that savors of patronage ! What wonder that young men with ability and ambition, if advised to adopt teaching as a life occupation, turn upon their advisers a look that reflects distrust as to their mental condition, or that proud parents, with a regard for the future social position of their daughter, implore her to accept as her life companion any one before a poor pedagogue !

A compensation fixed upon a business basis takes account of several factors ; the most important among them being the responsibility connected with the work, the preparation required for it, and the nature of the work itself. The responsibility connected with the work of teaching in high schools has already been touched upon. "Man-making," says one of our great thinkers, "is the most divine of all arts." Let no one undertake it, then, thoughtlessly or heed-

lessly. Botch-work in teaching is difficult to detect at once ; it can be covered up more easily than botch-work in any other business. But its bad effects are sure to appear sooner or later in stunted intellects, wrecked ambitions, and stranded lives. By those only who are closely associated with the teacher in his work is the responsibility likely to be fully appreciated. Some time ago "The Journal of Education" published from school superintendents all over the country replies to the question, "What should the assistant be, and what qualities should he possess?" Strength of character, decision, and good judgment ; sound health, great ambition, and willingness to work ; high scholarship, intelligence, a knowledge of methods and principles of education, and executive ability ; honesty, honor, zeal, and loyalty—these are a few of the qualifications, as specified by judges, that the high-school teacher ought to possess. Does any occupation demand more ?

In the matter of specific preparation the profession is becoming equally exacting. Nearly every progressive city is saying to-day to its applicants for high-school positions, "None but college graduates wanted here ;" while some places expect in addition special pedagogical study, several years' experience, or a year or more of university training. In Chicago we find the following requirements : "All candidates will be examined in four subjects, of which one will be a major. The scope of the examination in the major will be included in a university course of study where the subject has been made a specialty by the candidate. The scope of the minors will be covered by the work generally done in a college course." That this is not printed just for appearance is proved by the fact that of all who have tried the examinations during the past two years about 70 per cent have failed. What law school, medical college, or theological seminary ever turned down 70 per cent of the persons seeking admission to one of these professions through its doors ?

Nor is the nature of the work itself less exacting. To be sure, only five or six hours are usually spent in the schoolroom, but they are hours of constant strain ; and, when the work is properly done, it calls for many additional hours spent in general and special preparation. Nor are the vacations and Saturdays that fall to the lot of teachers—making them objects of envy to busy men in other pursuits—consumed by progressive instructors as periods of Elysian repose. Volumes of literature pertaining to their work have to be read ; hundreds of facts are to be collected and digested ; social de-



mands and home duties, which have been thrust aside during the busy days of the week and the busy weeks of the term, call for attention. Verily, the teacher is not the person of leisure that he sometimes appears to be. If all the hours that he works are summed up, the total will not fall short of those spent in other occupations.

But if it be true that the work of the high-school teacher calls for as much in the way of personal character, ability, special preparation, and energy, as any other of the so-called professions, why is it that its compensation is so much less? First, because the responsibilities of the position, and, therefore, the personal qualities that it should demand, have been so dimly recognized by the general public. Cheap teaching does not result directly in financial loss. That is the reason why it has been tolerated so long, and that is also why the occupation has always been crowded with incompetents and crushed down by those seeking to use it only as a stepping-stone to some other employment. But enlightened society is beginning to awaken to the seriousness of the work. It is busy now putting up high fences to keep out the undesirable and inefficient; it has yet to learn that it must put something attractive on the inside to tempt the strong and the capable to climb over. Few self-respecting, competent men are likely to pursue eagerly, as a life work, any calling whose steady diet is poverty, and whose end is pauperism or a pension. But the chief reason why the teacher does not receive for his services as large material rewards as his efforts would be likely to bring in other lines of enterprise lies in the fact that he is not engaged in a money-making business. His services, therefore, can never be measured by dollars. It is impossible, upon any known business basis, to determine just how much he is worth.

If, then, in intelligent and well-to-do communities, it is neither fitting to put the compensation of the teacher on the missionary basis, nor possible to compute it on a known business basis, giving full market value for service rendered, one method only is left for determining his salary. It ought to be such an amount as will enable him to do his work efficiently, to maintain a standard of living suitable to his position, and to make reasonable provision for that time of life when few men can work. To do these things it is neither proper nor right that his wife should be obliged to take in washing or boarders, that his children should be compelled to go out to work early in life, or that he himself should be forced to engage constantly in other occupations to piece out his inadequate income as a teacher. Yet such

are the conditions that now prevail everywhere among high-school teachers with families depending upon them. To provide properly for his wife and children, to maintain them decently in the social position to which their education and tastes usually adapt them, and to maintain himself respectably in those circles where he is called to move, and where he ought to have an influence, the high-school teacher is forced to seek employment outside of his regular work. Quite commonly we hear of him tutoring, hearing private classes, or teaching in night schools ; sometimes he engages in so-called literary work, or in business ; while occasionally he is to be found, outside of school hours, as a consulting engineer, a practising lawyer, or a fully equipped physician.

Some of these pursuits, if they are engaged in to a moderate extent, may contribute strength to the work of a teacher, and all are certainly legitimate, laudable enterprises for the right persons. But no man can serve two masters ; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or in time he will leave the one and hold to the other. Any occupation that rivals in its interests the business of teaching, from the practice of law down to the practice of writing bad textbooks just for the money there is in them, tends to destroy the efficiency of the teacher. It steals the time that legitimately belongs to the library, the laboratory, or the family ; it robs the community of services that the teacher ought to be able and willing to give to it freely ; it degrades and belittles the life of the teacher by compelling him every time he touches society in a useful capacity to calculate how much gold he will be likely to rub off. The motive of economy, alone, ought to lead every wise school board to pay its teachers salaries that are adequate to a suitable standard of living, and then to insist that they should not enter any other regular employment, as a gainful occupation, while connected with the schools.

But what is a suitable standard of living for high-school teachers, and what income is necessary to permit of this standard ? It is impossible, of course, to give exact answers to these questions. It ought not, however, to be impossible to arrive at conclusions that can be generally accepted. It is certain that the high-school teacher cannot expect an income that will permit him to live on the scale of those who possess large wealth. It is equally evident that he cannot hope to get along and do his best work on wages that are commonly paid to unskilled laborers, artisans, clerks, stenographers, or bookkeepers. Leaving out of account the large expenditures of time and



money involved in the preparation for his work, the current demands on his purse and time are too great. It is written that man cannot live by bread alone, and this is doubly true of the teacher. Growth—intellectual, spiritual, and social—must be the prevailing condition of his life. But growth means nourishment, and nourishment means money.

“The real teacher,” says a distinguished school superintendent in one of our large cities, “will always be a student; he will be furnished with an ever-increasing library of his own; he will be a patron of the public library, if one is at hand; he will be a social power in the community where he lives.” Art, literature, and music; newspapers, periodicals, and lectures; opportunities to see something of the world; leisure for study and reflection; social position—all these are desirable for every man, but to the progressive teacher they are necessities. With many men they count for almost nothing in their daily work; to the teacher they are a large part of his stock in trade. The standard of living for the high-school teacher ought, therefore, it would appear, to be equal to that maintained by men in other professions and occupations that demand no more in the way of ability, preparation, and expenditure. It should be equal, at least, to the average standard of those who send their children to the public high school.

What, then, is the cost of maintaining such standards? It will vary, evidently, in different communities. Some time ago, a committee appointed to investigate the question of teachers' salaries in New York State sent out to a number of persons, in each of several towns and cities in the State, a request that they should estimate the expense of what they considered a good living for a married man, thirty years old, with a wife and two children. The places to which these requests were sent differed in size from 2,500 up to 3,350,000 inhabitants. The averages, by towns, of the reports submitted by eighty-three persons, representing different localities and occupations, range from \$1,367 to \$3,816, \$2,009 being the general average for the fourteen towns that reported. These estimates make no provision for the future. To each of these averages, therefore, must be added a sum to provide for old age. Seven men in Brooklyn, a coffee broker, a physician, a dentist, a clergyman, a salesman, and two teachers were asked to name a reasonable estimate of such an amount. Both teachers decided that \$500 would be a suitable sum to lay aside annually. Their estimate was \$200 below the total average. If we add, then,

\$700 to each of the above amounts, we have what, in the opinion of ninety persons, representing different occupations and localities, is an adequate income for a man thirty years old, with a family of three to provide for besides himself.

The figures, as revised, range all the way from \$2,069 in small towns, to \$4,516 in New York City, with \$2,709 as the average for all. In seven of the towns reporting the population is less than 2,500 each, and the cost of living is relatively low. The average of the estimates returned from the seven cities is \$3,089. Comparing this amount—which, in the judgment of their own citizens, represents a reasonable standard of living in seven cities in the State of New York—with \$1,991, the average of the maximum salaries paid to high-school teachers in thirty of the largest cities of the United States, we find that the standard of a good living is 36 per cent above the maximum salaries received by men teachers in those cities. Comparing it with the average salary paid to the male high-school teacher, we find it soaring above his ability to satisfy his reasonable wants by the discouraging distance of about 54 per cent.

Or, let us take Chicago again as a typical case. It has already been shown that the maximum and minimum salaries that it pays to its high-school teachers are about the same as the averages for thirty of the largest cities of the country. For a number of years it has been the practice of the teacher of economics in one of the high schools of that city to ask his pupils to bring in itemized accounts of their annual expenses, determining such items as food and shelter by dividing the total family expense for those things by the number of persons in the family. The cost per pupil has varied from \$150 to \$1,500, the average being about \$650. Assuming that the expenses of parents, outside of the home, are no greater than those of children of high-school age, this gives us \$2,600 as the average annual expenditures of the families represented in this particular high school. The average for this school is probably higher than the general average would be for all the high schools of the city. But the pupils do not to any great extent represent homes of large wealth. They come for the most part from the homes of the moderately well-to-do classes, the homes of men who are earning their living in some profession or in business.

Remembering, too, that little items are likely to be overlooked in making an account of expenditures, and that the demands on the boy and girl of high-school years are apt to be considerably less than those on the parents, aside from the expenses of running the home,



we may conclude that \$2,600 is below, rather than above, the average standard of living of the families represented in the high schools. But this sum makes no provision for the future. Add to it, therefore, \$700, and we have \$3,300 as the amount necessary to enable the teacher to live on the same scale as the average patron of the high school, and to make suitable provision for old age. But this sum overtops the maximum salary now paid by about 40 per cent, and when compared with the average salary it stands out in an overpowering Alpine grandeur.

Whether we compare the salary of the high-school teacher, then, with the compensation that men of education, ability, and energy are able to command in other professions and occupations, or with the standard of living that the nature of the work demands, it is found to be wanting. It is evident, therefore, that, under present conditions, the number of men of character and ability who are willing to engage in the occupation, expecting to make it a life work, is limited. Outside of the large cities the number of men now teaching in high schools is very small ; and of those who are teaching in such cities many, as has been seen, are already engaged in other lines of business, looking forward to the time when they can quit teaching altogether ; while others are regretting the fact that it is too late for them to think of making any change.

The question then arises, Is it necessary or desirable to have men in high schools as teachers? Their places could easily be filled by competent women who have no families to support, and especially by young ladies just out of school who are open to engagements of various kinds. They could also be readily filled by youths who can afford to sell their services cheaply for a few years, while they are studying or working up some line of business. Whether it is a work that calls for the services of men who come to stay is not my purpose to answer here. Assuming, however, that it is desirable to have able, experienced men as teachers in our high schools, I have attempted to show that, while the work in its nature is worthy of their highest ambitions and their best efforts, men who possess qualifications that promise success in other professions, or in business, will hardly care to undertake it as a life vocation, since it means a sacrifice of that public esteem that attaches to many callings, a subjection often to harassing and belittling restrictions, and a compensation much less than they would be able to command in other occupations.

EDWARD EMORY HILL.

## U. K., U. S., AND THE SHIP CANAL.

THE Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 forbade the exclusive control of any future ship canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific by either of the Powers, declared the neutrality of the Canal, and provided that all friendly Foreign States should be asked to enter into similar stipulations. It was a perpetual treaty.

In 1849 American representatives had been negotiating with Central American States for an exclusive right of way, and a treaty signed with Nicaragua that year had provided for the construction of fortifications to defend the interests of the United States. This treaty was repudiated by the Government of the *chargé d'affaires* who had drawn it up ; and it was in consequence of this repudiation that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had been suggested to us by the Government of the United States.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was followed by other treaties based upon it : one between ourselves and Honduras in 1856, and one between ourselves and Nicaragua in 1860. The main object of all these treaties was stated by us to be "equal treatment" or the "prevention of the imposition of unequal dues." The United States concluded similar treaties with Honduras in 1864 and with Nicaragua in 1867 ; and France concluded similar arrangements with Nicaragua in 1859 and in 1868.

In 1879-80 the Congressional Committee on Foreign Relations attacked the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and proposed its abrogation. At that time it was stated that we had violated the treaty in 1852 by an arrangement as to the Bay Islands and the Mosquito Indians. Action taken by Mr. Evarts in 1880 and by Mr. Blaine in 1881, in the direction of the unilateral denunciation of the Treaty, was ultimately dropped in consequence of joint representations by Great Britain and France, in 1883.

With regard to the argument as to our breaking the Treaty, our action on the Mosquito Coast dates from 1630 ; but the Bay Islands were, in 1859, forever recognized by us as belonging to the Republic of Honduras. The United States Treaties of 1864 and 1867 just



named show that our supposed improper action had not changed American policy up to 1867, and it may be hoped that the charge of treaty-breaking in this question may now be regarded as musty, if not irrelevant. I see that it is still made use of by some upon the American side of the Atlantic.

It follows from this little history that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty does not stand alone, and that its abrogation does not concern only the United Kingdom and the United States. It may, however, be assumed that any well thought-out action in which the two countries mainly interested—the one politically and the other commercially—might concur would be accepted by the other Powers.

It is, of course, possible for the people of the United States to settle the question for themselves. It is improbable that, in the present state of Europe, any Power would interfere by force of arms, however flagrant the breach of treaty. The strength, in the long run, of the United States can hardly be over-rated, and there is no Power and no probable combination of Powers which would willingly accept that country for an enemy. The great majority, however, of United States citizens would desire to seek a solution of the difficulty which should be in accordance with their national honor and with their permanent national interests, in place of one which might be recommended by violent men.

It may be freely admitted that we in Europe are too much inclined to look at the Canal question as one which chiefly interests Powers already possessing a great maritime trade with the Pacific, and insufficiently inclined to consider the politico-commercial importance of the Canal to the United States. The creation of a Canal at the time of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was domestically more important to the United States than it is now. It would have meant at that time securing an immediate unity between the Eastern States and the Pacific slope which to many has, at various subsequent times, seemed to be menaced. Since the conclusion of the Civil War and the completion of the Pacific railways the question has diminished in its domestic importance. But it is still important to the United States in an even higher sense than that in which it is important to ourselves as the possessors of the largest carrying trade.

The treaty of this year, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, set aside the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in a friendly fashion. But while it is agreed that the United States may make the Canal and manage it, the principle of neutralization is continued and fortification is forbid-

den, while it is provided that the United States may police the Canal with military and protect it against disorder. The situation established is that which has prevailed in fact with regard to the Suez Canal ; for during the time of the Russo-Turkish war, although the Suez Canal was part of the Turkish Empire, Russian men-of-war and Turkish men-of-war refrained from acts of hostility when they met in its water, and the agreement afterward arrived at by a conference in 1888 only indorsed the practice.

The neutrality of the Suez Canal was based on French action. In 1870 the British Government took the view that the neutrality of the Canal was not, in time of war, favorable to British interests. But, although this was the opinion of the Admiralty, and would be again in similar cases, we have always assented to the French opinion, shared by the other Powers, that the world-wide advantages of neutrality in a great commercial highway should make us yield our belligerent rights.

It is provided in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, as in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, that it shall be brought to the knowledge of the other Powers, and it was no doubt expected that Germany and other maritime Powers would concur.

I am far from attaching weight to many of the laudable attempts which have been made to present this agreement as the only possible agreement, or to exaggerate the difficulties of departing from it. Distinguished Americans who support, in the United States, the Hay-Pauncefote agreement, have gone so far as to suggest that the European Powers would be inclined in time of war to violate the security of the Canal if it were not arranged for by international agreement.

I shall not argue in this fashion, but I do, nevertheless, believe that one suggestion, on the other side, which appears to underlie the denunciations of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and to have suggested the Hepburn Bill, is dangerous. I mean discrimination in tolls for the benefit of American shipping, and power to close the Canal at will against the shipping of some Powers. It is difficult to imagine any course more retrograde and less international ; and its theoretical adoption by the United States, though it might not produce immediate hostile action of any kind on the part of any of the European Powers, would undoubtedly give rise to a smouldering uneasiness which might, later on, be fanned into flame. It is not easy to believe that such a policy will prevail in the United States.



We have not had full reports here of the debates which have taken place at Washington upon the subject. We are told that the Chairman of the Committee of the House has stated his intention to propose discriminating charges directed against foreign shipping ; and he and many appear to be directly opposed to the view of Henry Clay that the benefits of an ocean canal ought not to be exclusively appropriated to one nation. This matter is far more important than any theoretical declaration of neutrality.

Supposing it were to be agreed by all the Powers that the United States should not only make and police the Canal, but be allowed to hold it virtually as its own, it would, nevertheless, in my opinion, be in the direct interest of the United States, as well as in the interest of general peace, that the protecting Government should, of its own will, declare the principle of the open-door in the Canal, as regards dues, and the exclusion from it of warlike operations. The mere question of fortification is of little moment. Canals can be stopped without fortifications, and they can be attacked by Powers possessing the command of the sea, and capable of disembarking land forces, in spite of fortifications. The Japanese, for example, predominant at the present moment in the Pacific in a military sense, by reason of the combined strength of their fleet and army and of their power of conducting an expedition across the seas with clock-like precision, would pay little attention to the mere existence of fortifications at any spot where they might desire to make a landing.

I believe the object of Mr. Hepburn is that the United States should have a full share of the commerce of the world, and that, in order to obtain this, he thinks it must place in its hands every power which can be used for promoting its own trade and discouraging that of its rivals. His argument would justify a British prohibition of the use of the Suez Canal by other Powers. His argument assumes that not only Europe, but that great commercial countries like Argentina and Chili would acquiesce in such action on the part of the United States. It is possible that the European Powers at a given moment might appear unwillingly to acquiesce, because they were not strong enough to help themselves, in a closing of the Suez Canal by us ; and for the same reasons Europe and South America might acquiesce in discriminating charges in the Atlantic-Pacific Canal ; but such a state of things could hardly last, and it is my own opinion that American trade for the more distant markets to which

the oceanic canals in the greatest degree apply would, in the long run, not be benefited by the transaction.

The sharpness of the curve—to use what is an American phrase—which it is proposed to execute is remarkable. It is the United States which has just succeeded in obtaining from the whole of the European Powers the open-door in China. It is the United States which it is proposed shall build a door open only to herself through Central America. I can understand the unpopularity of my country—Irish feeling, feeling of sympathy for our opponents in the present war, the anxiety of some for an attack on British policy ; I can even understand some of the objections to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and the desire to replace international agreement upon the subject by a purely American system of control ; but the Hepburn policy carried to its logical extreme means militarism for the United States. It means the creation of a fleet powerful enough to face any possible combination of the commercial Powers, apparently wounded in their interests—believing themselves, as they would, to be very gravely wounded—though, for my own part, I do not believe that, supposing peace to be maintained and the policy to be carried out, it would in the long run benefit the trade of the United States.

The United States is beginning to become a great exporting country. Its trade is showing power to conquer new markets even in East Africa, a spot distant indeed from American shores. The commerce of the United States in China is increasing with extraordinary rapidity, though a great deal of it is still done through Hong Kong and other indirect courses, and does not yet appear in the figures of your trade. In the certain future rapid development of the North Pacific, the United States will play a preponderating part ; but its interests will continue to be mixed up with those of other Powers—of Great Britain and her colonies, of Japan, of Russia, and, above all, of Germany. The United States will not be able to treat Eastern Asia as her own. The gigantic trade which she will do there one day will have to be done under international agreement, and upon the principles of international friendship or of “live and let live.”

The attempted introduction of the opposite principle into one of the means of communication with the North Pacific would defeat itself. As a military means of access to the Pacific the Canal will be as useless as the Suez Canal is when considered as a military means of access between Europe and the Far East in the event of general war. As a commercial means of access in time of peace it will alone be im-



portant. But it will not be the sole means of access; and as regards large portions of the West Pacific, and generally speaking the coast of Eastern Asia, it will have to compete with the two long-sea routes. Its competition will not be helped, but will be rather handicapped, by its being made for long years a struggling enterprise, costing money instead of earning it, due to the adoption of a policy of special advantage for one commercial power which, great as it is as a trading power, is not yet a great ship-owning community.

It will be seen by what I have said of fortification that I do not hold the extreme British view. I hope that I understand the extreme American view so far as it is consistent with sanity. I can fully realize the interest taken in the United States in an extension of the Monroe doctrine, such as would, for example, make the neutrality of the future Canal depend upon the action and the guarantee of the various American republics. But to advocate this view, in the belief that it would be sound American policy to apply to the Canal differential treatment in favor of the trade of the United States alone, is, I think, to appeal to the less thoughtful among the American people.

When the ultra-American doctrine was set forward by the President and the Secretary of State (Mr. Evarts) in March, 1880, nothing, I think, was said on the point of differential tariffs on the Canal, and the political and military question was alone in view. The doctrine of Secretary Evarts and Secretary Blaine I can appreciate. It is no doubt idle to suggest that a British fleet could use the non-fortified Canal as a route to the Pacific Coast of the United States in the event of war. No admiral would ever consider such action as, in a naval sense, possible. But that any security should be taken against the possibility even of the existence of such a dream is wise enough, provided that it be made clear to the whole world that it is not intended by reasonable Americans, or likely to be intended by an American majority, to subvert in the Canal the principle of the open-door which the United States demands in China, and by which, throughout the world, in the future, she will have much to gain.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

## ORGANIZED LABOR IN FRANCE.

IN 1884 the workingmen of France obtained for the first time the right to organize. For a century preceding that year, the various governments had treated the question from different points of view, sometimes tolerating, rarely encouraging, and generally suppressing, the spasmodic efforts of the laboring classes to improve their condition. But little by little the conviction grew that suppression, on the one hand, with discontent and even violence, on the other, offered no satisfactory adjustment of the complicated interests of capital and labor. Two facts had been proved by experience : (1) That little was to be gained from the mere good will of employers ; and (2) that workingmen unorganized were powerless to improve their lot. But the law of March 21, 1884, offered a solution of the difficulty by authorizing free organization for “ the study and defence ” of economic and industrial conditions.

Under the sanction of this law the workingmen of France have passed, in sixteen years, from the condition of a mob to that of a disciplined army. Instead of an aimless agitation for something better, there exists a well-defined programme of action leading toward a definite end. Individual effort has been replaced by an organized force, and fitful effervescence by steady endeavor. The results have been commensurate with the change of method. Wages have advanced, the standard of living has risen, the consciousness of power has developed, the desire for education has heightened, and the means of self-help have greatly increased ; and, by an alliance with socialism, political influence has been attained, and favorable legislation has been wrested from unwilling parliaments.

France has 38,500,000 inhabitants, of whom about 14,500,000 live by mining, manufactures, transportation, and general commerce. Probably from one-fourth to one-third of this number are actively engaged in the branches named ; and, as but a small number are employers or independent, all the rest are workers for wages, presumably at least 3,000,000. What proportion of these are members of unions ? According to the latest official figures, those for December



31, 1898, only 419,761. Yet the union of this comparatively small number has been the strength of the whole body, and the organization of the few has proved more effective than the aimless agitation of the many.

As to the accuracy of these figures, it is difficult to be certain. On the one hand it is maintained that the unions exaggerate the number of their members, which is very possible ; while, on the other hand, it is said that the unions have become indifferent to the work of the Labor Bureau—which compiles such statistics—and refuse to answer the official questions. At the Congress of Tours (1896), one delegate reported that of 542,500 employees in eleven trades, only 28,582 were members of *syndicats*, and that of these members, but 12,659 regularly paid their dues. Another delegate maintained that the *syndicats* at large embraced more than a million workers. However conflicting these statements may be, it is evident from the constantly recurring strikes that vast numbers of non-members act with the unionists when occasion arises.

According to the official statistics there are in France 2,361 *syndicats*. The term is more definite than our word union. It is employed to designate the legalized union of persons engaged in the same trade, the by-laws of which, together with the names of its officers, must be filed with the executive authorities. Of these *syndicats* 414, with 182,777 members, are in and around Paris. Every branch of trade has its *syndicat*, and the diversity in number of members is as great as in the different trades. Five of them are credited with but three members each, while one has 64,000. Only forty-three of the entire number have 1,000 members or more, and of these twenty-two have their headquarters at Paris. Five of these *syndicats* number between 2,000 and 3,000 members each ; eight have from 3,000 to 4,000 ; one has 8,000 ; and one has as many as 28,000 members.

France is divided into eighty-seven departments, of which only six contain more than 10,000 unionists. These six are naturally those which contain great commercial centres—Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux—and the coal-mining and iron-manufacturing districts. If we consider the short time which has elapsed since French labor has been free to organize, the growth of unionism and its political progress have been remarkable. In 1884 there were only sixty-eight labor unions in the country, some of which were among those tolerated before the law of March 21 of that year. In fifteen years the number has increased more than thirty-fold, with an increase of power in

even greater ratio; and the leaders of the French labor movement can look forward with hope to a future of even greater progress.

The by-laws of the *syndicats* generally contain a preamble giving the objects of the organization, among which the increase of wages and the diminution of the hours of labor are prominent. The peaceful adjustment of differences between employer and employed, and the aid of members out of work, sick, or involved in justifiable legal proceedings, are also considered of prime importance. Some *syndicats*, however, have a distinctly religious basis. For example, the Corporation of Lyons Silk Employees declares that the Corporation finds religious and moral principles in its members the most certain guarantee for attaining its proposed object, and therefore makes character an essential condition of admission. It also forbids membership in any secret society. The *Syndicat* of Commerce, of Paris, has declared in print that the object of the *syndicat* is to unite, on industrial and commercial grounds, all young men who are truly Catholic, in order to form by their union a power with which their enemies will be obliged to reckon.

However, by far the larger proportion of labor unions ignore questions of religion, and spend their time and energy in producing profitable work for their members, with education for their successors. The 250 unions of typographers, for example, which contain the best elements of French labor, place among their chief objects the peaceful settlement of all disputes, the possession of a library, the prosperity of printing, and especially the spreading of all knowledge necessary for better typography. In a report of one of the *syndicats* of railway employees much stress is laid on securing improvement in all laws which aim to aid and protect the weak.

The regular dues of the members, in addition to a small initiation fee, are usually fifty centimes or one franc (ten or twenty cents) per month. To this sum many *syndicats* require the addition of a few cents for membership dues of a larger union, either district or national. Then come contributions to congresses, to union festivals, to insurance in the *syndicat* company, etc. Non-payment of dues for three to six months, varying in the different *syndicats*, is sufficient cause for expulsion from membership; but sickness, lack of work, or military service is considered a valid excuse. It is impossible to get exact information as to the sums of money which are annually collected and disbursed by the various labor organizations. Probably fifteen cents a month for each member would be a fair estimate of the



amount contributed for all union purposes ; yet that small individual contribution would produce an annual aggregate of \$720,000—a sum which, if wisely administered, should accomplish much.

The administrative officers of *syndicats* usually serve without pay ; and any member elected to an office is expected to serve. The working head of the *syndicat* is generally the secretary, in whose case an exception is made. This officer is paid at a rate corresponding to the best wages a man of his trade can earn. In answer to a question regarding the character of *syndicat* secretaries in general, the head of the Labor Exchange at Paris assured me that mere agitators were rarely elected to this position by their fellow workingmen. The secretary is in most cases an earnest worker either at his trade or in advancing the interests of his *syndicat*. The loud-mouthed agitator is generally recognized by the workingmen as of less value than the quiet worker.

A *Bourse du Travail*, or Labor Exchange, was opened in Paris, on February 3, 1887 ; one in Nimes was inaugurated about the same time ; and the number has increased so rapidly that on December 31, 1898, there were fifty-five in existence, including three in Algeria. The constitution of these labor exchanges is in general the same. Each *syndicat* names three delegates to the exchange committee ; and from the general body thus formed an executive committee is elected. This committee appoints a secretary, who must devote his entire time to the work of the exchange, receiving therefor a salary commensurate with the earnings of his former employment and the services rendered.

The primary object of the labor exchanges is to have a centre where men of all trades can go when seeking work, and where employers seeking men can find them. The hall or building is usually provided rent free by the municipality, and expenses are covered by a subvention. Sometimes an appropriation is also granted by the Departmental authorities. The amount of these subventions is considerable. The expenses of installation aggregated over 3,000,000 francs ; and the subventions for the year 1898 were about 375,000 francs, of which 20,400 francs came from Departments.

Paris is naturally the leader in this movement. Its Municipal Council being largely socialistic, the labor movement receives most generous support ; and its Labor Exchange has been the recipient of 2,872,372 francs for first costs, besides a yearly appropriation, which for 1898 was 354,180 francs. The principal building is an immense

stone structure near the Place de la République. The manager is M. Dumay, whose career is full of interest. In youth he entered the employment of Creusot, to learn the trade of machinist. His quick intelligence measured the hard lot of the laborer and perceived the means of improving his condition. Then he became an agitator. Such a course brought down on him the wrath of Creusot, and Dumay found himself not only discharged, but followed by persecution wherever he tried to find work in the vicinity. After years of bitter, but fruitful, experience, he entered politics, and was elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies. There, however, he did not find his ideal sphere ; and on the reorganization of the Labor Exchange, in 1895, he was named its manager. Here his talents, combined with an intimate acquaintance with workingmen and their needs, find ample and congenial employment.

The census of 1896 in France made an effort to group the inhabitants according to their respective branches of trade. The result, published in 1899, showed that in Paris 648,585 persons were engaged in "industries of transformation." To this total the clothing factories contributed 247,527 ; the workers in metals and precious stones furnished a contingent of 111,732 ; while those engaged in masonry and building numbered 62,432 ; almost the same number were employed in the numerous forms of wood-working ; more than 40,000 on food preparations ; a like number on furs and leather ; and some 31,000 in the various lines connected with the making of books. These figures include not only the capitalists engaged in the said industries, but also many employees not classed among workingmen and not grouped in labor unions. Still, the proportion of workingmen in all the categories will be about the same ; and the above statistics give an idea of the relative importance of the trades. Yet, of all the workers in Paris, only 67,462 were attached to the Labor Exchange in December, 1898. All laborers, whether unionists or not, have free entrance to the exchange and the right to seek employment.

The unionists belonging to all the labor exchanges were recently estimated to number 250,000 ; but the official report of the Labor Bureau reduces the number to 159,284, less than half the whole number of *syndicats* being reported as members of exchanges. Though political agitation is absolutely forbidden to the exchanges, their activity is not by any means limited to getting work for their members. The *syndicats* are doing all in their power to abolish the private employment offices, in order that they may gain the monopoly of the



business. This movement has its enemies as well as its promoters. If successful, it would place an immense power in the hands of the *syndicats*, in the form of a practical monopoly of the labor market. Hence it is opposed not only by employers, but also by advocates of freedom. On their side the *syndicats* decry the corruption and tyranny of the private employment offices, and maintain that only the free placing of labor by the labor organizations can do justice to all concerned.

The secretary of the exchange at Algiers recently tabulated the statistics of his office, showing not only its work in this field, but also what was saved to the toilers. In private employment offices the legal charges are seventy-five centimes for application, five francs for a place found, and fifty centimes for a day's work secured. From the opening of the exchange, May 1, 1892, to December 31, 1899, there were registered 32,493 demands for employment, 13,195 situations secured, 8,805 days' work found, which, at the legal rates given above, would have cost the unfortunate seekers for work a total of 95,649.25 francs, whereas the services of the exchange are gratis. A number of cities have tried to solve the problem by opening free employment offices, and are reported as doing about twice the business of the labor exchanges. The well-known economist Molinari has proposed a plan by which labor exchanges should be operated by wealthy companies, on the same basis as stock, cotton, and oil exchanges. This would reduce labor to the level of a chattel, as he himself admits, and would be but a step above slavery. Ignoring the human element, his scheme leaves no room for family and home life, and certainly will never be accepted by organized labor under the present conditions. Much of the effort of the exchanges is directed to education and mutual assistance, but a great deal more to the propagation of the doctrine that labor should struggle, not only for existence, progress, and elevation, but also for ultimate mastery in human society, and for the enforcement of the dictum that he who will not work shall not eat.

Under the appellation Union or Federation of *syndicats* exist numerous groups, many of national extent, and in the aggregate having a longer list of members than even the exchanges. According to the most recent report there were seventy-six of these unions, made up of 1,132 *syndicats*, with 312,185 members. The most powerful, or at least the best organized, is the French Federation of Book-makers, whose general object is declared to be to maintain prices throughout France, and to render each other moral and financial aid. The union

accepts as members all *syndicats* of those engaged in the making and selling of books, and divides them into fifteen categories. While it excludes women from the composing-room, it receives them on an equality when employed in kindred occupations, and advocates the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Another method of restraining competition in the trade is also strongly urged, that of limiting the number of apprentices to one for five journeymen, and requiring an apprenticeship of three years. Recognizing the uselessness of frequent strikes, the by-laws of the federation require that, in case of difference with an employer, no strike shall be declared until the matter has been laid before the committee of the section, by which it will be reported to the committee of the region and the central committee; that no strike shall be declared until all means of reconciliation have been exhausted; but that once declared, the central committee shall send one or more delegates to the scene of action to direct the movement; and that until the difference has been adjusted, each striking member shall receive 3.50 francs per day, Sundays excepted, during a period, if necessary, of thirteen weeks.

The largest *syndicat* is the National Union of Railroad Workers, which is in reality a federation, but which was organized under this title to avoid registering the local officers. It is avowedly a fighting union, formed in 1890 by M. Guérard, who, having been discharged by the company employing him, has since devoted his time and energy to fighting the railway corporations. At one time his *syndicat* was more or less respected, if not feared, by the companies as well as by the government. As early as 1894 it reported over 66,000 members, and later claimed as many as 80,000. But in an evil moment, in 1898, Guérard made the mistake of proclaiming a universal strike—and failed. From its inception this *syndicat* has been a mouth-piece of socialism, and the demands which it has made on the directors of the various railroad corporations would, if conceded, soon have ruined them. One theory especially this *syndicat* has preached both in and out of season, namely, the solidarity of workingmen in all callings; and its annual budget contains provision for lending substantial aid, as well as moral support, to other labor bodies.

In the early days of French labor organization, probably the most powerful *syndicat* was that of the hat-makers, which brought together an immense body of workers, and accumulated some millions



of francs. But trouble arose, and the government intervened both executively and judicially, so much, indeed, that to-day numbers of socialists will tell you that the corporation was ruined purposely by the government on account of its power and wealth. But the present treasurer attributes the ruin to the lack of corporate union.

The miners of France organized great strikes long before 1884 ; and under the new law they formed a variety of *syndicats*, some of which attained considerable power in the labor movement and then lost influence. However, others have risen to fill their places ; and on December 31, 1898, there existed forty-eight such *syndicats*, one of which (Lens) counted 28,000 members, while the others were comparatively unimportant.

Two factors appear to control the rise and fall of labor unions, and these are seen in full operation among the miners. Under leaders of power and tact thousands of men are led to join the *syndicats*, just as the rolls of church-membership grew under the eloquence of the late Mr. Moody. A successful strike produces a like effect, the power of attraction increasing in proportion to the numbers of the winners. In 1883 a miners' *syndicat* in the Department of the North numbered 7,000 members, and was looked upon as not only prosperous but also influential. On an unhappy day, in 1884, it declared a strike against the Company of Anzin. The number of miners at work fell from 14,035 to 6,135 ; but the Company held out, the strike ceased, the ring-leaders were discharged forever, and in 1885 the *syndicat* disappeared. In 1898 a new leader appeared on the scene, and in the short space of two months formed a *syndicat* of 5,056 members.

In 1876 there was inaugurated at Paris the first of a long series of labor congresses. The delegates were so earnest in purpose and so moderate in tone that they called forth the praise of those in authority, while the extremists covered them with scorn. A year and a half later the second congress met, this time at Lyons, where bitterness against religious teaching found rude expression. Here socialism was forced into prominence, and political representation of the proletariat appeared upon the programme. Then came the celebrated Congress of Marseilles, which adopted as its official title, Workingmen's Socialist Congress. Over the door of the theatre where the congress sat was this inscription : "Liberty, Equality, Solidarity. No rights without duties, no duties without rights. The land to the peasant, the tools to the laborer, work for all."

Up to this date M. Jules Guesde had limited his socialistic teach-

ings to students ; but he now entered the field of battle. His success was immediate and his victories, for a short period, easy. To many an onlooker the labor movement was now deviating hopelessly from the path of economic development. But there were a few who did not lose sight of the main road, and from time to time they essayed to recall militant labor from its wanderings. The law of 1884 offered to the workingmen of France not only defence against their employers, but also a school of instruction, both as workingmen and as citizens of a republic. Education is necessarily a slow process ; but it seems to furnish the sole means by which men can scale the heights of human possibilities.

The years which followed the Congress of Marseilles were passed in struggles between the various schools of progress and reform. Personal ambition and jealousy entered largely into the contests ; but the diversity of opinion was fundamental. Each group established its organ of promulgation ; it was "the campaign of little papers and big libels" ; and the animosity rose to such a pitch that from mutual recrimination they passed to ostracism and even to blows.

During the period when Boulangism flourished, the workingmen of all shades of opinion thought it best to postpone the settlement of their mutual differences in the presence of the common danger of imperialism. At that time, just as last autumn, they realized that the Republic offered, if not the expression of their ideal, at least the protection of acquired rights and the promise of better times to come. The danger of imperialism having been averted, the same year, 1890, witnessed the definite rupture of the workingmen's organization, not only between the revolutionaries and the coöperatives, the extremists and the moderates in politics, but also between the political place-hunters and the "sleepers," who put their faith in evolution rather than in revolution. At the Congress of Nantes, 1894, the provincial party of politicians was defeated, "amid an infernal uproar," and retired from the scene ; and since that time their official organ and their congresses have both disappeared.

The principal element of discord having been thus separated from the great body of organized labor, it was finally possible to unite the economic elements on a common ground. This was accomplished by the National Corporate Congress, held at Toulouse, in 1897. Under three categories of membership the vast majority of the labor unions of the country took part in this congress : (1) The labor exchanges ; (2) the national federations and the *syndicats*, whether manufactur-



ing or commercial ; and (3), local trade federations, and such isolated *syndicats* as did not form federations or whose federations refused to join the confederation. But it was especially provided that no two organizations of the same trade could be admitted separately, nor two local federations of the same place. By this congress it was felt that a new start had been made toward the union and consequent emancipation of labor. The watchword was, "The Universal Strike" ; or, in other words, revolution with folded arms.

In the early days of last December a Socialist Congress assembled at Paris. It was greeted with mockery by a certain element of the public, and with incredulity or doubt by others ; but in it the working, thoughtful socialists had placed their hopes. Delegates of the proletarian organizations had been summoned together, whatever their shades of opinion, provided they accepted the minimum socialistic programme. Besides the five principal divisions of socialists there were represented numerous minor political groups, and, as a new departure, the labor unions and the coöperative societies. From the diverse elements here meeting a supreme effort was to be made for the unification of a Socialist Party. Here men who had separated in anger years before, and had since lived in estrangement, came together with a common purpose. Speech was free, and the language was not always polite. Fists were raised, and cries of rage and defiance were exchanged.

But reason gained the day. Division had hitherto brought weakness ; strength must now come from union. As one organization after another announced its unanimous adhesion to the new programme, as one leader followed another on the stand, with enthusiastic assurances of his personal devotion, the vast crowd became more and more excited. Before long they were all afoot, hats tossed in air, hands waving wildly, shouts of approval shaking the rafters. The red flags of socialism were jerked from their places, carried to the platform, and waved in exultation over the few surviving communists of 1871 ; while the hitherto opposing leaders, Guesde, Vaillant, and Jaurès, came to the front, grasped hands, like Tell and his friends of old, and vowed devotion to the formation of a new and juster government than the world had yet produced. A singer advanced and intoned some stirring couplets, and thousands of voices rang back the refrain. It was a feast of peace and reconciliation. The unification of French labor had been accomplished.       WALTER B. SCAIFE.

## THE PREËMINENT PROFESSION : A REJOINDER.

OF all occupations, the ministry is said to be the most underpaid and, at the same time, the most overworked. This is claimed to be due to an overcrowding of the profession, a circumstance which, it is thought, causes the ministers to be afraid to preach what they believe ; thus exposing them to a temptation which is destructive. If the community is not quite ready to shoot the old ministers, and those who are already in the ranks have not the courage to commit hari-kari, young men are urged to refrain from entering the profession until the proper equilibrium has been restored.

All this is said <sup>1</sup> with a friendliness and a brightness of mood which recall the much-glorified "sweetness and light" of Matthew Arnold—gifts that have been envied, because they enabled him to say such nasty things of those he did not like. Ministers are not exactly put upon the defensive ; for Mr. Barrymore writes ostensibly in their behalf, endeavoring to point out the difficulties under which they labor, and to awaken sympathy if not to secure for them better conditions. As the ministry was certainly, at one time, the most honored of the professions, and to-day has functions which stand in vital relation to the welfare of all, it may be worth while to take up some of the charges that are so lightly made, and inquire into the facts.

It is assumed that the ministry is greatly overcrowded, and that this overcrowding is the source of the evils from which it is suffering. Is this true? For the purpose of inquiry let us take the Congregationalists, a denomination which may be fairly regarded as representing the average condition. In point of numbers, this denomination has long stood sixth or seventh. It is widely spread over the country, and, for one reason or another, its ministry has been looked upon as presenting rather more than the average attraction. It may, therefore, be taken as constituting a fair exhibit of the whole. It has 628,000 members, is vigorous and steadily growing, and presents conditions which may be regarded as normal. Fortunately its de-

<sup>1</sup> See the article on "The Paradoxical Profession," by Mr. Henry J. Barrymore, in *THE FORUM* for April, 1900.



nominal statistics are unusually full and exact. In 1858 it had 2,409 ministers and 2,369 churches, and in 1898 it had 5,639 ministers and 5,620 churches—an almost identical ratio. That this ratio has been generally maintained appears from the fact that for the period from 1858 to 1898 inclusive, taken by decades, the number of ministers has been 2,409, 2,969, 3,496, 4,408, 5,639, while at the same dates the number of churches has been 2,369, 2,951, 3,620, 4,569, 5,620. By this it will be seen that for forty years at least the number of ministers has not varied materially from the number of churches.

In the year 1858, however, of 2,409 ministers 663 were reported as not engaged in pastoral work, while in 1898, of 5,639 ministers 1,955 were not in charge of churches—27½ per cent in the first instance against 34½ per cent in the second. This increase of 7 per cent in the number of those not in the active pastorate may give some show of justice to the accusation that there are too many ministers. But before the charge is accepted we must note that the number of churches unsupplied with pastors rose in the same period from 472 to 1,378. This indicates that in 1898 a far larger number of churches were making a change, with a corresponding number of ministers in transition.

This in itself may be a serious state of affairs, worthy of the attention of the Christian community ; since it gives rise to questions as to the stability of the pastorate, and the causes of restlessness in the churches. It does not, however, indicate a surplus of ministerial supply. When, furthermore, it is considered that in the list of ministers not engaged in pastoral work are included the aged, the infirm, all serving as foreign missionaries, those engaged in literary and charitable work, and those who are in transition from one church to another, the apparent surplus will be greatly reduced. Last year ninety-five names were removed from the list by death, which is about the annual average ; while, for ten years, the yearly accession to the ranks from the senior classes of the seminaries has been 117, with perhaps an addition of thirty entering the ministry after special courses. This is hardly more than enough to make up for the loss by death, with an allowance for the continuous growth in the number of churches. That there is an inflow of ministers from other denominations cannot be denied ; but as the same thing occurs in all bodies of Christians it may be regarded as not affecting the general proportion.

That many ministers are seeking pastorates is unquestionable ;

but there are many physicians and lawyers who cannot earn a livelihood by their professions. There are graduate doctors in medicine in New York who are working as conductors on the street cars, just as there are ministers who are peddling books, and others who are eager to accept any work by which they can earn bread for their families. But does this prove that there is no call for men in any of these professions? Look at the difficulty of getting a successor when a vacancy occurs in the pastorate of any important church. The crowd of applicants proves nothing, for in every rank of life men are always ready to move up higher. It was never more difficult to find a competent man for an important pastorate than it is to-day ; and when he is found and called, almost invariably another vacancy is created which is nearly or quite as difficult to fill. It is easy to say the churches are captious ; but the fact is, that men of the kind needed were never scarcer, or more highly prized, than they are now. Never have the churches more clearly and emphatically demanded clean, straight, earnest, competent men, who have a message, and know how to deliver it. No young man need for a moment be deterred from entering the ministry for fear of not finding an opportunity for service, if he feels in his heart the divine call.

The number of deaths among Congregational ministers between 1875 and 1898 was 2,041. The average age of these men was sixty-eight years, and the average length of service, thirty-six and three-quarter years. Of these, 421 were over eighty-one years of age, and 1,453 were over sixty. It is doubtful whether such a degree of longevity can be found in any other occupation. It would seem to indicate that, whatever may be the strain under which he is obliged to labor, the minister lives under conditions which make it possible for him to bear that strain ; so that he has no reason either to ask the sympathy of the public or to commiserate himself.

Although for the first year or two the minister's compensation may be better than that obtained by young men entering other professions, it advances at a far slower rate, and the maximum is none too high—and this must be considered side by side with the fact that he is required to spend many years in obtaining a costly education, that he has no opportunity of making money outside of his profession, and that his expenses are steadily on the increase. Nevertheless, the homes of the ministry throughout the country are quite above the average of those of the members of their congregations. In the newer communities, indeed, the minister's home is



almost invariably one of the most comfortable in the town. The visitor will find there cleanliness, refinement, a hospitable welcome, and well-prepared food, and may cast himself upon its hospitality with a greater assurance of welcome than anywhere else in the village.

For more than 200 years the most successful scholars in our higher institutions of learning have come from these ministerial homes ; and they have supplied a far larger number of accomplished men and women in all ranks of life than have the homes of any other class. The Congregational parsonages have been not only the abode of refinement, culture, and comfort, but they have represented a thrift which has rarely permitted their children to go out into the world unprovided for, or the occupants themselves to suffer want in old age. The increase in the cost of living bears heavily upon all who draw fixed salaries, and particularly upon those who are expected to advance with the times. Even the city ministers of to-day, excepting a few whose salaries are no measure of those of their brethren, find themselves compelled to live under conditions in which it is difficult to make ends meet—more so, indeed, than the members of their congregations realize. The latter, in most instances, whether living on salaries or engaged in business, experience increases of income which justify increase in luxuries. From this standpoint the minister is not so well circumstanced as are his neighbors. But when we consider that he has deliberately turned away from other occupations which have money as their reward, to engage in a career affording opportunities for rare privileges and delights, he cannot complain if he finds himself in a condition which denies him much that his neighbors enjoy.

The charge that the minister is afraid to preach what he believes is an old one, and to-day has in it probably no more of truth than it has of novelty. In the seventeenth century an old apologist indignantly repudiated it. “ *Quaenam religio illa est quae hoc dicere prohibeat quod verum est ?* ” Human nature being the same, there is doubtless the same temptation as of old for a man who thinks he has found a new idea to give himself the luxury of exploiting it. Indeed, the danger which is to-day emphasized, and deprecated by thoughtful persons generally, is the prevailing habit of rushing into the pulpit and into print with every new theory, before it has had time to be duly considered ; and this applies to economics, civics, and politics, as well as to religion and morals.

Over against the fear the preacher may feel of uttering truth that will not be agreeable to his rich parishioners may be set the tempta-

tion for him to say the things which will catch the public ear and win for him a reputation for independence and courage. Lyman Beecher was no coward, but long ago he felt called upon to write this : " If I find myself going off the track of the general philosophizings and Biblical expositions of the generations of the great and learned and good who have gone before me, I assume that there is such presumptive evidence that I may be wrong as to demand great circumspection in coming to an opposite conclusion." This is a wiser method than exploiting every new view the moment a man catches sight of it.

As to the peculiar temptations to which the minister is exposed there is doubtless much that may be said. But so there is as to the temptations that lie close to the life of every man in the community. There is the temptation of worldliness ; but who escapes it ? The community is in great peril from its rich men. Unquestionably the doctor cultivates his rich patients ; the lawyer becomes the servant of the great corporations ; the shop-keeper is obsequious to his rich customer ; the rich man bows before the richer one ; and the whole community is thoroughly conscious of the value of money. But it would be easy to show that the minister is far freer from this influence, and less given to yielding to it, than any other man in the community. It may be little to his credit, but it is incident to his position, and it is expected of him. He would be degraded in the eyes of the community and in his own, if he were recognized as yielding to it.

The great danger of wealth is to the possessor of it, and from that the minister is happily delivered. The millionaire is the man whose heart is likely to be corroded. In general he is compelled to live in a world of his own, where standards are artificial, ideals are low, restraints are few and feeble, and truth rarely is spoken to his ears. Of all men in the community the minister is the one to whom he can turn for the help he needs in the battle of life. While, therefore, here and there a rich man may be suspected of laying snares for his pastor's feet, or putting temptation in his way, it is also true that he may be counted upon to estimate the value his pastor has for him in proportion to his manliness, his frankness, and his truth.

There is much nonsense talked about the impossibility of any man being able properly to perform the amount of intellectual labor which is required of an ordinary pastor. Of course, any congregation would have a right to be proud if it had a pastor famed throughout the land for his ability to produce highly finished works of art for their weekly delectation. But this is not the function of the pulpit ; and,



without fear of serious contradiction, it may be said that it is not the demand of the pew. The minister enters his pulpit for another purpose. He is an ambassador charged with a message. And while it is his duty to deliver that message in such a form as to be listened to and understood and remembered, it is not a part of his duty so to deliver it that it will be looked upon principally as a finished literary production. There doubtless are ministers who have this ambition, as there doubtless are churches which seek this distinction ; but most ministers carry in their hearts the thought, if not the words, of the old Stoic addressing the preachers of his day : “ What ! try to be admired, when sick people are to be cured ? Offer words to people who want help ? Give us light ; advise us how to face life. Speak to me of piety and justice and temperance ; give me none of your rhetorical tricks ; help me to some pure resolution ; teach me some lesson ; reform me, or, at any rate, make reform possible.” “ *Aut sanior domum redeam aut sanabilior.*”

This is the minister's business. With this burden on his heart it is not true that he is at his wit's end to find the message which he shall bring to the people Sabbath by Sabbath. Nor is it true that his labors among them as a pastor—going in and out of their homes, entering their lives, taking upon his heart their burdens—unfit him for the work of the pulpit. On the contrary, the testimony of the most successful churches will show that those ministers who live nearest to the hearts of their people are the ones whom their people most willingly hear on Sunday. The floating crowd may be won by the orator or the mountebank ; but it is not in this way that churches are built up, or that the position of the minister in the community is secured. It is doubtless true that there are times when the minister speaks because he is expected to speak rather than because there is that within him which must find utterance ; but this is no more than saying that no man is always at his best. The sufficient answer to the accusation is in the career of not a few of the more honored and beloved ministers that New York has known. The names of Storrs and Cuyler, Hall and Taylor, Adams and Vail, not to go back further and say Washburn and Tyng, Deems and Crosby, Bethune and Cox, are a sufficient answer to the charge that the pastor cannot preach as he should, and at the same time be a true pastor to his church and to the community. There is no just reason to believe that the race has run out, or that the minister's ideals have changed.

H. A. STIMSON.

## AMERICAN AND CANADIAN TRADE RELATIONS.

THE relative geographical positions of the United States and Canada, with their conterminous boundary line extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with similarity of ethnological conditions, of laws, and of political institutions, should naturally lead to intimate commercial and social relations. Affinities so pronounced as those existing between these two sections of the North American continent can only fail to produce such results through the interposing of policies calculated to impair the influence of natural conditions. The two countries, while geographically a unit, are possessed of dissimilarity of climate and diversity of production to a degree so marked as to be calculated to stimulate intercommunication and commerce. Canada requires the raw cotton, the tobacco leaf, the iron, steel, and coal of the United States for her manufacturing operations ; she requires also the tropical fruits of the South and a great variety of American manufactures ; and in exchange it is natural that she should send to the United States her forest, farm, and mine products.

The natural barriers which separate portions of the two countries—the great inland seas, and the mighty river which is their outlet—are of a character to invite and facilitate intercommunication rather than to offer obstacles to its fullest development. The geographical position of the eastern portion of the United States is such as to afford to the province of Ontario, to a portion of the province of Quebec, and to the vast Canadian Northwest, with its enormous future possibilities, the shortest and most feasible routes to the sea. Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are the natural winter ports of extensive sections of the Canadian territory ; and the Erie Canal and the railway routes from Buffalo to the sea-board have afforded hitherto the nearest and most inviting outlets to tide-water for a considerable portion of the exportable products of the sections of Ontario bordering upon Lakes Erie, Huron, and Superior, and for the grain of Manitoba and the Canadian Northwest which finds its outlet by lake shipment from Fort William.

Movements have already been made for the establishment of car-



ferry services across Lake Erie from the coal-mines and iron-works of Pennsylvania and Ohio to the rich district of Western Ontario. A harbor is approaching completion at Port Burwell, on the north shore of Lake Erie, which will afford deep water as well as excellent facilities for winter entrance at a point which geographically is most advantageous. A short line from this port connects with all the trunk lines of Ontario, and will not only furnish inward business, but will afford an outlet, summer and winter, by car ferriage, for the various Canadian products seeking exportation. In winter, these can be sent much more cheaply and expeditiously to Baltimore and Philadelphia than to Canadian points. This is one of many schemes for increased facilities of transportation, and is mentioned to illustrate the fact that the possibilities for development of intercommunication and for increase of business between the two countries are indefinite and well-nigh unlimited.

Intimate knowledge of the extent and resources of Canada is not as a rule possessed by the American people. Little is known of the country, of its future possibilities, of its area, and of its value as a customer at the very door of the United States. Even under the conditions that at the present moment govern trade, conditions which, as far as the fiscal policy of the United States is concerned, are repressive, Canada, with its 5,500,000 inhabitants, is a better customer to the United States than all of Spanish America, with a population of 55,000,000 and comprising Mexico, the Central American States, all of South America, and all of the West Indies, including Cuba and Porto Rico. For the year 1898, the total exports of the United States to this enormous region reached the sum of \$86,786,000, while the total exports of the United States to Canada for the same year were \$86,537,000. For the year 1899, the exports to Canada from the United States have largely increased, exceeding in amount the exports to Spanish America and the West Indies. This fact is indicative of the possibilities of trade between the United States and the northern half of the North American continent.

The total trade of Canada last year, exports and imports, was \$312,948,000, divided as follows:

Total trade with Great Britain.....	\$136,151,000
Total trade with the United States.....	138,140,000
Total trade with all other countries.....	38,657,000

Of this total trade the amount with Great Britain consisted chiefly

of exports, while the amount with the United States consisted chiefly of imports.

The total exports to Great Britain were .....	\$99,860,000
The total imports from Great Britain were.....	37,600,000
The total exports to the United States, ex coin, bullion, and estimated short returns, which latter were more than counter-balanced by smuggling into Canada, were.....	36,562,000

Of this amount the exports to the United States, the produce of Canada, ex coin, bullion, and estimated short returns, were \$34,766,000.

The total imports from the United States were.....	\$101,642,000
The total exports of Canada to all foreign countries except the United States and Great Britain were.....	14,677,000
The total imports from all other countries were.....	24,175,000

#### BALANCES OF TRADE.

The balance of trade against Canada on total exports and imports was .....	\$3,868,000
The balance of trade in favor of the United States on total exports and imports was.....	56,509,000
The balance of trade against Canada on total exports and imports with all foreign countries except the United States and Great Britain was.....	9,499,000
The balance of trade against Great Britain upon total exports and imports was.....	62,141,000

In other words, Canada sold to Great Britain more than she purchased from that country, and used the chief part of this balance in her favor to pay for her importations from the United States.

The superior liberality of the Canadian trade policy as compared with that of the United States is clearly demonstrated by a statement of the relative rates of duties levied by the two countries. For the year 1899 the Canadian rates of duties were as follows:

Rate of duty upon total imports .....	15.81
Rate of duty upon imports for consumption.....	16.07
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports.....	26.16
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports for consumption.....	28.77

In the United States the rates of duty for the previous year were:

On total imports.....	24.78
On dutiable imports.....	49.20

The exact rate for 1899 is not at hand, but it could have varied only slightly from that of 1898.



Notwithstanding the preferential rate of 25 per cent in favor of Great Britain—which has been increased during the present session of Parliament to  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent, and which it is probable, in the estimation of the Canadian Government, has been called for by the superior liberality of Great Britain toward Canada in trade matters as compared with the United States—and notwithstanding the fact that England furnishes a market for Canadian products greatly in excess of that furnished by the United States, the volume of imports from each country still leaves a decided advantage in favor of the United States. From the latter country we purchase a class of manufactures quite distinct in the main from the kinds purchased of Great Britain; and the differential duties do not seem to have had the practical influence upon the relative volumes of trade of the two countries that might have been anticipated. The rates of duty from Great Britain, from the United States, and from the rest of the world, including the British possessions, for the year 1899, were as follows:

#### FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

Rate of duty upon total imports.....	19.80
Rate of duty upon imports for consumption.....	19.83
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports.....	26.69
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports for consumption.....	26.27

#### FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Rate of duty upon total imports.....	11.52
Rate of duty upon imports for consumption.....	12.59
Rate of duty upon total dutiable imports.....	24.22
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports for consumption.....	24.13

#### FROM ALL OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS.

Rate of duty upon total imports.....	27.68
Rate of duty upon imports for consumption.....	27.94
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports.....	37.98
Rate of duty upon dutiable imports for consumption.....	38.37

The imports of Canada per capita for 1899 were as follows:

Total imports, per capita.....	\$29.59
Imports from Great Britain, per capita.....	6.71
Imports from the United States, per capita.....	18.48
Imports from the rest of the world, per capita.....	4.40

Contrasted with this is the fact that the total imports per capita of the United States from Canada were \$0.60. Words cannot strengthen the presentation of the case made by the cold figures.

The liberality of the Canadian trade policy toward the United States as contrasted with the repressive trade policy of the latter country toward Canada is further illustrated by the statement that the total importation of free goods for consumption into Canada for the year 1899 amounted to \$64,618,000, of which amount different countries furnished as follows:

United States .....	\$48,535,000
Great Britain .....	9,538,000
All other countries.....	6,544,000

The advantage enjoyed by the United States in the matter of free entry for goods into Canada, as compared with other countries, will be shown by a statement of the amounts, based on percentages. Upon this basis the result is as follows:

Percentage of free goods from the United States.....	75.11
Percentage of free goods from Great Britain.....	14.91
Percentage of free goods from all other countries.....	9.98

To offset this enormous free list in favor of the United States it is doubtful whether \$5,000,000 worth of Canadian products are given free admission into the American market. The percentages of imports into, and exports from, Canada are as follows:

## IMPORTS.

Total imports.....	\$162,764,000
Total imports from Great Britain. ....	\$36,945,000
Percentage of total imports .....	22.69
Total imports from the United States.....	\$101,642,000
Percentage of the total imports.....	62.44
Total imports from all other countries.....	\$24,175,000
Percentage of total imports.....	14.87

## EXPORTS.

Total exports of Canada.....	\$158,896,000
Total exports of Canada to Great Britain .....	\$99,086,000
Percentage of the total amount.....	62.35
Total exports to the United States, including coin and bullion \$4,011,151, and estimated short returns \$4,559,530.....	\$45,133,000
Percentage of the total amount.....	28.40
Total exports to all other countries.....	\$14,677,000
Percentage of the total amount.....	9.25

A striking illustration of the unsatisfactory condition of trade relations between the two countries, viewed from a Canadian stand-



point, is furnished by the statistics of 1899 relating to the export and import trade in farm products. As is seen by the above statements, Canada is a large importer of American products, and this is especially the case in regard to American manufactures. The general impression is that Canada's exports of farm products to the United States are greatly in excess of the amount of her imports in the same line from that country. Being a purchaser to an enormous extent of the products of American skilled labor, it is but natural to suppose that Canada should find a market in the United States to an equal, or a nearly equal, extent for her raw material, in exchange for such finished commodities as she purchases. On a fair basis of trade arrangement this ought to be the case. As facts actually exist, however, the market in the United States for Canadian farm products is of comparatively small moment; Canadian sales to the United States of farm products being very much less than Canadian purchases of farm products from that country.

The export of farm products, the produce of Canada, to the United States, for 1899, was as follows:

Export of agricultural products.....	\$1,149,686
Export of animals and their products.....	4,628,533
Total.....	<u>\$5,778,219</u>

Imports of farm products for consumption by Canada from the United States, for 1899, were as follows:

Imports of agricultural products from the United States for consumption, dutiable and free, for 1899.....	\$18,686,000
Imports of animals and their products from the United States for consumption, dutiable and free, for 1899.....	5,762,000
Total.....	<u>\$24,448,000</u>

Of these amounts, \$16,202,612 of agricultural products and \$3,514,938 of animals and their products were free.

The surprising result, therefore, is, that in 1899 Canada bought farm products from the United States for consumption to the extent of more than four times the value of the farm products she sold to that country. If from the list of her purchases of farm products from the United States we should eliminate raw cotton and tobacco leaf, amounting to \$4,989,000, the account would stand: Purchases, \$19,459,000; sales, \$5,778,000—purchases over three and one-third times as great as the sales.

The same year the sales of Canada to Great Britain, of agricultural products, the produce of Canada, were \$18,447,000, and of animals and their products, the produce of Canada, \$41,604,000, total \$60,051,000; making the exports of farm products, the produce of Canada, to Great Britain more than ten times as great as her exports of the same products to the United States. This, and the fact that the total imports of Canada from the United States were nearly three times greater than her total imports from Great Britain, will serve to illustrate why her Government has seen fit to give Great Britain preferential treatment.

It may seem surprising that so great a disparity should exist between the imports of farm products from the United States into Canada and the exports in the same line from Canada to the United States. The reason is twofold: (1) The American duties on the agricultural schedule are evidently designed to be as nearly as possible prohibitive; and (2) Canada has a vast and ever-increasing market for food products in her new mining regions and in other sections of the Dominion, and has a large population of food consumers not engaged in the production of food. This population is chiefly engaged in lumbering, mining, and the fisheries.

As another illustration of the greater liberality of Canadian fiscal regulations as compared with those of the United States, the permission to import corn from the United States free of duty may be mentioned. Corn was placed upon the free list in 1897. The importation of that grain last year from the United States amounted to 23,342,000 bushels, valued at \$8,966,000. For this concession no corresponding concession, either in reduction of duty or in placing any kind of grain upon the free list, has been made by the United States.

The importation of manufactures from the United States into Canada in 1898 amounted to \$40,662,000, and in 1899 to \$48,645,000. This amount exceeded the importation of manufactures from Great Britain for that year by the sum of \$11,500,000. Of this importation, \$13,292,000 was on the free list. The farmers of Canada probably took not less than \$25,000,000 of the entire amount, and, in return, they were permitted to sell to the United States the comparatively insignificant amount of \$5,778,219 of farm products, while they saw the farmers of the United States taking possession of their own markets in the same line to the extent of three and a third times that amount.

The above statistics will make clear the fact that the American



market is practically sealed to Canada for the products of the farm. Naturally, therefore, Canada has turned her attention to seeking new outlets; and having done so with great success, the importance of the American market to her is becoming of smaller moment year by year. A feeling is also gradually taking hold of the public mind, which, if not one of hostility, is one of intense dissatisfaction with the commercial policy of the United States toward Canada; and the day is probably not distant when practical action will be demanded, either in the shape of securing increased exports to the United States or of adopting a policy which will very sharply curtail importation from that country.

The lumber trade of Canada with the United States has of late been one of diminishing quantity; and the American policy of imposing heavy duties upon forest products amounts, in effect, to a liberal premium on forest destruction in the United States. The rapidly diminishing supply of white pine, it appears from the best authorities, will be practically exhausted in five years more, and the American duty of \$2 per thousand is hastening the day when the last pine-tree will be cut. The duty upon Canadian lumber is rapidly changing the course of Canadian trade in that article. Until within the last three years the exports of forest productions to the United States exceeded the exports in the same line to Great Britain. Last year, however, the exports to the British possessions amounted to \$16,361,000, while the quantity exported to the United States had shrunk to \$9,921,000, a considerable portion of which passed through the United States in bond for export. While this trade is burdened with the duty of \$2 per thousand, Canada imported from the United States last year forest products free of duty to the amount of \$2,996,000. The Government has refused the demand of Canadian lumbermen to impose duties upon this importation corresponding to the American duties upon importations of the same class into that country; wisely deeming it improper to burden new settlers in the Northwest by duties upon lumber which in many sections can be obtained more cheaply from Minnesota than from Canadian sources.

The feeling of resentment caused by the meagre character of the American free list as compared with that of Canada, and the striking of lumber from the free list when the Wilson Bill was superseded by the Dingley Bill, finds expression in the province of Ontario in the prohibition of the export of saw-logs and pulp-wood, and in the province of Quebec in a differential Crown due on the export of

pulp-wood of \$1.50 per cord, the Crown due for local consumption being forty cents per cord, and for export \$1.90. Upon the broad ground of political economy this system unquestionably is bad policy, and it is highly unfavorable to the interests of those holding timber; but it is almost universally popular, because it is felt that it affords a method of striking back and giving a *quid pro quo* for an ungenerous policy toward us. Its chief weakness lies in the fact that its application to old sales of timber berths and to licenses issued before the passage of the law is denounced by the sufferers as a breach of faith. No one, perhaps, would feel disposed to cavil at its application in all cases when it has been, or can be made, a condition of sale; but the *ex-post-facto* feature of the legislation is no doubt of very questionable character.

The statements of trade relations between America and Canada contained in this article make it evident that the American fiscal policy toward Canada is illiberal as compared with the Canadian fiscal policy toward the United States. That it is in the interest of the United States it is hardly possible to believe. The export trade between Canada and the United States in articles the produce of Canada has practically stood still since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, and in 1899 was actually a fraction less than in the former year. The admission to the American market of Canadian farm products would have little, if any, influence upon prices received by American agriculturists, as Canadian importations would be so small, compared with the great volume of American production, as to produce little influence upon market prices. The fear of Canadian competition, on the part of the American farmer, is ill-founded; for both meet in the common market of England for the sale of farm products, and the interchange of such products between the two countries would not produce the slightest effect.

Had free trade in natural products been permitted since 1866, or even for a period of ten or fifteen years past, the volume of trade between the two countries would have been beyond all reasonable doubt two or three times greater than it is at present. The two peoples would have been brought into more intimate relations, both socially and commercially; the tone of public sentiment in the two countries would have been more healthy; and each country would have known more about the other, which is all that is necessary to assure mutual respect. Unquestionably, by fostering such intimate trade relations, the interests of each country, and of the entire



English-speaking race, would have been promoted, with the natural concomitant of more friendly feeling.

The present condition of affairs, if permitted to continue, will develop into more serious estrangement, and will probably lead in due time to imitation, by the Government of Canada, of the fiscal policy of the United States, as concerns the relations between these two countries. It might perhaps be worth the while of American economists to consider the probable effect of raising the Canadian standard of 26 per cent on dutiable imports to the American standard of 49 per cent, with perhaps an increase of the differential in favor of Great Britain. This course would greatly stimulate the development of our manufacturing system ; and it would also enable our farmers to furnish food for the operatives whose products they consume, a privilege now almost absolutely denied to them in the case of the American operatives, whose productions were taken last year by Canadian consumers to the extent of more than eight times the value of Canadian farm products permitted entrance into the markets of the United States.

JOHN CHARLTON.

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

To compute the number of Armenians at present existing is one of the most difficult problems conceivable. The number in Russia has been established with tolerable accuracy, and that dispersed throughout Austro-Hungary, Egypt, India, and other distant lands, is also approximately known ; but in regard to Turkey, where most of the Armenian people still reside, our information is practically *nil*.

To-day Russia contains about 1,000,000 Armenians, and Persia some 50,000. The Turkish Government, interested in reducing the figure to a minimum, states the number of Armenians living under the sceptre of the Sultan at 1,000,000. The indications are, however, that 1,500,000 is a far safer estimate.

The boundaries of the territory designated as Armenia are difficult to define. In a general way, however, it may be asserted that the area comprehends the two sources of the Euphrates, the Sea of Wan, Mount Ararat, and in great part the course of the river Araxes—without, however, bordering at any point upon the Black Sea or upon the Mediterranean. Within these limits we have a total area about the size of South Germany or of the State of Pennsylvania. The country is bounded on the south by Kurdistan, on the west by Asia Minor, on the north by the Russian Caucasus, Georgia, and on the east by the Persian province of Aderbaijan.

It would be erroneous to assume that a line completely surrounding the above-mentioned region would also embrace the entire Armenian community, or that the Armenians dwelling there outnumber all other resident nationalities. Armenians have long migrated in all directions far beyond the boundaries of their native land ; while Mohammedan intruders—principally Kurds, but also Turks in considerable numbers—have established settlements in the province. Indeed, there are few districts of any considerable extent where the Armenian element may be found compactly massed. A continuous emigration of centuries has gradually spread the Armenian element over a territory fully four times as large as the original province; and within this wider area the Armenians form a fluctuating minority of but 5



to 10 per cent of the entire population; the greatest density probably existing in Eastern Cilicia and in the adjacent southern spurs of the Taurus, around Adana, Aintab, and Urfa. Armenians are also well represented in the great seaports and commercial centres of Caucasia and the Levant—in Tiflis, Baku, Batum, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Odessa. Scattered colonies, ranging from two or three hundred to several thousand souls, may be found in the interior of Russia, as well as in Austro-Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Egypt, Palestine, and East India; while, during the last few decades, a great many have also emigrated to America.

To form a clear conception of the so-called "Armenian Question," a knowledge of the general features of Armenian history is necessary. The first reference to Armenians is found in the inscriptions of the Persian kings of the Achæmenidian dynasty, and here they are already designated by their present title "Arminu." This title, however, is not employed by the natives, who from time immemorial have styled themselves "Haik" (plural of Haj), and their country, Hajastan. They trace their establishment to the earliest ages, and claim direct descent from Noah. This theory, however, is now no longer tenable; for modern scientific research has successfully demonstrated that the Armenians did not occupy their present domain until the sixth century B.C. Further, it has been shown that they came as conquerors from unknown parts (possibly from Northern Syria and Eastern Cilicia) and settled near the Wan Sea, where they subjugated a people calling itself "Chalder," presumably "Chaldeans" or "Chaldees," but designated by the Assyrians "Urartu"; and it is to this land of the Urartu that the Bible refers when it says the ark of Noah rested upon the mountains of Ararat. Not until the Christian era did the idea arise that this mount was synonymous with Massis, the highest peak of hither Asia, situated in the district of "Ayrarat" about midway in the course of the Araxes. It is significant that even at the present day, and within the country itself, this Mount Massis is known as Ararat only to scholars.

In all probability the Armenians long constituted a warrior caste among the subjugated Urartu, until, in the course of centuries, victor and vanquished finally became amalgamated. The former belonged to the Aryan or Indo-European stock, while the latter were probably identified with that earlier race, which, although it is the ancestral stock of several Caucasian peoples, is still enveloped in mystery. At all events, the language of the conqueror, which is re-

lated to the ancient Persian, became the dominant one, and has so remained to the present day.

Soon after this amalgamation of races was effected, Armenia became a province of the Persian Empire under Cyrus and his successors ; and it was during this period, when the country was governed by a royal satrap, that Xerxes and his 10,000 made their famous march through it from Babylon to the Black Sea, after the battle of Cunaxa (winter of 401–400 B.C.). After the death of Alexander the Great, Armenia was incorporated into the empire of the Seleucidæ; and after the defeat of King Antiochus III by the Romans (190 B.C.), it revolted against the Roman authority and set up the first native king of Armenia to whom history bears witness—Artaxias. It was for this monarch that Hannibal, flying from the Romans and seeking shelter at the courts of Asia Minor, built the capital Artaxata—situated on the Araxes, in the plain of Erivan—the ruins of which are still known by the name of Ardashir.

During the civil wars of Rome, and until the advent of Pompeius, Armenia was one of the great powers of the world. Upon the revival of Roman prestige, however, it again sank to its former modest status, though it survived as a kingdom until the fourth century A.D. It was the first political community to introduce Christianity as the religion of the state, an event which occurred during the reign of Tiridates (A.D. 300).

In A.D. 387 Armenia was conquered, the Romans taking the western, and the Sassanid kings of Persia the somewhat greater eastern, portion of the kingdom. The province was held by the Sassanids until their downfall in the seventh century, when, together with all the other Persian provinces, it fell into the hands of the Arabian Caliphs, from whom it was again wrested by the celebrated Armenian dynasty of the Bagratidæ, who emancipated their country from the Arabian yoke and reëstablished the kingdom. It was at this time that an Armenian, Leo III, ascended the imperial throne at Constantinople—indeed, the tenth and eleventh centuries may be said to constitute the heroic age of Armenian history.

But the unity of the kingdom was destroyed at last by incessant conflicts between the nobility ; and thus, upon the invasion of the Turks and Mongols, all resistance was rendered nugatory; Cilicia alone maintaining a petty Christo-Armenian kingdom until the close of the fourteenth century. At the time of the Reformation, Armenia was divided between the Turkish and the Persian empires; but in 1829



Russia seized almost the entire Persian province, including the monastery of Etchmiadzin, at the foot of Mount Ararat, the seat of the Chief Patriarch of the Armenian Church.

As we survey the history of the Armenian people, we are impressed by their extraordinary national and religious power of resistance. Although completely surrounded by the tumultuous waves of Mohammedanism, Armenia has nevertheless succeeded, throughout 1,500 years, in preserving its national and religious integrity. Founded at the time of the first great Ecumenical Conference at Nicæa (A.D. 325), the Armenian National Church, now counting several million followers, has remained intact. In order to do full justice to the nation, therefore, we must contrast this fact with the fate of the other Christian communities in the Orient since the rise of Islam. What has become of the Syrians, of the Egyptians, and of the Christian sects of Asia Minor? In Syria and Egypt, countries that once possessed a far more extensive ecclesiastical establishment than Armenia, the Christian Church and the ancient national tongue have become completely obliterated by Mohammedanism and the Arabian language ; while in Asia Minor not a vestige remains to remind one that at the time of the Crusades the region was still the abode of Christian communities.

The intellectual life of Armenia survived until the fourteenth century. Then, under the pressure of Mohammedan rule, it began to stagnate. A condition of intellectual torpor ensued ; and Armenia and the Armenians completely disappeared from the horizon of Western Christendom. The old historians and theologians, who, by their splendid works, had created the classical Armenian tongue, were faithfully transcribed in the monasteries, while their ritualistic formulas, and lectures from the Scriptures, were read in that language ; but gradually the people ceased to understand them. Turkish and Persian idioms encroached more and more upon the language ; until, finally, the contrast between the corrupt popular dialect and the language of the Church and of literature became as pronounced as that existing between the English of to-day and the Anglo-Saxon speech of the time of Alfred the Great. In consequence of this deterioration, the language of the Bible gradually became incomprehensible to the layman. Indeed, even among the priesthood, many were actually unable to understand what they read from the pulpit on Sundays ; and this condition, with a scarcely noticeable improvement, has practically remained unchanged to the present day.

Until a few decades ago, the condition of education in Armenia, religious and secular, was not distinguishable from that prevailing in other Oriental countries ; and there were few who could boast of an acquaintance with the splendid historic and literary traditions of their people. But three distinct agencies have lately coöperated in effecting an improvement. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century Petrus Mechitar (*i.e.*, the Comforter) founded the theological congregation known by the name of Mechitarians—a union of Armenian monks aiming at the scientific resuscitation of the National Church. As the work undertaken, however, was entirely without precedent in Armenia, and as the lack of experience was painfully felt (the Greek Church being no better off in this regard than the Armenian), a close union with the Church of Rome was rendered imperative—more particularly as the congregation, expelled from Turkish soil, was compelled to remove its headquarters to foreign territory. Since 1717, the Mechitarians, united with the Church of Rome, have been domiciled in a monastery upon the Isle of San Lazzaro near Venice; and, since 1810, a branch has also been established at Vienna.

The labors of these men in behalf of the Armenian nation have been very considerable, and, notably within our own century, very successful. In 1734, they published for the first time a printed edition of the Armenian Bible ; and this was followed by a great mass of works, comprising editions of old Armenian writers as well as original contributions to the history, language, literature, and religion of the country. In course of time, however, the Mechitarians have gradually become estranged from their national church ; and to-day, notwithstanding the continuance of scientific and literary activity, the separation between this priesthood, now thoroughly Roman Catholic, and the Gregorian Church is practically complete.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the labors of the Mechitarians still operate as a potent factor in the intellectual life of the whole Armenian people, and constitute an invaluable guide to the study of Armenian antiquity.

The second factor in this intellectual progress was the Russian acquisition of Persian Armenia in 1829, which brought to the new Christian subjects of the Czar such culture as Russia could supply. The Russo-German University of Dorpat, in Livonia, was especially popular with Armenian students, while the splendid Lazarew Insti-

<sup>1</sup> The "Gregorian Church," so called after Gregory the Enlightener, the apostle of Armenia (about A.D. 300).



tute for Oriental Languages at Moscow (endowed by Armenians for the purpose) furnished excellent opportunities for the study of the Armenian language. It now became fashionable for wealthy Armenians to provide scholarships for talented youths of their own nationality, that these might be enabled to extend their intellectual horizon ; and it became common for these students to aspire beyond the confines of Russian colleges to the more fruitful sources of scientific inquiry in the Occident. As a result of their efforts, the last generation records, upon the one hand, an extensive system of journalism and a new and prolific secular Armenian literature, and, upon the other, the establishment of a great number of public schools, which, like an intricate and ever denser network, are gradually overspreading the entire Russian province.

When we consider the conditions prevailing until the middle of the present century we must confess that these schools have accomplished wonders. In 1850, reading and writing were still rare accomplishments among Armenians ; whereas, among the younger generation in Russia to-day, mastery of the mother-tongue in word and print is the rule. Unfortunately, the Russian Government, several years ago, found it necessary to close all Armenian schools in order to destroy the intellectual independence of the Armenian element, and to promote that process of Russification which has recently been extended also to Finland.

The third factor in the intellectual revolution of Armenia is the influence exercised since 1831 by the American missions in Turkey, the activity of which has ever been fundamental in character. At first the Americans attempted to prosecute the religious propaganda in union with the Armenian Church. Within a few years after the establishment of the missions, however, the high clergy of the Gregorians assumed a decidedly hostile attitude, with the result that the American missionaries at once began to inaugurate a system of proselytism. In this way arose the so-called American Protestant Mission congregations, the combined membership of which, in 1890, aggregated 12,000 adults, with 17,000 children being taught in the schools.

The American posts extend throughout every portion of Anatolia and Armenia, and include even Northern Syria and Mesopotamia. They consist of about 180 central and branch stations, with 117 churches, 5 colleges, 26 high-schools for boys, 18 for girls, and several hundred common schools. The more important American cen-

tres in the interior are Sivas, Kaisariyeh, Charput, Aintab, Marash, Urfa, Bitlis, and Wan. Of these, Charput, near the confluence of the two sources of the Euphrates, and Aintab, upon the southern declivity of the east Cilician Taurus, contain the two principal colleges; all buildings being erected in modern style.

When I recall the hospitality and the variety of information received at the hands of the men and women of the American mission stations during my last trip through Armenia, I become doubly conscious of the responsibility assumed in attempting to criticise the life-work of these noble and pious people. I make this statement in order to remove any possible misconception as to my motives if, in the course of this paper, I venture to criticise certain phases of the American work. Whatever may be said, however, it must be admitted that the influence exerted by America upon the intellectual life of the Armenian nation deserves a very high estimate.

The political and social changes thus promoted have been followed by the conditions embraced in the term "The Armenian Question." In a word, the national consciousness of Armenia having been aroused, the school and the press found rapid and universal extension. Young men from the Turkish as well as from the Russian provinces thronged to obtain an education abroad; and, most important of all, there arose among the millions of Armenians scattered throughout the world a strong sense of national unity. This sentiment found its visible embodiment in the National Church; and so striking is this symbolization with Armenians that converts to other forms of Christianity are by them no longer recognized as compatriots. This explains the impossibility of ever making a successful propaganda in behalf of a foreign creed, and consequently applies to the American mission work, which, apart from its meritorious achievements, has caused a schism in the Armenian body social which will be extremely difficult if not impossible to heal. It is equally true that, in consequence of this intimate relationship between the Armenian and his National Church, the intellectual and religious endowment bestowed by the American missionaries upon their Protestant converts can never become a useful possession of the nation at large.

During the seventh decade of the present century, the contrast between the condition of the Armenians in Russia and those in Turkey was particularly marked, inasmuch as the latter, owing to their remoteness, were completely hidden from the gaze of civilized Europe, and were consequently subjected to greater injustice and oppression



than were any other Christian subjects of the Sultan. Particularly atrocious were the acts of violence committed by the Kurds (already referred to as constituting one of the nationalities of Turkish Armenia) against the property, life, and honor of their Armenian neighbors; and these barbarities naturally aroused in the hearts of the Christian population of the country a strong desire to see Russia victorious in a war against the Turkish oppressor. To such a war, if successful, they confidently looked for an amelioration of their condition, for had not Russia for centuries been regarded as the guardian of the Christian communities in the Orient? Moreover, this powerful conviction that the Czar would come to their assistance was designedly encouraged from various quarters of Russia.

The war of 1877-78 was, as we know, attended by only a partial success of the Russian arms. When the conquest of the Turkish armies had finally been achieved—a conquest which entailed an enormous sacrifice of time, money, and men—the resources of Russia were so completely exhausted that she was compelled to submit, when the European Powers, and notably England, at the Congress of Berlin (1878), prevented her from fully reaping the fruits of victory. Russia was compelled to surrender the territory of Armenia, already occupied by the Muscovite forces; the Armenians, on the other hand, receiving a guarantee that the European Powers would secure from Turkey an improvement of their condition. This guarantee is embodied in Article 61, Acts of the Congress of Berlin of 1878, which reads as follows:

“The Sublime Porte assumes the obligation of immediately establishing the necessary improvements and reforms demanded by the local conditions of all provinces inhabited by Armenians, *and guarantees security against the Circassians and Kurds.* The Porte further pledges itself to advise the Powers, at stated intervals, of the reforms introduced; *and the Powers will exercise surveillance as to their proper execution.*”

This document bears the signatures of the European Powers as well as of Turkey. Yet to the Armenians it has not had the value of the paper upon which it is written; and to it we must directly ascribe all the terrible misery that has fallen to their lot within the last few years. The complete disregard of the Armenian complaints cannot be looked upon as nearly so serious an evil as the unkept promise of the European Powers to exercise surveillance over the proper execution of the Turkish reforms.

In 1898 I took an extensive trip through Turkish Armenia as well as through the strongly Armenian provinces of Anatolia and Kurdis-

tan ; and I can assure the reader that no adequate conception can be formed as to the actual conditions in those provinces. Two hundred thousand Armenians have either been murdered or have succumbed to wounds, sickness, and hunger. Over 100,000 children have been robbed of one or both parents, and have been left helpless upon the world. Over 50,000 fugitives have crossed over the Russian and Persian borders, barely escaping with their lives. From the Sea of Wan to the Euphrates, I found but a single village which had not been plundered and devastated by Kurds or Turks. In every other community a large number of the young men had either been murdered or had sought safety in flight, while the women and girls had been kidnapped. These atrocities would never have been perpetrated to such an awful extent had not the European Powers in 1878 bestowed upon the Armenians that baneful gift, Article 61.

Despite the guarantee of the Powers, the question of reforms for Armenia, during the years following upon the Congress of Berlin, was scarcely touched upon by the Turkish Government, which soon became convinced that none of the European nations was interested in pressing the matter beyond an occasional energetic diplomatic protest. Consequently, the Government at Constantinople soon began to instigate a series of vexatious intrigues against the Armenians, using as its agents, first, the provincial representatives of the Government, then the Kurds, and, finally, the Mohammedan population generally ; and these persecutions obtained additional virulence from the fact that the Armenians were known to have had a hand in the war of 1877-78.

Throughout a period of seventeen years (1878-95) these unfortunate conditions, due to Article 61 and various other unfulfilled pledges of the Powers, gradually brought the educated and politically informed classes of the Armenian population to the brink of despair. With fanatical zeal the youth of the land maintained the validity of Article 61, and sought upon every possible occasion to convince the people that they were being defrauded of a sacredly guaranteed right. Said they : " Europe is obliged, before God and man, to redeem its pledge in behalf of our interests against Turkey, either by diplomatic negotiations or by the intervention of arms ! " It was to England, particularly, that the people looked for the fulfilment of this moral obligation ; and certainly no other nation ever gave the Armenians greater encouragement to sustain their cause than did England.



Secret societies of every description were now organized for the purpose of preparing the people for the fulfilment of that "sacred duty" which, it was held, the European nations would sooner or later fulfil. These agitators, inspired partly by an honest belief, and partly by the hope of more successfully manipulating the people, eventually went so far as to announce European intervention for the near future. Nay, some of the members of these revolutionary societies proceeded to actual threats, and occasionally to deeds of violence, against the Turks, in order to stir the authorities and the Mohammedan populace to bloody reprisals against the Armenians. They hoped, in this way, to promote difficult complications which would necessitate the armed intervention of Europe, and justified these desperate measures with the words: "It is better that a few should die in sacrifice than that a whole people should decay."

Naturally, nothing could have embittered the Turks more than this constant agitation, which was openly designed to bring about foreign interference on Turkish soil. Apart from this, another circumstance here deserves consideration. During my visit to Anatolia I was told by Turks of irreproachable character—and the matter is no secret to those familiar with the affairs of the Palace at Constantinople—that a number of persons in the *entourage* of the Sultan, in order to curry favor with that ruler, continually picture to him all manner of imaginary dangers, in order that they may pose as the guardians and saviours of his Majesty. These methods were practised with considerable success with regard to the Armenian revolutionists. Frightened at the reports conveyed to him, the Sultan finally decided upon orders of death against the Armenian insurgents; and these orders, with the disturbance and discontent created by the menacing attitude of the Armenians themselves, together with religious fanaticism, lust of gain, and a desire to appease the rebellious Kurds, all conspired to bring about the terrible events of 1895-96.

Even from a Turkish point of view the massacres were regarded as pure insanity. They depopulated and devastated an extensive territory as completely as if a war had swept over it, and contributed to reduce the revenue of whole provinces to a minimum. The actual purpose of rendering the Armenians harmless might easily and expeditiously have been effected by a general and imperative order of disarmament—more particularly, as the majority of the Armenian population were without guns. Selfishness, blind rage, and silly

thoughtlessness were here responsible for the heaviest blow sustained by the Turkish Government since the war of 1877.

In addition to England, it is likely that Russia and France would have been inclined to favor intervention. Yet two circumstances coöperated to frustrate these good intentions. In the first place, England, in the event of a serious engagement of France and Russia in the Orient, would at once have utilized her opportunity in other parts of the world for the furtherance of selfish purposes ; while Germany, owing to her friendly relations with Turkey, would have been unable to participate. In this regard Germany's policy has been severely condemned from the standpoint of Christianity and humanity ; but this harsh criticism is frequently based upon ignorance of the motives governing the action of German statesmen.

Owing to the tremendous increase of her population and the comparative worthlessness of the colonies hitherto acquired, Germany, for very self-preservation, is compelled to secure markets offering raw material in exchange for manufactures ; and of these Turkey has now become one of the most important. As an illustration I need here cite but a single instance, viz., the Bagdad railroad, extending from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf. This enterprise, conducted under the supervision of Germans and eventually to be controlled by them, will ultimately secure industrial and commercial employment to hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of people throughout the German Empire. As an anti-Turkish attitude would have destroyed these prospects, we can readily understand why the German Emperor and his advisers considered it incumbent to place the interests of their own people above those of the Armenians.

What, then, will be the future of the Armenian nation ? Although enthusiasts may dream of a future kingdom of Armenia, I believe it probable that, politically speaking, the Armenians, in the event of an ultimate dissolution of Turkey, will, for the greater part, become subjects of the Czar. But a discussion of this political side of the question is not my purpose ; and it therefore remains for me to consider only the prospects of the Armenian nation from an ethical point of view.

The European and American benefactors of Armenia have, during the past four or five years, contributed over \$3,000,000 to alleviate the suffering of the people ; and it may be safely asserted that it was largely the assistance thus offered which enabled the Armenians to tide over the terrible period of poverty and famine immediately following upon the massacres. Nevertheless, of the 100,000 orphans



that survived the massacres a great number afterward succumbed to privation and want. Some were dragged into Mohammedan houses, while others are still living amid misery and want. Fifty thousand, however, are now safely housed in the orphan asylums built for these children by contributions from Germany, England, America, and elsewhere, and these institutions may be attended with infinite blessing provided education be so conducted that the children, instead of becoming estranged, shall be fitted to work as a leaven among their own people. To this end, two conditions are requisite : (1) the children must not be converted to Protestantism, but must be permitted to remain within their own National Church ; and (2) inasmuch as the children will probably pass their lives in the Orient, all branches of secular education must be so conducted as to prepare the graduate for Oriental conditions.

In this connection, I am compelled to assume a somewhat critical attitude toward the practice of my esteemed American friends in Turkey. True, it has now been decided to permit the students to attend the Gregorian Church, while so instructing them at the asylums that they shall nevertheless eventually become Christians in the evangelical sense. But this aim has not been everywhere realized ; and I have further observed that certain schools give instruction in branches which, while useful, and perhaps needful, to English and American children, will only tend, in a country like Turkey, to arouse views and sentiments in complete discord with actual conditions. The reader will readily understand why I cannot here be more explicit ; and I trust, further, that my words will not occasion doubt as to my sincere conviction that the American mission-institutions, during the past few years, have proved the most important factor in the redemption of the Armenian people.

Finally, we should not forget that within the fold of the National Church itself, and particularly at Etchmiadzin, the seat of the Patriarch, sound reforms have now been successfully instituted, aiming at the vitalization of clerical life and a more thorough scientific training of the ministry. In view of this fact, it devolves upon us as a sacred duty to do our utmost to secure amicable relations between these Gregorian reformers and the evangelical missions from abroad. Above all, we must strive to convince the Armenian clergy that we have no intention of making proselytes, and that we shall be content to leave the religious and national unity of the Armenian people undisturbed.

CARL ALBERT PAUL ROHRBACH.

## THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE.

HAVE we an American School of Sculpture? That is to say, is there in the sculpture of this country a note peculiar to itself, and of sufficient distinctiveness to justify us in characterizing it as American? To be answered fully and aright, this question needs to be considered with the seriousness due to its importance.

First of all let us briefly define the note that is American in contradistinction to the note that is French, Italian, or Japanese. To do this we must recognize the fact that, in founding their national schools, the greatest artists, of whatever race, produced works that responded to the demands of their age and to the needs of their people. Art falls under the iron law of economy, the law of supply and demand; and the artist who does not respond to the demand of his people and of his time produces insipid abstractions, without vitality, which posterity will ignore. This is not mere theory; it is a fact borne out by history—without exception. But before supply must come the demand. So we find ourselves confronted with the further question: Is there a demand in this country for serious works of art that will typify our growth, our history, and our aspirations, and that will embody our ideals?

The fact that such works of art have been, and are being, produced, and that no important work of art symbolizing the ideals of a race, and recording its historical achievements, comes by chance, is sufficient evidence that the American people desire to perpetuate their traditions and ideals in permanent form. Were it not so, no such works as those I shall mention in this paper would have found a *raison d'être*. Therefore, the growth of national sculpture in America has simply exemplified the working from cause to effect.

Here some one may ask why painting has seemingly made greater strides in this country than sculpture. This is the popular impression, and in degree it may be true, especially in so far as landscape painting is concerned. The reason is not far to seek. Color is with us from our infancy, and even the savage is impressed by its power, whereas pure form appeals only to the cultured mind. Sculpture is



essentially symbolic ; it needs a history to furnish it with its ideals, and therefore comes last in the development of the culture of a nation. There must be heroes and heroic themes before there is any *raison d'être* for sculpture ; and naturally a people building highways across a continent, felling forests, bridging rivers, and fighting savages, has no time or thought for art. So it comes that only of late years have our people awakened to the fact that the history of a century has supplied them with facts and ideals so glorious as to demand enduring embodiment in marble and bronze, and to this new and increasing interest in patriotic sculpture are due the birth and growth of our American school.

But it is plain to any thinking man that the artist who desires to put forth work that shall possess this distinctively American note must live in closest touch with his people, must be familiar with their traditions and history, and must not be afraid to represent his themes as they appear to the American eye. It would be as foolish to distinguish as American the work of a foreign sculptor who should come here and carve or paint American themes under the influence of foreign ideals, as it would be to distinguish as French the work of one who, born and bred in America, should exhibit at the Salon a statue of Du Guesclin or of Henry IV. What should be said of a London novelist who, without having seen America, should write a story of Western frontier life, or of a New England village ? This age is one which preëminently demands truth in art, whether plastic or literary.

Until the World's Fair, our artists did not know what they were about. Their art was a bizarre mingling of many schools, just as our architecture has been. Here and there, to be sure, there was an isolated man working along the right lines, but there was no distinctively American school.

Briefly speaking, the American school of art is a happy fusion of classical forms—the heritage of the ages—with a peculiarly modern sympathetic note, which may be called humanitarian, and therein is distinctive. Greek art was Olympian, but not human in our sense of the word. I do not claim for American art the monopoly of this human note. French art, or indeed any other modern school of art, may be human as well as classic ; but the difference is this, that the note of sympathy apparent in each school springs from its own especial interpretation of man's relation to man, and derives its character therefrom. Consequently, American art takes its character from our particular conception of the humanities, and this conception can be

possessed only by the artist, who, by living and working on his native soil, among his own people, is enabled instinctively to feel the mental, moral, and physical pulse.

Now there are many Americans to-day who are accomplishing work that is undoubtedly brilliant, but is in no sense American or related to the time. Living as they do for the most part abroad, these men are so much under the influence of their foreign masters, that their work, however clever it may appear, is but an echo of their masters' work, and lacks the spontaneity and impulse which distinguish original thought. These men, to say the least, are guilty of the sin of omission as well as of commission. Nature has bestowed upon them an artistic gift, which they have not the virility and hardiness to cultivate as becomes true Americans and patriots. In the show and shimmer of foreign capitals they dissipate powers that ought to be dedicated to their race and land as men dedicate their lives in battle. In part this is due to their misconception of a national art—in part to blindness to the import of its deeper meanings, and to a misunderstanding of what cosmopolitan art really is. They forget that true cosmopolitan art is the result of an intense and fervent patriotism. Coleridge, who thought deeply along these lines, affirms that patriotism is the fountainhead of all genuine cosmopolitanism ; but these men are not patriotic enough to make the sacrifices that American art demands of her true artist-sons—such sacrifices as Michelangelo gloried in when he said, “I go my way alone.” They prefer to dwell abroad in what they call an atmosphere of art, rather than to labor to create such an atmosphere in their own country. They add nothing to the art of the countries in which they live, for their works are neither of this soil nor that, but are creations which hang between heaven and earth. As a great French artist once remarked to the writer, “Do these men dream that they can teach us anything on our own soil?”

Whence springs this fault? Largely from the tactics of our critics and our educators. They have dinned into our ears the thought that after Greece came the deluge, so far as creative work was concerned—as if the last note in art had been uttered with the passing of Phidias and Praxiteles, as if the human heart were never to have a fresh emotion, and man was to love, hate, and grieve no more. They have forgotten that art is absolute truth, and never changes ; that it is man's view that widens and expands with culture, or is obscured by the refusal of knowledge ; and that foreign lands can give us no



source of inspiration that we have not at home. They have ignored the existence of tremendous educative powers in our own land, and have lost sight of the fact that in art the first duty of every nation is to be itself, to assert its own tastes and develop its own ideals, and to put forth all that is most personal, genuine, and most characteristic of the race. They have been blind to the truth that the world will always listen to these solemn confessions of the national soul, to these picturings of the soil, customs, needs, history, aspirations—in fact, of the public and personal life of a people.

But despite all the hindrances of unsympathetic criticism, and despite the dicta of men who, with all their book knowledge of art, do not understand what the present generation of sculptors in America is striving to accomplish, we are making constant progress in the formation of a great National School of Sculpture.

Now as to evidence of the claim that an American School of Sculpture exists. The fact that Americans have won distinction in all the great foreign exhibitions—at Paris, London, Berlin, and Rome—is no proof of the existence of a distinctively American School. Medals are given in foreign exhibitions largely for technical cleverness, achievement, and only in rare instances for supremely idealistic work. It is the facility of the hand rather than that of the brain that is rewarded. That happy fusion where hand, brain, and heart work in the harmony which finds its result in an art work that may be called great, can be found only in the land which gives birth to the artist—his native land. This is evidenced in all countries. Witness, in England, the failure of so great a man as Boehm, who, though an Englishman by long residence, failed to leave any lasting impression upon the Victorian age. So with Hiram Powers, and all that coterie of American sculptors who made their homes in Italy. It is hard to find in the records of American art any result of their labors.

It has remained for the sculptors of the present generation to produce a distinctively American School of Sculpture. Even were there no more than one example, the affirmation I have made could be sustained from the prospective view. But, fortunately, we can name a few eminent men and examples of their work. We have St. Gaudens, with his Farragut statue, and his Shaw Memorial (at Boston); Olin Warner, with his beautiful Fountain in Oregon, and his ideal portrait of Maud Morgan, the harpist; Daniel C. French, with his mystic Death and the Sculptor, perhaps the greatest of his works; J. Q. A. Ward, with his statue of Washington, on the Treasury steps, and

his ideal conception of an Indian Hunter, in Central Park. In the younger generation we can mention a score of names that are carrying on the work which these inaugurated; but the three or four names I have given are enough to demonstrate the fact that there exists to-day, in our land, a School of Sculpture that is for and of America. If it can be demonstrated by one successful crop that wheat will grow in a certain northern latitude, it is fair to assume that successive crops can be garnered from the same soil. But just as wheat is grown by formula and not by caprice, so the School of Sculpture which these men have founded will grow and develop in the measure in which we give our intelligence, our love, and our feelings to that art.

While affirming the existence of that dominant note which, to make it racial, must characterize any school of to-day, I refrain from measuring at present the extent of its influence in America. I would sooner inquire how we may strengthen that note and flourish that influence. To this the broad answer is, of course, the development of patriotism, that is, of civic and national pride. In a great measure patriotism is the result of education—that is, of course, a patriotism which is anything beyond that innate love of soil which is said to beget that curious malady called *Heimweh*—and patriotism in art is that knowledge of, and pride in, the history, traditions, and life of a people which impels the artist to study and picture them.

But how are we to conserve and nourish this precious art heritage which the great names cited are handing to us? By realizing, I think, what the American people owe to their sculptors, and what sculptors owe to them. What does the sculptor demand from his fellows by way of aid in his mission? He demands they should draw out wisely and with discretion this artistic inclination and precious instinct, and that they should encourage it not only by the generous endowment of scholarships, but by personal sympathy whenever and wherever such genius comes to their notice; for only by such discernment and sympathy can great art be nourished for the people.

And what do the American people demand of the sculptor? First, that he shall be sincere; for, to be great, art must be wholly sincere. The moment the artist stops to ask himself how the world will receive his creations, that very moment he is condemning his work to certain oblivion. He is reading his own death-warrant. The creation must be wrapped up in, and produced spontaneously from, the man's interior purpose. He must press on fearlessly, giving his purposes full and complete control. The moment he dabbles in pub-



lie opinions, that moment his purpose staggers, the harmony of his thought is broken, and no matter how much immediate praise may gather about him, his work will scarcely outlive the hand that executes it, unless it lives as a negative example.

Second, that he shall possess that fine reverence and love for the traditions and history of his people which will enable him to embody in a simple and dignified form the ideals of his race ; for, as Whitman says, "The art of art, the glory of expression, is Simplicity."

Third, that he shall be definite and definitive, which is another way of saying that the art impulse must be present with him and under the control of his intellect. This implies genius, culture, and sincerity.

It is a popular fallacy that knowing how to model makes the sculptor. Technique is mechanical, and apart from the vital, germinating force which stands for genius in art. Genius is a capacity above all this. Unless the sculptor feels something stirring within himself, more powerful than the forces he sees about him in physical nature, he had better let this art alone. The tempest carries a world of noise and fury over the forests, but they produce no music—they have not the sense of harmony. There are music, color, and form in everything about us ; but it is only the man who feels the music in his own soul who can command the music of inanimate objects. This is the artist's gift, and his production will always be less than the music he hears, than the picture he sees, and than the statue he rounds out in his interior life. It is implied, of course, that the hand and eye must be trained thoroughly. All the intense, passionate fervor of an Angelo would be of little avail if the hand were unable to carry out the mind's behest. The eye of sense must give natural and symmetrical proportion to the forms seen by the intellect and the imagination.

One word as to the sculptor who, born and bred in this land, goes abroad for study. He should have his character well rounded out ; his individuality should have reached a point where it may stand alone. He should know what the name America stands for, and what her institutions mean. He should have learned something of the forces and events which have gone to make up this mighty republic. And, back of all this, he should know the history of other republics, and the causes of their rise and disintegration. Finally, he must be master of himself ; otherwise he will soon be confused and led astray by the jargon of the schools and by the flippant, dissipated life which is in vogue abroad. In one word, he must be educated, not merely

trained. Why was Athens great? Because she educated her sons; the men were not merely trained, as we train children to-day in our public schools, but they were educated, which means something more. It means the rounding out of the mind, not filling its different crannies with facts and statistics, which enable men to compete with other men in the struggle for existence. Tyre and Sidon bought and sold; their commercial activity was known to the ends of the civilized world; and yet for us to-day they are mere names—so much sound which lives a moment on the lips, and then is a part of the air we have expired. Athens educated; and therefore her light shines more brightly to-day than it did 500 years before Christ, and her influence is vaster than it was in the age of Pericles. Let us, therefore, grasp the importance of educating, not merely training our art students. The artist may foreshadow and point the best way of doing this—but the doing of it rests with the people.

But in our art there are dangers which are very ominous. Often one is led to question whether the sculptor, architect, or painter is following his calling for the love and glory of it, or merely for the material gain. Our artists, as well as others, are in danger of the death-dealing influence of luxury, which expresses itself in their works as well as in their lives, and is particularly noticeable in the tendency to overload buildings with decorative carvings that have no special meaning. The perils and shortcomings of our art, and for that matter of our age, spring from our failure to rise to the power, dignity, and demands of true manhood. Art must reflect the man behind it. The art of any age is the index to the controlling thoughts and the dominant feelings of that age; and there can be no great art without a correspondingly great manhood. It was Thermopylæ which made Phidias; and Michelangelo and the masters of the Renaissance were, first of all, great men, who lived truly and did not dally with empty forms or concern themselves with dress suits and dinners. When Greece, after the age of Pericles, began to think more of show and of result than of the desire to produce men, she deteriorated at once; losing not only the power to produce great men, but the capability to appreciate the results that had been attained by them. If we demand in our artists first of all a high order of manhood, if we cherish higher ideals and seek a simple and genuine life, we shall rise to heights in art that shall rival Greece and Florence.

Let me say a further word as to the duty of the American republic toward the American School of Sculpture. In art, as in every other



phase of national life, each man owes something to his country. What the country asks and has a right to demand of every man is his contribution. We have founded our school and are standing at the cross roads. Some men about us give their money, some men give criticism, and some give nothing, but are forever in debt to the world. Yet neither money nor advice will totally relieve this indebtedness. Each one must give his moral quota, or something will be lacking in the balance. Truly great men give the highest they have, which is themselves. So, on the other hand, must an artist contribute to the world's art his very self, or be forever in debt to it ; for he is worth, in the actual balance, only the moral count of that self or soul. That is all he can give.

Who are these men who say we have no history? Surely they have spent their time in reading the literature of other countries. Who are these men who say that our background is not picturesque? It is more than picturesque ; it is tragically beautiful. Does the human heart change? Are not its loves and passions the same as those which animated the hearts of the Egyptians who antedated the Pyramids? The heart is the same, but the problem of life is presented to it in a different way, and on a higher scale ; and our art must likewise be presented on a different and higher plane. It is the manner in which we reflect the problems of our life which determines our positions as artists and the character of the art we produce.

One word in conclusion. The art of sculpture, more than all others, has contributed to the highest enjoyment and calm intellectual satisfaction of the peoples among whom it has flourished. No art has so completely realized the human aspiration for absolute and calm beauty, and the benign and noble embodiment of man's ideals. Poets have builded their most exalted images upon it ; and from its beauty they have drawn their most inspired lines. It stands forever as an assertion of spiritual verity, and its power to ennoble, dignify, and exalt is unbounded. It is the central and most complete development in art that human life has assumed, and no one has ever dared to attribute to it an impure or unworthy object. Wherever carving has had an ignoble office, it has thereby placed itself without the domain of the sculptural ; and such effort cannot legitimately be termed sculpture, which is more than the poet's song, is the calmest and simplest of all arts, and at once the most moderate and exalted.

WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

## SOUTHERN LITERATURE OF THE YEAR.

THE literary productivity of the South in the last few decades is one of the most striking and interesting facts in the mental history of our nation. The pathetic resolutions, not uncommon before the war, that the South should have a literature; the Herculean efforts of Simms to produce one single-handed; the graceful, but rather inconsequent, efforts of his fellows, excepting, of course, that sport of nature, the strange, meteoric genius of Poe—all these had been of small avail. The war came and found the South with little in the way of books save that “literature suited to desolate islands” of which Lowell speaks.

It is hardly more difficult to read the novels of Simms to-day than to imagine that any one ever read them. It needed the war to emancipate Southern genius. That war not only gave the South a subject, but, by the attrition of the sections during the struggle, made that subject familiar and interesting to all. Many highly educated persons had witnessed events that were cardinal in the nation's history, and society was passing even then through the evolution of racial problems which in their entirety were momentous, and in their details infinitely pathetic, tragic, or grotesque. The tenderly nurtured men and women of the South could look back on a social system clouded by disaster, but radiant in the afterglow of tender memories, and the pressure of circumstances made a pen and an inkstand seem a sort of Aladdin's lamp to hundreds.

Under such conditions a literature was sure to arise; in the main it was sure to be dominated by imagination, and in its first generation was likely to be largely the work of women, as, indeed, it is still. But of recent years there has been a change. Literature has widened its scope in the South, both geographically and in the subjects of which it treats. Of course, fiction is still in the lead, and in the *genre* of fiction, as we shall see presently, the old type, the negro story of one kind or another, is still dominant. But the time has passed when Southern literature can be held to comprehend nothing more. Work is being done in the South to-day in almost every field of literature—



not, indeed, great work, but worthy work, and it is worth while to call attention to it at the outset of this study of Southern literary activity, even though the work itself is as yet in the bud.

In the field of lyric poetry, for instance, Kentucky has a school that is quite unique, with Mr. Rule, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Cawein as its chief lyricists. In Tennessee Mr. Guthrie and Mr. B. F. Boyle are writing creditable verse ; and the poetry of Mr. Rose, of Arkansas, has a polish that suggests some subtle connection between cypress groves and the classics. In Alabama Dr. Dudley Powers and Miss Horace Weedon have written very characteristic negro verse ; and in North Carolina Prof. Sledd is publishing creditable poetry of a more conventional type. As I write there comes to my desk a striking volume by Prof. Trent, of Tennessee, and doubtless there are many who would agree with Cicero in the Latin reader, and prefer the verses that I have omitted to those that it has occurred to me to mention ; for the Southern poet-grove is full of little songsters, and there is no clearly dominant note among them.

In drama the only name that occurs to me for the moment is that of Mr. Rose, who has distinguished himself also in criticism, a subject on which Mr. Trent's volume of essays has been one of the noteworthy books of the year. In history useful work is being done in Louisiana by Miss King, by Mr. Bugby in Texas, and by Mr. Fairbanks in Florida. Indeed, in history the interest seems to be growing more rapidly than in any other field of literary activity. It shows itself in legislatures, as, for instance, in the creation of the Alabama Manuscript Commission. It shows itself, too, in the recent undertaking by a Richmond publisher of a coöperative history of the United States, of whose many volumes eight are to be written in the South, by men of university training. And if we were to look through Southern college catalogues, we should find that the attention given to the systematic study of history is perhaps proportionately greater than in the North. Then, too, the South is bestirring itself pedagogically. Series of text-books for primary and grammar school are being projected by her publishers ; and the names of her professors are often seen in the lists of Northern publishing houses.

Almost as striking as the variety of this literary effort is its diffusion. There is hardly a State whose mention does not recall to us some name deserving at least a passing mention. Mr. Page has found a worthy Virginian compeer in Miss Glasgow, whose "Voice of the People" reaffirms the talent shown in her "Phases of an Inferior

Planet" by its picture of a Virginia country town in Reconstruction times, with the old aristocracy for its background and a "poor white" for its hero—another handling of the perennially attractive upheaval of the social structure which followed the Civil War. The students of the University of Virginia, too, are bearing their share in the development of Southern fiction, as is witnessed by "Idylls of the Lawn," just fresh from the press, six stories of quite original flavor and individual promise, and Florence Hull Winterburn has lately paid another tribute to the literature of Virginia in "Southern Hearts."

In North Carolina Prof. Sledd represents literature by his poetry and fiction, and passing softly over South Carolina, we find Georgia illuminated by the talent of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Harris. Alabama may claim Dr. Powers and Miss Weedon, and has recently added to her literary citizenship that most talented of the young aspirants to literary fame, the author of "To Have and to Hold." In Louisiana Mr. Cable shares New Orleans with Miss Dunbar and Mrs. Davis, and divides the State with Mrs. Stuart and Miss King. From Arkansas come the charming tales of Octave Thanet as well as the verses and essays of Mr. Rose. Missouri contributes as her quota the fiction of Mr. Baskett; and Tennessee, in addition to the poets and critics that we have mentioned, claims Sarah Barnwell Elliott, Charles Egbert Craddock, and, at least by adoption, the author of "The De Willoughby Claim," Frances Hodgson Burnett. Beside the names already mentioned Kentucky places Mr. Robertson, and also Mr. Allen, who has, indeed, been silent during the year, and as I write a new author, Mr. John Uri Lloyd, is giving good promise in his "Stringtown on the Pike." Maryland rounds out the circle with Mr. Stimpson, Mrs. Whitelock, and Mr. Hopkinson Smith, who, cosmopolitan as he is, has contributed during the year to what is distinctively the literature of the South. And there is Southern literature in the North, too. One need only recall the names of Paul Laurence Dunbar, of Dayton, and of Mr. Charles Chestnutt, of Cincinnati.

Such a list of names as this is merely suggestive of the widespread literary fermentation which shows itself in journalism and in college life, and, indeed, wherever it has the opportunity. It counts very little work of the first rank, but it contains so much of the second as to be full of promise when one considers the difficulty with which literature has had to contend in these Southern States, where it was necessary not merely to create a reading public, but to some extent even a



public that could read, and where there were few bookstores and fewer libraries.

To get a satisfactory idea of this activity within the scope of an article, we must restrict our attention to a single field and to a brief period. Let us see, therefore, what the South has done in twelve months from May, 1899, to May, 1900, in fiction alone. I have made no minute search, and I claim no bibliographical completeness. But during this year there has come to my notice the work of twenty-four Southern writers of novels and short stories. Of the twenty-four, fourteen are women, which will account perhaps for the fact that there are but four full-grown novels in the group, the others being stories, long or short, though many of them fill a volume.

Taken as a whole, the work of the women must be pronounced to be as artistic, as strong, as effective, and as bold in its dealing with the social problems that vex the South as is that of the men. Perhaps no one in the past year has given us a character quite so complete as Mr. Harris's Minervy Ann of the "Chronicles" and "Plantation Pageants," though Mrs. Burnett, with her Tom De Willoughby, Morn-in', and Mat is surely not far behind. On the other hand, no one has treated the psychology of lynching as effectively as Miss Elliott, and no one has seen quite so deep into the racial feeling of the negro as Miss Pemberton, in her tragic story of "Stephen the Black," though Mr. Chestnutt, in "The Wife of His Youth," easily takes the mastery in stating, if not solving, the puzzling questions that gather around the status of the mulatto.

All the characters that I have mentioned, save one, are of negro blood. The African is still, and not unnaturally, the chief source of local color. But one notices that there is a broadening in the field of Southern fiction as well as a deepening in intensity in the handling of its greatest problem. The "poor white," Cracker or mountaineer, is the subject of three of the best stories of the year—by Miss Glasgow, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Edwards; and he plays a considerable part in Mrs. Burnett's work. Though he fills proportionately less space in Southern fiction than in the halcyon days of Charles Egbert Craddock, he is treated with more power and more discrimination. Creole life, too, no longer finds in Mr. Cable its sole privileged expositor. And beside this variety in the treatment of old themes, we have new ones in Mr. Robertson's fearless handling of the taint in Southern political life, and in Mrs. Whitelock's ingenious study in comparative provincialism, when "Hindsight met Provincialitis."

Of more significance perhaps is the fact that the South is beginning to supply herself with some very genially written books for her children. She is learning to turn her eyes more and more from secession and reconstruction to the romance of her colonial history, and of the Revolution, in which she bore such an honored part that a Northern story-teller, Miss Jeanie Gould Lincoln, has poached on this Southern preserve for her charming "Pretty Tory," a tale of South Carolina in the days of Tarleton. This is but fair exchange, for has not Mr. Thomas Nelson Page elected this year to turn from his delightful delineations of negro character to give us a little story that is not about the South at all, but about "Santa Claus' Partner" in New York?

This emancipation from the persistent spectres of impoverished magnanimity and negro wit and loyalty is refreshing. Realism like Miss Elliott's is tonic; humor like Mr. Harris's is precious; but we are not unwilling to leave them both to walk with Miss Johnston in her golden land of chivalry and romance, to dance with Mr. Stimpson's Tory maid, or to rejoice in the broad-shouldered humanity of Tom De Willoughby. And with this hero of the longest, if not the chief, Southern novel of the year, my retrospect of its fiction shall begin.

No Southern book of the year was greeted by the critics with such unstinted applause as Mrs. Burnett's "In Connection with the De Willoughby Claim"; and one gladly grants that there are points in which it deserves preëminence. It contains more strikingly individualized characters than any other single story of the year, and individual episodes are handled with much skill. There is genuine humor, and there are touches of real pathos. On the other hand, there are passages that recall nothing so much as a Bowery melodrama, say, "Knobs of Tennessee," for instance. The Northern clergyman, Baird, is a criminal fool of passion who must be pronounced a very degenerate descendant of the melancholy hero of "The Scarlet Letter"; Latimer, his would-be confidant, and the little villain Stamps have about the reality of a Thanksgiving Night vision; and Felicia, Rupert, and Margery are shadowy as a Midsummer Night's Dream. But these are mere counters in the game, and there are more of the ilk. The book is redeemed, and is given the promise of long life, by its hero, Tom De Willoughby, who stands out, in his whole-hearted manhood, an example of the sheer force of original creation.

The worst thing about the book is its structure—unless it be its



title. The novel consists of, or rather contains—for it is precisely the lack of consistency that I deplore—a Northern melodrama, which is overdrawn and commonplace, and a Southern idyll, which in many parts is exquisite. These two are served in alternate slices, producing somewhat the effect of a layer-cake of lady-fingers and gorgonzola. Neither of them is essentially connected with the De Willoughby Claim, which serves only to float the heroine out of the book on a golden tide, and to form an excuse of reuniting the drama to the idyll after the first chapter had happily divorced them. I recall no novel of the year in which the faults of construction are more glaring or more irritating than in this story from the practised hand of Mrs. Burnett.

The second important Southern novel of the year is Miss Johnston's "To Have and to Hold," which, indeed, might well be placed first, if story-telling were preferred to the drawing of character, and romantic interest to attempted realism. In power to capture and to hold interest American fiction to-day knows no spells more powerful than those of the author of the "Prisoners of Hope." In the firm drawing of character there are several more skilled or favored by nature, and we should be a little skeptical of historical local color of whose vividness we may indeed be sure, but of whose truth we can possess no touchstone. One may see the village grocery and the Washington claimants of Tom De Willoughby to-day; but neither the palpitating heat nor the broad river perspectives of a Virginia landscape will make the "ladyhood" of Patricia or of Jocelyn Leigh, or the Virginian chivalry of Ralph Percy and of John Rolfe, other than a work of fancy. This means that, to endure, the historical novel demands more supreme excellence than the novel of present conditions. Every generation may write romantically of every other, but only our own generation can write realistically of ourselves.

An author's second book is critical. The third is cardinal. Miss Johnston served no labored apprenticeship. She sprang to eminence, if not preëminence, in our historical fiction, in her "Prisoners of Hope," and she has maintained her place in "To Have and to Hold." But the book is a renewal, a retouching of an old picture, a variation of an old theme. Jocelyn is a more brilliant Patricia with a happier fate, success having apparently made the author more kindly disposed to the creatures of her fancy, and to the great public that is so closely wedded to the "lived happy ever after" style of ending. Will she go on producing variants of this admirable heroine, or is she

to people for us a romantic world? Her third novel will answer that question, and it is the cardinal one for the novelist. Meantime, we are grateful for delicate feeling and tense fabulation combined with the deftest possible handling of a difficult situation, which trembles on that verge over which Ohnet stumbled in "The Iron Master."

The characters in "To Have and to Hold" are set before us after the manner of an impressionist painter—with bold use of brush and palette knife. They are bundles of qualities rather than complete personalities. Especially is this true of the villains, Carnal and the Italian, and of Parson Sparrow, but it is true in a measure of the hero and heroine, and is perhaps the strongest trace of the inexperience of life which we find in this gifted writer. Another fault is that her imagination falls, as the French would say, on the side to which it inclines. Its exuberance would be better for restraint. The pirate episode in several passages more than executes its constant threat to pass from the romantic to the farcical. But, after we have made all the reserves that we will, Miss Johnston is easily first in promise, if not first in performance, of the Southern novelists of the year.

Two other historical novels claim something more than passing mention. Very good in its modest way is Mr. H. B. Stimpson's story of revolutionary Maryland, "The Tory Maid," which from beginning to end gives one the impression of a composite of family traditions, excellently fused and told with more art than we are wont to find in a first flight in fiction. This story has a curious analogue, both in title and in the main situation, in Miss Lincoln's "Pretty Tory," and it is curious to note that the books appeared within a month of one another.

It is difficult to do justice in a paragraph to the simple strength of Pauline Carrington Bouvé's "Their Shadows Before," a story of the Southampton County insurrection of the Virginia negroes, in 1831, combined with a very pretty idyll of girlish love and instinctive unsophisticated righteousness. The strength of the little book lies in the delineation of the motives, half social, half religious, of the negro, Nat Turner, a forerunner of John Brown, at a time when the Abolition agitation had hardly begun in the North, and was felt in the South to be more outrage than menace. The wild, superstitious devotion and self-sacrifice of the protagonist in the tragedy are painted with such restrained power that the future work of the author will be awaited with much interest.

Even more striking as an original contribution to negro psychol-



ogy is Caroline H. Pemberton's "Stephen the Black." She, too, treats the negro not as a vehicle for pathos or humor, but as a subject of psychic study in the relations that arise from the mingling of races. The central figure, Stephen, is a school teacher. Bent on the elevation of his race, he is drawn to the best that he sees in it. He loves an octoroon girl and marries her, by force of will, though in form only, in order to save her from the dangerous charm of a cultured white lover. The latter's love for the octoroon leads him to seek to save Stephen from one of those lynchings on general principles that even recent history shows are not impossible. The girl dies a martyr to her instinct of purity and of race, and the reader is left fascinated, stirred, and yet appalled by the complexity of the strife between ingrained emotion, Christian feeling, and social reason, which the humble tragedy presents. Place must be given also to Mrs. Davis's "The Queen's Garden," less for any strength or originality in its fabulation than for the skill with which the heavy tropical atmosphere of this garden in fever-stricken New Orleans is maintained throughout, recalling in its small way the remarkable effects attained by Zola in "Abbé Mouret's Fault."

These four novels all have the prevailing brevity of Southern fiction, and briefer still is Mr. Harrison Robertson's "If I was a Man." This is a story of politics and love by a journalist who has known how to set off high ideals against the somewhat sordid realities of political practice. Recent events have given this story of intrigue and strife over a Kentucky senatorship a certain actuality ; and in its small way it is a contribution of grave interest. Its promise is more than redeemed by Mr. Robertson's latest story, "Red Blood and Blue," which pulses with a resourceful force that is one of the best traits of our American life.

The last in time among these longer works of fiction is Miss Glasgow's "The Voice of the People," a good novel though not a great one. A writer of such talent should not be content with work that does indeed catch and reflect admirably what lies on the surface, the much abused "local color," but fails to lay firm hold on the deeper verities of human character. The interest of the book is often great, but it is not sustained. It contains many passages of admirable insight. It contains also several very unpleasant "audacities" for the removal of which it would be much the better and none the weaker. It is valuable rather for its great promise than for its achievement.

Something between the novel and the character sketch or short

story stands Joel Chandler Harris's "The Chronicles of Minervy Ann," on the whole the most delightfully humorous of the Southern books of the year. The "Chronicles" narrate a series of episodes in the life of this energetic and estimable, not to say inestimable, house servant in the years just following the war, so that we see here in the vigor of middle age what can be observed now only in its decline. No negro in fiction since Uncle Remus has seemed to me quite so real, so quaintly individual yet so typical, so shrewdly witty yet so kind-hearted, so whimsically loyal, so honest, and so true. Minervy tells her own story, swaying as softly as a pendulum from humor to pathos, and it is hard to say which is the more dramatically rendered. In the latter vein it might be difficult to match "How Aunt Minervy Ann Ran Away and Ran Back Again" or "The Case of Mary Ellen." In the former, "How She Joined the Georgia Legislature" and "How She Frailed Out the Gossett Boys" will remain a joy in memory to all who have humor in their souls and a sympathetic knowledge of negro nature. She seems a creation too rare and genuine to lose from our literature. For me, as for Major Purdue, Minervy "has come to stay."

Minervy Ann reappears in Mr. Harris's second book of the year, "Plantation Pageants," which is, however, more in the vein of Uncle Remus than of the Chronicles. The crow, the coon, and the rabbit have their say, and Aunt Minervy makes as excellent an interpreter of this curious animal folklore as did Uncle Remus, reconciling us even to the untimely destruction of Brer Fox in the unctuous satisfaction of Brer Wolf, who in his peaceful digestion "feels too good" to devour poor innocent Brer Rabbit. For the rest, the "Plantation Pageants" is, as the author says, but "a patchwork of memories and fancies," too inconsequent to be enjoyed by grown folks, and hardly likely to be intelligible to children, though Mr. Harris's hand has lost none of its cunning, and the picture of plantation life in old Georgia may help many a busy man to renew his youth in this nursery of fancy.

While I am speaking of children's books, I must not fail to mention, though but in passing, Miss Louise Carnahan's Southern story for boys and girls, "Little Doctor Victoria." Miss Carnahan is a Virginian, though she has figured for some time among writers on the Pacific coast; and this story embalms early memories in the simple, gracious, innocent fashion that marks the "really truly" storyteller of childhood. Another story of Southern girlhood within our



year is Miss Amy Blanchard's "Sweet Little Maid." This book possesses in Bubbles a modern Topsy almost worthy to stand beside Mrs. Stowe's creation, and as true to Southern child life as the Drusilla of Mr. Harris's "Pageants."

Turning now to collections of short stories, we catch a new phrasing of the old negro theme in Mr. Charles W. Chestnutt's "The Wife of His Youth." This new element is due to a delicate irony that would jar in such a subject if the writer were not himself of the Blue Veins whose foibles amuse the man who has had all a successful lawyer's opportunity for the study of human nature. His theme in all the stories is the result of racial mingling. Occasionally, as in "The Sheriff's Children" and "The Web of Circumstance," the treatment is tragic. In "Cicely's Dream and the Bouquet" it is pathetic, while in "A Matter of Principle," "Her Virginia Mammy," and "The Wife of His Youth" irony is the main characteristic. All these stories are strong; but the last three claim special attention. How the racial situation in America might strike a man of mixed blood, but of keen intellect and broad mind, has been a curious question to many, and Mr. Chestnutt has answered it interestingly.

In the fiction of Creole Louisiana, Mr. Cable still asserts his supremacy in "Strong Hearts," though Miss Dunbar, with her "Goodness of St. Roque," is not far behind. The three stories that make up Mr. Cable's volume are all wrought with exquisite care. In "The Solitary" there is a Southern intensity of passion that would have gladdened the heart of Stendhal, if he had one. The note in "The Taxidermist" is more subdued, and the effect even more delicately penetrating, while lambent flashes of humor lighten the whole and make it truly delightful. Seldom has Mr. Cable written so winningly as of this bird-stuffer's affection for his art. In the last of his stories, "The Entomologist," Mr. Cable seems to me to err by over-elaboration. He brings us into an atmosphere of mental, moral, and physical morbidity, which would be quite oppressive did not Senda, with her commonplace moral instincts and bread-and-butter morality, conveyed in delightfully quaint German English, open the windows to let in the vitalizing air. In this last work, as in those that have gone before, Mr. Cable pleads for an ideal morality, a blending of religion and poetry, which seem to him to be the necessary complement of each other. He has pleaded the cause at greater length, but seldom if ever more persuasively than in this, which it is to be hoped will represent the crown, and not the swan-song, of his achievement.

His compeer in the fiction of Creole Louisiana is Alice Dunbar. The fourteen sketches that make up her "Goodness of St. Roque" are for the most part like Mr. Cable's work, but in a minor key. However, they are told more daintily, and with deft touches in local color that befit the slighter and more delicate feminine hand. Another phase of Louisiana life is given us in the tales of Ruth McEnery Stuart, who, in "Holly and Pizen," though she touches no new notes, maintains her place as the best portrayer of Gulf plantation life, which, both in dialect and in mode of thought, differs considerably from that of the cotton States of the Atlantic seaboard, and still more from that of the chosen scenes of Mr. Page's and Miss Murfree's fancy. The two tales that deal with African New York have not the distinction nor the interest that mark the hocus-pocus of the plantation-healer, Uncle 'Riah, whose "holly and pizen" give the volume its name. Hardly less characteristic of Mrs. Stuart at her best is the Indian summer of Miss Melissa's love in "A Note of Scarlet," which strikes the key of Southern puritanism—which is altogether a different thing from the stern New England article, as described by Miss Wilkins.

Less sympathetic, but stronger in its hold on life, is the genius in Sarah Barnwell Elliott's stories of Tennessee and Georgia. Her powers seem to expand with each new volume. Her keen, incisive style, full of subtle suggestion, always sombre and sometimes fierce, will bear at times the comparison with Maupassant that is invited by her maturest work, such as "An Incident" and "Without the Courts." Of all the women of the South who are writing short stories to-day, she seems, measuring her past by her present performance, to promise most; though in her latest volume the critic will readily distinguish some rechauffés of earlier work that mar the general effect and disturb one's judgment. In sharp distinction from her fellows, Miss Elliott chooses to appeal to reason rather than to emotion. Humor there is, but it is apt to be caustic, or even bitter, and it is not spontaneous. She keeps her sentiment for her characters, and the reader is not captured by it. She is very sparing of pathos, desirous always that you shall understand rather than sympathize. It is pleasant, and significant of a tendency to which attention was drawn at the outset, that her last volume deals, as "Jerry" and "The Durkett Spirit" did not, with people whom in the main we should like to know. The negro is inconspicuous; we are emancipated from the reign of the Cracker; and dialect is held in an abeyance that is as refreshing as it



is artistic. Miss Elliott's work will repay careful watching, for she has not yet given us the full measure of her unique powers.

If the strongest Southern short story of the year be not Miss Elliott's "An Incident," it is Mr. Edwards's "His Defence," a sketch of the "poor white" who has been neglected almost as much in fiction as in our philanthropy and our politics. But this story is in no way characteristic of the volume to which it gives its name. The dominant note is African humor, sometimes playful and sometimes farcical, as in the delicious debate between the negro elder and the "school darkey" on "Pen and Powder." The humor bubbles spontaneously; nowhere is there a sense of effort; but one would gladly exchange all this excellent fooling for a few such touches as the interview between Major Worthington and the Northern General, or for one more such piece of breathing life as Hiram's "Defence."

Last in this brief retrospect shall stand Mrs. Whitelock's "Hindsight and Provincialitis," because it is, if I am right, the first noteworthy effort to bring the cultures of South and North into effective contrast, and to illustrate one by the other. The latter part of the book does not concern me here. The earlier is full of keen judgments and kindly discriminations of what is best in an aristocracy that did not "care intuitively for material things." Provincialitis brings before me on a score of pages another little Southern university town that I have loved. The book is not great, but it is very winning.

Perhaps these last words will be the general verdict on the fiction that has passed before us in this brief review. I see no writer of the first rank either among those who have spoken or among those who have been silent during the year; but I do see a welling up of literary imagination in more varied forms than elsewhere in America. Its characteristic is not cleverness so much as a charm and a grace in which we shall learn to take increasing delight.

BENJAMIN W. WELLS.

# The Forum

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JULY, 1900.

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## OUR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

ONE who was closely identified with Germany a decade ago, but who has since followed her progress only by observation rather than by direct contact with her people, must exercise care in advancing opinions in regard to the prevailing conditions there to-day. Such a development of a nation of the highest civilization as Germany has undergone is necessarily attended by so many subtle phases that it is well to hesitate before attempting to answer categorically what her present intentions really are with reference to the United States.

The Germans are their own severest critics. He is, indeed, a brave man who will attack his whole country for his country's good, and stand firm, regardless of abuse. But this is what Prof. Reuleux, the German Commissioner, did when, in 1876, he characterized Germany's exhibit at Philadelphia as "cheap and nasty." I never saw a prouder man than he when, in Chicago, in 1893, I had the pleasure to congratulate him upon the magnificence of the German exhibit there; and I am of the opinion that he has done more for the commercial advancement of Germany than any other single individual. Since 1876 her improvement in manufactures, due to advanced technical education, has been most marked; and the quality of her productions is now receiving the encomiums of the world.

Germany's industrial record in recent years reads like a romance. What it took England eighty or ninety years to accomplish, Germany has done in thirty. In 1870, of Germany's population 64 per cent were put down to agricultural pursuits, and the remainder to

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manufactures and trade. To-day, two-thirds follow mechanics and shipbuilding. Germany is often compared with England and the United States. Nothing could be in many ways more unjust. England and the United States are rich in resources beyond the wildest fancy: they are almost unlimited. Germany has to get cotton (last year 2,500,000 bales from us), corn, iron, wool, and even coal, from abroad. She has to get the raw material for her vast chemical works—those establishments which have won for her such fame and fortune. Her soil is poor. A vast, wedge-shaped track, on which only spruce and pine forests are possible, enters the north and extends southward to the very heart of the Empire. It covers fully one-fifth of German territory, and for many parts of the other four-fifths the world is ransacked for fertilizers to aid in cultivation. Fruits, vegetables, and cereals of all kinds must come from other lands. Australia and the states of the River Plate send wool; South America sends drugs and dyewoods; while cotton, corn, cereals, and some copper and coal come from the United States.

Prof. Blondell, head of the French Commission sent a year ago to investigate the underlying causes of German progress under such great disadvantages, puts it down to the temperament of the people, to the marvellous system of industrial art, and to the commercial and technical schools. The Royal British Commission came practically to the same conclusion, which it expressed in almost identical words; and the same is true of the Belgian Commission. Consul Monaghan gives his opinion tersely when he says: "It is the application of scientific methods to industrial development."

The only country Germany fears is the United States. Germany lacks the coal, iron, and cheap foods; hence, her struggles with countries which have these is destined to grow keener and keener as the latter advance toward her in the resources of education. The interests of the Agrarians, who are composed chiefly of the nobles and landed proprietors, clash with those of industrial communities. Our tariff has always been regarded with disfavor by German manufacturers; but the first practical evidence of attack upon American methods, or distrust of American products, which came under my personal observation, was in 1883.

A trichinosis epidemic had broken out in the village of Emersleben, in Prussian Saxony, the cause of which was attributed to the use of pork alleged to have been imported from the United States. Under orders from the Secretary of State, I was authorized to make

a thorough investigation, and report the facts. I was enabled to prove clearly that the infected swine had come from Hungary and not from America; that they had been subjected to inspection for *trichinæ* by the village barber, and pronounced clean. Notwithstanding his assurances, the people who partook of the *raw* flesh of these swine, numbering some 500, all sickened, and over 50 died. The great German pathologist, Prof. Virchow, told the people at the time that if they would cook the meat there would be no danger.

On June 25, 1880, the importation of chopped pork and sausages from America had been prohibited. On February 18, 1883, the Federal Council rescinded this decree, and substituted in its stead a still more stringent one, prohibiting the importation from America (the United States) of pigs, pork, bacon, and sausages of all kinds. This action on the part of the German authorities resulted in sharp diplomatic correspondence. The Hon. A. A. Sargent, United States Minister at Berlin, gave our Government the full benefit of his views as well as his advice. The President thereupon invited the German Government to send a commission of experts to the United States to examine into the operations of hog-raising and packing; and everything was done by the mercantile interests concerned to show that the position taken by Germany was unwarranted by the facts. The diplomatic correspondence between the Legation of the United States at Berlin and the German Foreign Office reached an acute stage.

In conveying to Count Hatzfeldt the desire of the President to have the fullest investigation, Mr. Sargent took occasion to remark:

"Inasmuch as the United States are large and growing consumers of German manufactures, and the food they export to Germany is a principal article of exchange, the laws of trade must dictate their obtaining the goods they import elsewhere, if the equivalent they furnish is refused. This would probably result, even if Congress did not meet the issue by legislation, under the belief that another motive than the unsoundness of American pork products caused this exclusion. Such a belief, of course, could not obtain if fair investigation on the spot by German experts showed dangerous unsoundness to exist."

To this, Secretary of State Frelinghuysen replied, in part, that the Minister had to some extent gone beyond the intention of the President, and said:

"So far as your intimation touches the operation of the laws of international trade, it is unexceptionable. Those laws control themselves, and commerce must perforce work its own channels in the most natural directions; but when you go further and indicate the possibility that this Government may resort to retaliation if its views be not assented to by Germany,



you introduce an element which it was not intended to present. \* \* \* Lest the statements in your note of February 23 might prove liable to misinterpretation, you are authorized to make the contents of this instruction known to Count Hatzfeldt by reading it to his excellency, and should he desire it, by leaving with him a copy."

Herr von Eisendecker, the German Minister at Washington, added the following interesting assertion to the controversy:

"The prohibition resorted to by Germany is a measure of internal German legislation found necessary after careful investigation on sanitary grounds, and closely connected with the internal institutions of the country. Germany has always carefully avoided all interference in regard to measures which other Governments, and especially the Government of the United States, think just to adopt in the interest of their country. This principle of non-interference has been preserved by Germany also in relation to the high and often prohibitive duties imposed upon German industries in the United States in consequence of their adopted financial system. Germany has never even ventured the slightest remarks in this respect tending to suggest an eventual friendly consideration of German interests in the framing of American internal laws and measures. In the prohibition referred to above, however, higher interests of the nation are at stake than tariff laws, that is, the protection of the people against a danger to health. Now, as Germany by its strict and rigorously enforced legislation affords the same protection to its people at home against all danger from German cattle and hogs, it cannot possibly treat the foreign producers better than its own. An investigation of the American methods of raising hogs and preparing hog products, by a commission of German experts in the United States, could not effect a material change in this respect."

In January, 1883, just before the issuance of the second, and more sweeping, decree against American products, Mr. Sargent reported to the Government that strong protests were being sent to the Federal Council by German merchants and others against the measure, and that editorials in leading German newspapers had fully exposed the falsity of the excuses for exclusion. Mr. Sargent said:

"If this were strictly a Government of public opinion in the American sense, these general public appeals, backed as they are by solid reasoning upon the indisputable facts, would prevail, and the project would be abandoned. But this is far from being the case, and the prospect is stronger than ever that the decree will be issued. I am informed that Mr. Böttischer, the Imperial Minister of the Interior, informed a protestant delegation, during the past week, that the measure would certainly be adopted. \* \* \* The pretence of sanitary reasons is becoming the thinnest veil, which has been torn into shreds, and which is now apparently only insisted on as an excuse to the United States. \* \* \* The movement is merely selfish, and in disregard of the interests of the United States. The only argument which would be effective against the measure would be the fear of reprisals."

The above was published in the volume of Consular Reports issued by the then Bureau of Statistics of the Department of State. When it reached Germany it caused the widest newspaper comment and vilification of Mr. Sargent, who really then became *persona non*

*grata*. It was thought at the time that a number of the Consuls of the United States, who had been very active in support of their chief, would have to share his fate; but as these officers had a purely commercial character, it seems that it was unofficially understood at Washington that the German Government was not particularly interested in their conclusions.

The situation was unfortunately complicated at the time by the effort of Mr. Sargent to carry out instructions to transmit to the Reichstag the resolutions of condolence passed by the House of Representatives of the United States upon the demise of the German statesman Laskar, who died in Texas while on a visit to relatives. Prince Bismarck considered Laskar his bitterest political enemy; and he looked upon the attempt to present the resolutions as a direct personal insult, which he resented with all the power at his command. The differences between the Governments of the United States and Germany became completely overshadowed by the strained personal relations of the Imperial Chancellor and the United States Minister; for, rightfully or wrongfully, the former held the latter wholly responsible for the Laskar incident. On the other hand, the German statesman took advantage of the opportunity to make a speech in the Reichstag, giving full assurance of the friendship of Germany for the United States; recalling historical instances, international as well as personal, and unhesitatingly and unequivocally putting all the blame for any misunderstanding between the countries upon the action of the American Minister. Mr. Sargent retired from Berlin, having been transferred to Russia. His nomination as Minister to that country was confirmed immediately by the United States Senate, and Herr von Eisendecher left Washington. The chapter ended, but the book was far from closed, for the German decree remained in full force.

On March 3, 1891, Congress passed an act providing for the inspection of all meats, under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture.

In reality, however, the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 opened up a way to the solution of the vexed question; and a *modus vivendi* was found by the Hon. John W. Foster, Special Commissioner on the part of the United States, and Baron von Mumm, Imperial German chargé d'affaires, who met on August 22, 1891, and exchanged declarations having in view, on the one part, the importation of German sugar into the United States, and, on the other, the importation of American pork into Germany. As a basis of these declarations the



United States made the admission of German sugar, under No. 16 Dutch standard, free of duty, pursuant to the tariff act of October 1, 1890.

On September 3, 1891, Hon. William Walter Phelps, then United States Minister at Berlin, wired Mr. Blaine:

"The decree repealing the decree excluding American pork has been signed. May I through you congratulate the President that under his auspices the long struggle to secure this right is successfully ended?"

The tariff act of 1894 provided that sugar imported from countries that pay an export bounty thereon was subject to a duty of one-tenth ( $\frac{1}{10}$ ) of a cent per pound additional to the duty provided in the regular schedule. This provision called forth the earnest protest of Germany, whose embassy at Washington declared officially on July 16, 1894:

"While the Imperial Government cannot thus do otherwise than regard the addition of one-tenth of a cent per pound as being at variance with the treaty, the German sugar producers declare, on the basis of accurate computations made by them, that this addition would, in fact, drive out German productions from the American market. The addition, moreover, falls more heavily upon the sugar industry of Germany than it does upon that of other bounty-paying countries, since the German bounty, which, in the year 1897, is to be discontinued entirely, is by no means as high as those of Austria and France, and does not even approximately compensate the exporter for the loss entailed upon him by the additional duty. The excitement which prevails in German agricultural and manufacturing circles on account of this unequitable treatment of a German production is the more vehement and the less easily resisted, inasmuch as it is generally believed that the United States, in the agreement of August 22, guaranteed exemption to Germany from the duty on sugar, in return for the concession of the conventional duties on American agricultural products and the removal of the restrictions on the importation of swine."

The tariff act of 1890 had also imposed an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugars imported from countries that paid an export bounty. Germany does not appear, however, to have protested against it; most likely for the reason that by this act the duty was imposed only upon sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard, whereas by the act of 1894 the sugar schedule was changed to include all sugars in the dutiable list, whether above or below No. 16 Dutch standard. As the major part of the German sugar imported into the United States was not above No. 16 Dutch standard, the effect of the additional duty upon it, under the tariff act of 1890, was, therefore, insignificant. President Cleveland, in his annual message, recommended the repeal of so much of the statute as imposed the additional

duty complained of by the German Embassy; but his request was unheeded by Congress.

While distasteful to Germany, it is hardly probable that the one-tenth of a cent per pound additional duty on sugar would have caused her to take any extraordinary action; but when the Dingley Tariff Act proposed to make her pay an additional duty equal to the net amount of the bounty which she paid to her exporters of sugar, her commercial patience was apparently exhausted. Germany insisted that she would be compelled to regard as defective the premises upon which her declarations had been based in the arrangements made in August, 1891, and would, moreover, be confronted with the question whether those advantages which she had hitherto extended to the United States should be further continued. Germany had formerly maintained that the granting of an export bounty was her own domestic affair;<sup>1</sup> and after the passage of the Dingley Bill her embassy at Washington declared in an official communication to the Department of State that, in consequence of its passage, the Imperial Government protested against "the treaty-violating treatment of German sugar in the United States."

It is an interesting coincidence that almost at the same time that these discussions were being conducted between the officials in Washington, Ambassador White was receiving, in Berlin, from the German Government, reports of results of investigations which had been carried on there, and which had, it was claimed, shown a number of cases where *trichinæ* had been discovered in pork and other hog products imported from the United States during the second half of the year 1896 and the first half of the year 1897. It was also stated that the shipments were in each case accompanied by the prescribed American certificate of inspection.

A vigorous reply from the Secretary of State, Mr. Sherman, supported by the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture, who had made an exhaustive study of German medical history, concluded as follows:

"First—American pork as sent to Germany is practically harmless and certainly far less dangerous than inspected German pork, as is shown by the medical records of Germany. Second—The discovery of *trichinæ* in a few pieces of our pork when re-examined abroad cannot be accepted as evidence of inefficient inspection. The numerous cases of trichinosis in man which have occurred in Germany from eating pork inspected there shows the impossibility of discovering trichinous meat by the first inspection.

<sup>1</sup> The bounty paid to the exporter of sugar in Germany is termed "A bonification of internal tax" paid by the manufacturer.



Third—As American pork is carefully inspected here before shipment, it is unjust to our shippers to require them to pay the expense of a second inspection after it arrives in Germany. This expense, together with the damage from unpacking, exposure, and hastily repacking, is a great obstacle to this important branch of our commerce with the German nation."

Thus the situation had retrograded by 1897 to where it practically was in 1880.

This is, essentially, the history of the long-drawn-out commercial struggle between two great world powers. The San José scale farce may, however, be mentioned in passing. And the expulsion of the American life insurance companies from Prussia was a circumstance which stands alone as a clear case of unadulterated *Brodneid* or "business envy." It may be stamped as one of those measures which cannot be reconciled with the "most favored nation" clause, which governs the economical relations between friendly powers.

Germany has become a huge industrial state. Her need of foreign markets is great; and it cannot be denied that she has reached, and is holding, them. Her internal and external policy tends to that end. The policy of the United States is preëminently one of protection to home industries. If confronted by this as an argument we will promptly admit it, maintaining, at the same time, that there is nothing in such a policy inconsistent with reciprocal arrangements as to trade in any special commodities. What we must object to is the wanton and unjust decrying of our products in the world's markets, either as a subterfuge or for purposes of rivalry.

The controversy on this subject with Germany is futile; since refute, argue, and demonstrate, as much as we may, the American hog will be desirable there only when it is coated with German sugar here. The meat inspection bill which recently passed the Reichstag is legislation of an annoying character, but we must accept it with good grace. I recall that when a committee of German manufacturers complained to Prince Bismarck of the stringent United States Consular regulations regarding invoices, he consoled them with the frank statement that the United States had a perfect right to say how business with her should be transacted. It is, however, a source of some satisfaction that Germany has at last come out in the open, and will not henceforth rely upon star-chamber methods to protect her comparatively few farmers at the expense of her industrial workers.

The more recent reports of our consuls in Germany point to the great irritation there on account of the thorough manner in which the administrative features of the United States tariff law successfully

circumvent all efforts at under-valuation. A cause of great anxiety is said to be the claim that the balance of trade has turned in favor of the United States, and, furthermore, that we are proving an ardent competitor in the foreign markets. The export of textiles to this country, just that branch of industry wherein Germany has worked so hard and accomplished so much through the technical education of her workmen, has fallen off. The French Reciprocity Treaty is regarded as a menace. In view of these facts, the meat inspection bill has, at first glance, a suspicion of effort at retaliation; but an analysis of the vote on the bill shows that it was opposed by the Radical and Social Democratic parties, because of the fear that the absolute prohibition of the importation of sausages and tinned meats, and the restrictions which are placed on other kind of meat, would seriously raise the cost of living among the poorer classes. If this be so, the measure has a marked element of weakness; and any interest which it is possibly intended to injure may rest easy in the firm belief that the burden which it carries will eventually break it down. The bill was opposed also by the Agrarians, their reason being, however, that it was not stringent enough.

In America we do not understand how the jealousies of commercial interests could so have poisoned the minds of statesmen as to prompt such actions in international affairs as have been those of Germany toward the United States. The exclusion of the American life insurance companies was unprecedented, and all the phases of it were simply exasperating. The statement that the balance of trade is largely against Germany and in favor of the United States must be taken *cum grano salis*. The question of trans-shipment of goods arriving at German ports and destined for other countries is an important equation, and one which should be carefully considered. The large difference apparent between our imports from Switzerland and our direct exports to that country is a case in point. In reality, the balance of trade, if we include the indirect shipments to Switzerland via Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Havre, is far less than the statistics would lead us to infer.

The enforcement of our tariff laws should not cause irritation; and honest exporters should not complain of, but rather be grateful for, the safeguards which have been adopted to prevent undervaluation. And what reasonable cause for ill feeling between two great countries can there be at the efforts of the one to compete in foreign markets with the other? Germany has successfully rivalled Great



Britain; and there are many fields in which it will take the United States years even to rival, let alone supplant, her. We consider that the South American markets should be ours, and we intend to do our best to secure the lion's share of them, not by the adoption of extraneous methods, but by earnest efforts to comply with the conditions, and to smooth the way by reciprocal advantages.

The German-American reciprocity negotiations are in an initial stage; so that it is to be hoped that in a relatively short time there ought not to be any alarm on account of the arrangements which we have already concluded with France. Ambassador White has recently stated publicly that the relations between the United States and Germany were never more cordial than they are to-day. Perhaps he and Special Reciprocity Commissioner Kasson have something pleasant in store. The possibility of this is clearly foreshadowed in the recent writings of Consul-General Mason, our leading commercial representative in Germany, when he suggests that matters relating to countervailing duties and port charges shall be regulated, and liberal justice secured to food products by reciprocal concessions. There is no doubt that, while there may be clashing between private parties in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, "the great German heart, like the great American heart, desires peace," and the way to secure it seems to have been pointed out.

WILLIAMS C. FOX.

## SOCIAL REFORM AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

BUT for the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the South African Republics, the approaching general election would have been fought on the question of the taxation of ground-values. The break-up of the Liberal party, consequent on its adoption of Home Rule for Ireland, and the curious development of strong democratic tendencies in the Conservative party—the certain result of its opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy—have wrought a complete change in the party system and menaced its existence. Thoughtful Englishmen do not relish this threatened destruction of party government, and during the present Parliament the spectacle of an Opposition weak in numbers as well as in vitality has alarmed politicians of every hue.

Sir Edward Russell, ex-M.P., and editor of the Liverpool "Daily Post," recently published some reminiscences of his political career, in which he stated as a positive fact, though declining to give his authority, that Lord Rosebery would have formally gone over to the Conservative party but for the personal intervention of the Queen, who feared that his secession would hasten the final break-up of the Liberal party; and destroy government on party lines. Lord Rosebery denied the story, but most people who read the denial felt that it was written in order to relieve the Queen of any responsibility. It is rather a curious commentary on this story that the all-absorbing interest taken in Scotland in the question of taxing land-values has had the effect of almost nullifying Lord Rosebery's influence in his own country, and has aroused against him a strong opposition because of the well-founded belief that he is not sound on the matter.

Neither the Liberal leaders nor their opponents have a definite programme. Hence the impetus given to the movement for social reform, of which the taxation of ground-values is the root. This problem must be dealt with satisfactorily ere any serious change in the social improvement of the working classes can be brought about. Prominent members of the Tory party have given the movement their



hearty support; and its essentially non-party character has done much to bring it into the front rank of "burning questions."

Lord Salisbury foresaw this, and endeavored to give the movement a party color by his declaration that the Liberal party, having no policy upon which to catch the popular vote, would make an attack on property. The strength of the movement so far has lain in the growing needs of the large towns, the growth of taxation, the serious problem of housing the working classes, the provision of open spaces, etc.—matters to which it is very difficult to give a partisan twist. At the same time it is beyond dispute that the Liberal party is much more advanced on this question than its opponents, who are hampered by the great land-owners, Tories for the most part; and there is no doubt that the Liberals would have made it their battle-cry but for the turn events have taken in South Africa.

The most prominent member of the Rosebery section at the moment is Sir Edward Grey, one day sure to be Prime Minister; and he has spoken with no uncertain sound on this question. At the Ninety-Nine Club, on December 14, 1899, he said:

"I do not think that the people of the country at large doubt for a moment that it is desirable and just. I am sure of this, that when you take such a question as Taxation of Land-Values, that party which first masters the question, which first makes it its own, which can show that it is really capable of dealing with it and is really prepared to deal with it, and is not going to let itself be hampered by vested interests in exercising its intelligence upon it freely, will have a great and solid ground upon which to appeal to the country."

These are striking words, coming from one who has held high office in a Liberal Ministry, and represent to a large extent the official Liberal view of the question. The division lists of the House of Commons for May 2, 1900, show Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Henry Asquith, and the ranks of the Liberal members as voting for a motion in favor of taxing ground-values, which in a Tory Parliament was rejected by 42 votes only.

No question of recent years has aroused so much enthusiasm in the ranks of the workers. Indeed, it has come to be regarded as a great moral movement rather than a political one. The conferences held in various parts of the United Kingdom to promote the cause are remarkable for showing this side of the movement, as well as its non-partisan character. At the conference held in Glasgow, last October, there were no less than 216 delegates from English and Scotch Town and County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils, Poor

Law Unions, etc. Many of the delegates were mayors of boroughs, while Lord Carrington and sixty members of Parliament wrote to express their strong approval of the resolutions, which were adopted without dissent. The delegates from non-public bodies, 341 in number, were men prominent in their respective localities, and may be taken to represent the public on the proposals before the conference.

The corporation of Glasgow has before Parliament a bill of its own to enable Scottish burghs to levy a tax of two shillings in the pound on the annual value of all land inside the municipal areas. Recently, a great conference was held in Newcastle-on-Tyne; and despite the fact that public attention has been distracted from social questions by the varying fortunes of the army at the Cape, the public authorities of Northumberland and Durham, and of various other bodies, sent 479 delegates to declare that "owners of land-value should contribute to taxation in proportion to the value of their land." The mayor of the city attended as the delegate of the corporation, and the presence of the Labor members of Parliament gave additional significance to the proceedings. It may be here mentioned that in the Liverpool City Council the writer was defeated by nine votes only on a motion to send a delegate to the Glasgow conference; and the full significance of such a vote will be recognized when it is remembered that the Conservatives have a majority of nearly one hundred members in that body.

Most of the bye-elections since the general election of 1895 have been fought on this question; and the two Edinburgh victories in 1899 gave a tremendous impetus to the movement. All the advanced Liberal journals are constantly advocating the inclusion of this idea in the Liberal programme, when it is drawn up. In fact, the "Speaker" suggests that, for the present, temperance reform and land taxation should be the sole planks in the Liberal platform. The main causes for the interest taken in the land question at this moment are: (1) the gradual decrease in the acreage under cultivation; (2) the crowding of the great cities, with the inevitable casual labor and the concomitant evil of drink; and (3) the bad housing of the poor, which is the certain result of our present unsatisfactory land system.

The following table, taken from the Government returns, shows that since 1870 no less than 6,379 square miles of food-producing land have gone out of cultivation, while the value of land has gone up enormously in all the urban areas. The increase in permanent pasture-land is not to be taken as implying that this is to be devoted to the



rearing of cattle. As a matter of fact, the land on the fringe of all our large towns is kept idle to escape the payment of the very small tax levied on so-called agricultural land, and in the expectation, rarely unfulfilled, of a big increase in value for building necessities :

AREA UNDER CROPS IN 1870 AND IN 1898; Showing a Decrease of 6,379 Square Miles.			
CROPS.	1870. Acres.	1898. Acres.	DECREASE.
			Acres.   Sq. Miles.
Corn.....	11,755,053	8,816,756	2,938,297 = 4,591
Green Crops...	5,107,135	4,261,441	845,694 = 1,321
Grass, Sanfoin, and Clover..	6,320,126	6,211,012	109,114 = 170
Flax.....	218,870	35,391	183,479 = 280
Hops.....	60,597	49,735	10,862 = 17
	23,461,781	19,374,335	4,087,446 = 6,379

The growth of land-values is one of the most wonderful phenomena of the age. Every inch of land between King William's statue and Trinity Square, London, cost £30 10s., or at the rate of £191,000,000 per acre—beyond all doubt the highest price ever paid in England for land. The South Eastern Railway Company was asked at the rate of \$65,000,000 per acre for a piece of ground in Bermondsey, which had a depth of sixteen feet only. The demand was so exorbitant that even a railway company had to pause, finally declining to purchase. In the year 1880 land in Cannon street was sold for \$30 a square foot, and six years later the price of land in this identical street went up to \$75 a square foot—an increase typical of the growth of land-values in London, even in such a short period of time as elapsed between 1880 and 1886.

In 1672, the rental of the corporation property in Liverpool reached the small sum of \$65; to-day it is worth \$62,500,000. Last year, in the principal street of the city, the high-water mark of land-value was reached in the purchase by the Stock Exchange at the rate of \$1,130 per square yard of some land necessary for the extension of its buildings. This sale has done more to bring home to the people of the city the necessity of taxing land at its full annual value than could have been achieved by years of agitation. In Glasgow land has changed hands at the rate of \$390 per square yard; and one could go on giving instances of such increased

values that the recital would read more like a tale from the Arabian Nights than a conservative statement of undeniable facts. The development of our large towns has naturally increased the site value; and as this increased value is brought about solely by the development of the cities, their industries, etc., and as not one farthing is paid by the owners toward local expenses, the strength of the movement to tax this unearned increment lies chiefly in the large towns, though it is rapidly spreading in the smaller ones.

In a well-known portion of Liverpool the Earl of Sefton is the ground landlord. On one estate rates were paid on an assessment of \$200 only. Twenty years ago he sold the estate for half a million dollars, and he still receives an annual income of fifty thousand dollars from the same in the shape of ground rents. This princely income is due to no effort of the noble owner, and he does not contribute one penny to the local exchequer. The development of trade with the United States has given more than a king's ransom to the Earl of Derby, for what was a few years ago a huge sand heap. To accommodate the new steamers which the shipbuilders were turning out to cross the Atlantic in ten days, a period since shortened considerably, the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board bought the sand heap for a huge sum, in order to construct the new docks so familiar to American travellers. A great town has sprung up around these docks, with the result that the land—all belonging to the same owner—went up in price; and as he sells on short leases only he has not merely the enormous sums paid for possession for building purposes, but an annual income, said by competent authorities to exceed half a million dollars per annum, together with the sums received for renewing leases, when he feels inclined to do so, or the value of the buildings erected on the land, which in England fall to the owner of the ground on the expiration of a lease. It is a curious circumstance, that the present mayor of the town is the first single-tax mayor elected in the United Kingdom.

The well-known seaside resort on the northern coast, Southport, is another striking object lesson to the student of this somewhat complicated problem. In 1825 it was valued, under a special act of Parliament, for some legal purpose; and the full value of the town is therein stated to be £205 8s. 8d.—the shillings and pence show how minutely the work was done. Eighteen years afterward it was sold for £262,000, and at this moment is worth £3,600,000. American travellers are familiar with Crewe, the first stop on the railway journey



between Liverpool and London. Here the London and Northwestern Railway has its locomotive works; and the town, which in 1841 had 203 inhabitants only, has now 30,000. The owner of the land sold it to the railway company for \$550 per acre—he had only paid £35 for it a few years before.

The above illustrations will suffice to show that a *prima facie* case has been made out for a searching reform in the matter of compelling owners of land to make some contribution to the expenses of the districts which have made their land valuable. A closer examination of the problem reveals the case for reform to be irresistible. The expenditure of public money in making better streets, providing open spaces, parks, and gardens, securing scientific sanitation, water supplies, quicker transit, and so on, has done more than any other cause to increase the value of land; and it seems monstrous that the average ratepayer has to pay for these necessities and at the same time increase the value of the property of another, for which increase he will have to pay over again, either in house rent or in extra taxation for municipal reforms. County Councillor Crown, of the great ship-building town of Sunderland, gives an instance in his own neighborhood where the local authorities were compelled to spend £25,000 in draining the district, with the result that the land which was only worth £3 per acre before this improvement was effected became worth £45, and realized that amount for building purposes, so that the ratepayer was caught between two fires. This aptly illustrates the fact that every halfpenny spent in making a public improvement raises the cost of land.

During the last four years the Liverpool City Council has purchased the tramways and inaugurated a very complete system of electric traction to the extreme ends of the city, with the result that land not worth five shillings an acre has become worth four and five times that amount.

When the Metropolitan Board of Works spent £2,500,000 in constructing the Thames Embankment, the late leader of the Liberal party, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, admirably summed up the opinion of his party at the time, and the sentiment of a large number of his political opponents:

“We have just been driving along your magnificent Embankment, but at whose expense was that great, permanent, and stable improvement made? Instead of being made, as it should have been, mainly at the expense of the permanent proprietary interests, it was charged, every shilling of it, either upon the wages of the laboring man in fuel necessary for his family, or upon

the trade and industry and enterprise which belong of necessity to a vast metropolis like this. Take, gentlemen, the question of the ground rents of London, those great unearned increments. I rejoice to think that there are among the great proprietors of London now some high-minded and munificent men who do anything they can for the improvement of their property with a free and open hand. But I believe that I should be correct in saying that only within the last half-century any such thing was known, and down to that period their business was simply to receive and pocket the vast earnings of the labor, industry, and enterprise of their fellow-creatures."

When the toll on the Waterloo Bridge was abolished at the public expense, and a sum per week saved to the working classes who used the bridge night and morning, the rent of adjacent houses went up sixpence per week, according to the Protestant rector of the parish; land having acquired an additional value by the removal of a restriction which kept it less valuable than other land in London.

Side by side with this growth of land-value there is the very curious fact that rates and taxes have gone steadily up, and that the indebtedness of the public bodies throughout the country is increasing by leaps and bounds. During the last half century the rates have gone up from two shillings and sevenpence to three shillings and tenpence in the pound; and this in spite of the fact that the grants toward local expenses from the Imperial Exchequer have increased from £650,000 to £15,000,000 per annum, and that the ratable value has also increased from £85,000,000 to £200,000,000. At the present moment the *local* debts of the nation amount to over £6 per head for the total population.

The problem from a rating point of view is a serious one, and everyone interested in the success of local government is deeply interested in its solution. That the burden falls on the working and laboring classes much beyond their ability to bear is fully proved by the unchallenged statement made by the late member for Walworth, that in London alone land worth £418,000,000 paid half a million pounds only in taxation to the Imperial Exchequer, and not a halfpenny to local rates, while the buildings on the same land paid seven millions to local rates, though not worth one-half the value of the land upon which they stood. In other words, the system is an organized tax on commerce and industry.

The lever which has forced this question to the front is its bearing on the housing question. Millions of money are being spent on all sorts of schemes for the settlement of this most vital difficulty, yet we are no nearer to the end. The only people who have benefited by the expenditure have been the slum owners and the ground



landlords, who, like the poor, are always with us. Canon Holland has publicly stated that in London there are eight hundred thousand persons to whom a home is denied, and the same thing may be said of every one of our large towns without exception. Disease, crime, and drink are the evils which must accompany the terrible surroundings in which the working classes, and more particularly that section of them which is inaptly termed unskilled, are forced to herd like cattle in transit. The whole country at this moment is ringing with the demand for a radical reform; for it is recognized by earnest reformers that the drink scourge cannot be cured unless the question of housing is solved. It were economy to do it thoroughly, for these slum dwellers cost the general ratepayer untold sums eventually in the support of workhouses and hospitals. As an example of the terrible waste of human life in these foul dens let me cite the case of Liverpool, where the normal death-rate is 23, while the rate in the insanitary areas has reached at times the appalling total of 60 per thousand—worse in fact than a modern battlefield. There are 12,000 people living in cellars, below the level of the streets, and some ten thousand houses are standing which violate every law of sanitation! “Reeking with filth” is the trite description given by the medical officer of the corporation.

In view of the new agitation for the destruction of tubercular disease, it is interesting to note that 1,186 persons living in the surroundings described above die annually from phthisis alone, and that every form of tubercular disease is rampant in these quarters, inhabited by at least 80,000 people.

Liverpool has spent over £400,000 in endeavoring to grapple with the problem, but so far no change in the death-rate can be recorded. In one instance the corporation put in force Lord Cross’ act for the erection of workmen’s dwellings. To do so they had to purchase 635 slum houses in one area, for which they paid £106,000. The land on which they stood had then to be purchased, and cost the gigantic sum of £17,700 per acre. The ground landlord actually profited by the destruction of the slums, while the residents had to be content eventually with smaller rooms and higher rents.

The experience of the London County Council is particularly instructive. Mr. Pickersgill, M. P., and member of the Council, states that the housing policy of the Council so far has cost from £121 to £169 per head of the persons displaced—not to provide for them, be it remembered, but to destroy their infamous surroundings. The

Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor gave the following recommendation, the most important ever made on this subject :

“ At present, land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centres, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated, not in relation to the real value, but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the actual monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say, 4 per cent on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two-fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the ratable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land, which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent landowners, a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for an industry or expenditure on their part, but the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves. Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that these matters should be included in legislation when the law of rating comes to be dealt with by Parliament.”

These are the points which the public conscience has to solve, and on which public attention was focused, until the unfortunate war in South Africa broke out to draw away, as war always does, the mind of the nation from the victories of peace. Whether or not the general election be fought on the proposed government of the republics as Crown Colonies, it is certain that the taxation of land-values and the housing of the people will, with the temperance question, play a very important part in deciding the result. This is, and must be, the policy to be adopted by the Liberals. A repetition of the *débauche* of 1895 will be the last blow to successful party government ; and a disorganized Opposition, such as the present one undoubtedly is, will in the near future promote the permanent formation of groups, which so far have been the *bête-noire* of English statesmen.

THOMAS BURKE.



## THE SHIPPING SUBSIDY BILL.

NO VERY rich endowment of the gift of prophecy is required to justify the assertion that the present generation will witness a growth of the American merchant marine almost as rapid as has been its decline during the last third of the century. Opportunity, created by industrial conditions, and the will to improve it, stimulated by national pride and the course of political events, have combined to secure the future of our shipping interests. Alone either would be an insufficient guaranty of that future. Our steel and coal furnish the opportunity, but the shaping hand of legislation must be put forth before opportunity can become realization.

While the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress has adjourned without conclusive action in behalf of American shipping, the popular forces demanding such legislation are plainly increasing in volume and intensity. The inspiration of these forces was described by the President in his message of last December to Congress :

“Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. \* \* \* Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the Government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share of the valuable carrying trade of the world.”

The Shipping Subsidy Bill, twice favorably reported to Congress within twelve months, has been challenged at the outset on the ground that it is unnecessary. It is argued that for nearly two years our shipyards have been employed to their full capacity ; that we are able to build steamships as well as they can be built anywhere in the world ; and that with relatively cheap steel and coal the United States is about to resume the position of superiority held in the days of wooden ships and virgin forests. At first blush these captivating statements seem to rest on a basis of solid facts and figures, and, if strenuously maintained, would probably win support among those not disposed to go below the surface in their investigations. Scep-

ticism, however, is at once aroused when those who press this argument couple it with the suggestion that the true remedy for our maritime situation is the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry, because they can be bought in the cheapest market.

With the returns for the month of June estimated, the total additions to our merchant fleet during the fiscal year just closing will amount to about 420,000 gross tons. This figure has been exceeded only once since the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1874, the additions to our tonnage reached 437,000 gross tons. If work on fifty war vessels of 140,000 tons (displacement) be included, marine construction in the United States during the past twelve months has drawn near the output of 1855, the year of our maximum construction, 583,000 gross tons. That amount was virtually double the British construction during the same year. But standards of nearly fifty years ago are of little avail to-day; and were we to attain the production of 1855, we should still be far behind Great Britain, which is now building annually in round numbers a million and a quarter gross tons of steel steamships, practically all intended for the foreign carrying-trade.

With the addition of over 400,000 gross tons to our shipping during the year our tonnage engaged in the foreign trade promises to be no larger on the last day of June than it was a year ago, while our proportion in the transportation by sea of our country's exports and imports promises to be the smallest in our history. Thus far, last year's figures are the smallest recorded. The maritime advance of other nations renders our stationary position in effect a retrograde movement. Our competition with foreign nations for the ocean carrying-trade is in fact steadily diminishing. The activity of our shipyards, on which alone the promise of such competition in the early future is by some delusively held out, is chiefly due to incidents which are wholly dissociated from the causes which affect the general ocean carrying-trade.

The gratifying progress of the year has been wholly within the zone of the coasting trade, which has been preserved by legislation from foreign competition. This zone has been considerably expanded during the past three years. The discovery of gold in Alaska has offered a chance to American vessels, which has given full employment to the tonnage on the Pacific coast; and has attracted steamships from the Atlantic coast; thus leading to new construction. By bringing Hawaii and Porto Rico within the coasting limits, Congress has still



further increased the demand for American shipping; and the high price of bunker coals, which has called into employment deep-sea sailing vessels, in the construction of which we excel, has at least for a time checked the normal decline in sail tonnage.

Joined with these causes, and exceeding any of them, the withdrawal, by purchase or charter, of merchant vessels to serve as transports for the Government has created a demand for new ships, which, with Government construction in progress, has taxed the capacity of our shipyards, and brought about an activity in shipbuilding wrongly taken by some as a sign that we are about to enter into competition with Great Britain and Germany on the ocean. The conclusive proof that without action by Congress such competition is remote may be found in the fact that out of all the vessels built in the United States during the current fiscal year, only one, the "Maracaibo," a steel steamship of 1,770 gross tons, has been built exclusively for the foreign trade; and that vessel is to be operated in conjunction with the mail line under subsidy to Venezuela. The large steamships on which work has begun or for which contracts have been made corroborate, rather than impair, the force of what has been said. The two steamships building for the Pacific Mail, and the three for the Oceanic Steamship Company, will be exempt from foreign competition as far as Honolulu, and will be eligible for mail subsidies under existing law. The three steamships building for the New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company are also eligible for mail subsidy, as will be the two steamships ordered in Philadelphia by the International Navigation Company, in its effort to support an American policy.

The actual progress made in fifteen years toward entrance into the general ocean carrying-trade may be thus summed up: First, Congress, by reserving the coasting trade of the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, has promoted the construction of steel steamships of from 2,000 to 5,000 gross tons, adapted to that trade; second, Congress, by liberal appropriations for the Navy, has caused the establishment of shipbuilding plants capable of producing the largest ocean vessels of naval or commercial types; and, third, by an unscientific mail subsidy act, Congress has brought about the construction of a very small number of first-class merchant steamships for a few lines of trade. To a limited extent we have assembled the machinery and the force of trained mechanics needed to enter into the business of shipbuilding for the foreign or competitive carrying-trade; and there we have abruptly stopped. Within the past four years the relative difference in the cost

of steel here and abroad has diminished, and the number of firms engaged in naval construction has increased, with increased orders for torpedo boats, gunboats, and small cruisers. In other things there has been no appreciable change; but the sentiment for a merchant navy has grown under the stimulus of events during that interval.

In the early months of the present Administration, Senator William P. Frye of Maine, summoned to Washington, of his own motion, a small number of the principal American shipowners and shipbuilders, to consider what could be done to restore the supremacy of the American merchant marine in foreign trade. To the intelligent interest and influence in Congress of Senator Frye the country is indebted for practically all the legislation of recent years in favor of American shipping; and his leadership gave to those joined in the movement a confidence that probably no other man could have inspired. The result of the original meeting was the appointment by Senator Frye of a large committee of Senators and Representatives in Congress, shipbuilders, shipowners, lawyers, and others directly interested in shipping, selected without regard to partisan affiliations, but thoroughly representative of all branches of the business, and conversant with its technical details.

While this body of men may have lacked the dignity presumed to attach to a commission created by Congress, a majority of such a commission, had one been created, would necessarily have been drawn from those selected by Senator Frye; and upon the testimony of these men any Congressional Committee inquiring into shipping would unquestionably rely. These men held radically divergent views; some believing in discriminating duties, some in free ships for foreign trade, some in export bounties, some in construction bounties, some in subsidies exclusively for mail steamships, and others in navigation bounties. The year 1897 was consumed in the collection of information at home and abroad, and in the effort to bring about an agreement upon specific propositions to be introduced in Congress. The destruction of the "Maine" and the imminence of war precluded any action by Congress during 1898; and that year was devoted to the further elaboration of the measure finally agreed upon.

In the absence of Senator Frye, as Peace Commissioner at Paris, the bill was introduced by Senator Hanna and Representative Payne, in 1898, more for the purpose of publishing its provisions and evoking general discussion than with the expectation that it could be acted upon during that session. Extended hearings were held, and with



some amendments the bill was favorably reported to both branches of Congress; Senators Murphy of New York, White of California, and Jones of Nevada, joining with the Republicans. In its amended form the bill was introduced early in the recent session of Congress by Senator Frye and Representative Payne. Even more extended hearings were held; the House Committee holding the bill for the purpose until every one desiring to present his views had the opportunity to do so.

The bill was again reported to both branches of Congress; Representatives Chanler of New York, Small of North Carolina, and Ransdell of Louisiana, Democrats, approving, with Republicans, its method and general plan, but suggesting minor amendments. The friends of the measure have moved with deliberation; have invited the fullest and most general discussion; and have adopted every reasonable means to acquaint the people with its provisions. When Congress reconvenes in December the bill will have been before the country for two whole years. The only logical alternative yet offered for it is the proposition to admit foreign-built ships to the coasting trade as well as to the foreign trade of the United States.

The bill thus framed aims, in brief, to establish in the United States the industry of building all types of ships for the foreign trade, and of promoting their navigation under the flag of the United States, with American crews. The object is thus three-fold and comprehensive. If enacted and successful, it means the harmonious development of the United States into a maritime power second only to Great Britain. Though this development involves expenditure, it will be a wealth-producing process, the return to the nation far exceeding the outlay. The method of the bill is direct. It proposes appropriations from the Treasury, covering in all a period of thirty years, the maximum for any one year not to exceed \$9,000,000. Several years must elapse before the maximum is attained; so that the total expenditures provided for may be put at about \$250,000,000.

The reports of the British Government show that from 1840 to the present time Great Britain and her colonies have expended directly \$240,552,292 on merchant steamships. Concisely stated, the proposition before Congress is that the United States in thirty years shall expend on the development of its merchant marine substantially the same sum which Great Britain has expended in sixty years. By this policy, steadily pursued for many years, Great Britain has firmly established her great steamship lines to all parts of the world; so that less effort is now necessary on her part to maintain such lines. When

conditions in the two countries at the present day are considered, it must be evident that a less vigorous effort sustained by the United States for a shorter time than proposed would be insufficient to produce results, judged by the standard of British achievement.

It is true that the great bulk of the British payments are now made to mail steamships of from 13 to 22 knots' speed, and that the policy of bounties for all vessels has never been adopted by Great Britain. But it is equally true that by these payments Great Britain began the construction of steamships, and sent them under the red ensign as agents for the promotion of British trade to the four quarters of the globe. Moreover, through these subsidies she has maintained her leadership in steam navigation; but the German Empire, by the adoption of a similar policy in recent years, has just begun to dispute that leadership. It is only a half-truth that British subsidies have been paid for political purposes—to bind her colonies more closely to the mother country—and to improve the mail facilities of British merchants. In the pursuit of these purposes, however, fleets of merchant steamships have been created which would not otherwise be in existence; the art of ship-building has been brought well-nigh to perfection; and the Empire, behind its Navy, has a reserve strength equal to almost any situation which the boldest flights of fancy can conceive—a strength adequate to put 200,000 armed men, fully equipped, into a remote part of the world in less than six months.

Whether the United States will be warranted in entering upon an expenditure which will amount during a generation to \$250,000,000 is, however, a question to be determined more by a scrupulous examination of our needs and resources than by a review of what other nations have undertaken. The constitutional right to make such appropriations is based on the powers vested in Congress to provide for the common defence and the general welfare. So strong was the reliance of the founders of our government on the merchant marine as a means of defence by sea that the establishment of any navy was at the outset strongly opposed by some of the ablest among them. The three wars we have fought in less than ninety years have shown the interdependence of the merchant marine and the Navy; and if the dictum of Captain A. T. Mahan be accepted, that interdependence is the general rule of nations. Says that authority :

“History has proved that such a purely military sea power can be built up by a despot, as was done by Louis XIV; but though fair seeming, experience showed that his navy was like a growth which, having no root, soon withers



away. But in a representative government any military expenditure must have a strongly represented interest behind it, convinced of its necessity."

Our very liberal appropriations have already created a navy much greater than our fleet of deep-sea steamships, and superabundantly able to protect all the commerce under the American flag. It is large enough to furnish, with battleships to spare, two cruisers to convoy at equal speed every American merchant steamship trading beyond a radius of five hundred miles from our coasts.

Germany has approached the subject in the other direction; devoting her energies first to the establishment of commercial fleets and to the domestic yards capable of building them, before entering upon an elaborate naval programme. The money we may spend in behalf of the merchant marine is accordingly directly in the interest of the national defence. It will increase our facilities for the building of war vessels, and thus reduce the cost; it will place at the command of the Government auxiliary vessels for military purposes; and in the officers and crews of merchant vessels will provide a reserve ample to meet emergencies. Such expenditures, furthermore, by increasing the trade of the nation, take on the nature of pecuniary investments, from which direct returns are derived by all our people.

In the present condition of our manufacturing industries and agriculture ocean transportation is more closely interwoven with the general welfare of the country than ever before in our history. The consequences to our export interests of a naval war involving either Great Britain or Germany probably could not be brought home to our people except by the event itself. We are absolutely dependent on the vessels of those two nations for the export of our agricultural products, and to a great extent dependent on them for the export of our manufactures. Until there has been a change in international law, the transfer of the merchant vessels of a belligerent to a neutral flag does not secure exemption from capture, unless the *bona fides* of the sale be established. The immunity of the merchant vessels of belligerents from capture, except when carrying contraband articles, a position strongly advocated by the President, must find a place in the code of nations before the United States can feel at all secure of its export trade.

The other and the natural alternative is the creation of our own means of ocean transportation, not subject to detention in a war to which we are not a party. The power of Congress to encourage specific industries, frequently applied during our national life, has

not been thus far exercised to the advantage of the ocean carrying-trade—an industry more distinctly national than any other which can be named, and, therefore, with a higher claim to consideration, while its need of such assistance is concededly greater. Our helplessness, even in peace times, is shown by the fact that it is necessary to charter foreign vessels even for the purposes of government. The process of amalgamation and consolidation, so general in industrial enterprises throughout the world, is to be noted in foreign shipping, especially among the Germans. The apprehension that legislation may create an American “shipping trust,” whether feigned or real, will increase the opportunities for foreign shipping rings, much more difficult to control than domestic enterprises.

It is the particular merit of the bill of Senator Frye and Representative Payne that it affords equal opportunities and encouragement to all Americans to embark in deep-sea ventures. If there be any favor shown, it is to those not already engaged in shipping. To secure the stability of the policy, without which it would be folly to enter upon it at all, the measure provides for the payment of subsidies under contracts between the Treasury and the owners of American vessels. In the case of vessels in existence on the first of last January, these contracts are to run for ten years; while in the case of vessels thereafter to be built the contracts are to run for twenty years. The advantage is thus with the American shipowner of the future. This advantage is enhanced by requiring the owner of an American vessel now in existence to build new tonnage to the amount of twenty-five per cent of that vessel in order to share in the benefits of the bill.

In the direction of “free ships,” the bill provides in effect that all foreign steamships built or building for American ownership on the first of last January shall be entitled to American registry, upon condition that equivalent steamships be built in the United States. The foreign-built vessel, for obvious reasons, is to receive only half the subsidy of the home-built vessel; and both the foreign and the domestic vessels thus registered are to engage exclusively in the foreign trade. These gradations in the amounts and periods of the subsidy are believed to be intrinsically equitable, and best calculated to bring about the general purposes of the bill, which is a steady, but gradual, growth in American navigation and home ship-building, until both have attained a magnitude proportionate in some measure to our great manufacturing industries. It is generally acknowledged that many of these no longer need to rely on the Government; and there is no occa-



sion to doubt that our shipping interests, by the method proposed will in time acquire corresponding strength.

The adjustment of the rates of subsidy to be paid has required painstaking inquiry into all the elements of international competition on the ocean; and if the subsidy principle is conceded, the rates proposed cannot be successfully assailed. Broadly speaking, three elements comprise the problem of successful commercial navigation—the first cost of construction of the vessel, the cost of maintenance, and the cost of operation. In the case of competing nations, as in the case of competing individuals, the sum of these three elements must be approximately the same, or competition cannot long continue. Beyond question, the cost of building steamships is less in Great Britain than elsewhere; and this must continue to be the case until other favored countries can conduct the industry on a large scale. Using the words only figuratively, Great Britain turns out “machine-made” ships, dozens or scores from the same model, while American and German steamships are “hand-made,” two seldom being built from the same plans.

Against the British advantage of construction by wholesale, with the cost of superintendence reduced to a minimum, the lower wages of Germany and the cheaper steel and coal of the United States have been thus far of little avail. By every legitimate device, the German Government, in pursuit of the imperial policy, is endeavoring to reduce the cost of materials and to promote shipbuilding. The United States can confidently look to a growing advantage in the price of materials. There will, however, remain the disparity of wages between the three countries as a handicap to the United States. The American mechanic is doubtless more efficient than his European competitor, and the difference in real wages, based on work performed, is less than in apparent wages. But labor, like capital, is fully efficient only when fully employed; and until there is a steady and large demand for American ships, the efficiency of the mechanics in our shipyards will not counterbalance the larger apparent wages they receive. If there were any force in the contention that American shipbuilders rely on the navigation laws to secure abnormally high prices from American purchasers, and that to-day ships can be built in the United States as cheaply as elsewhere, Bath, Philadelphia, Newport News, Richmond, and San Francisco would now be building merchant vessels for other countries.

The initial cost of construction is carried into the cost of main-

tenance, through much or all of the lifetime of a ship, in the form of interest, amortization or depreciation, and insurance; though this last item is also a factor in the cost of operation. In the cost of operation, the largest variable factor, dependent on nationality, comprises wages and subsistence. Wages on American ships range from 20 to 75 per cent higher than on British ships, according to the nature of the employment; and the statute law requires the American shipowner, under heavy penalties, to furnish to his crew a daily bill of fare practically equal to the standard of living ashore in the United States, and costing fully one-third more than the provisions generally allowed on foreign vessels.

The disadvantages which have thus far precluded Americans from carrying their own exports have been only outlined. The mass of specific facts, relating to the cost of various types of vessels and of operating them, on which these general statements are based, and upon which the subsidy rates were determined, can merely be alluded to in these pages. The examination is believed to have been as thorough, and the testimony as conclusive, as any submitted to Congress as the basis for legislation in some years; and both are certainly more comprehensive and authoritative than have been ever before presented on the shipping question. The conclusion established, which has been made the basis of the bill, is that the rate of one cent per gross ton (100 cubic feet) per 100 nautical miles will equalize the difference in the cost of building in the United States, and of operating under the American flag, at the present time, the average freight steamship as compared with a similar vessel built in Great Britain, and operated under the British flag.

Stated concretely, an average ocean-freight steamship of 5,000 gross tons, carrying each trip about 6,000 tons of cargo, and making, for example, seven round transatlantic voyages, would in a year receive \$21,000, equivalent approximately to 50 cents for each ton of outward cargo carried. That advantage would suffice to start American vessels in competition with foreign vessels, and lead to the construction of such vessels in American yards. As such yards increase their output and obtain steady employment, reductions in the cost of building ships must follow, which will enable American vessels to meet the reduction of freight-rates which new competition would force upon those who now do our ocean-carrying. The benefit of those reductions will be enjoyed by all the export interests of the country. The rate named is slightly below the actual rate proposed



by the measure. To develop as rapidly as possible our control of the trade of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, in anticipation of the Nicaragua Canal, an additional rate of one-half cent per ton per 100 miles for the first 1,500 miles is provided; and this addition, at a constantly diminishing rate, becomes, of course, applicable as a voyage is prolonged.

If the problem were exclusively one of freight transportation, it would be answered by the provisions of the bill already sketched. Fast ocean mail steamships, however, are as much a necessity to the symmetrical development of a nation's foreign trade as the cable and telegraph are necessary supplements in business life to the mails. Such steamships have a recognized place also as auxiliary cruisers in the naval-defence plans of the maritime nations, with which the United States rightfully aspires to rank. It is the uniform policy of foreign governments to maintain such vessels by direct grants from the public funds. They would not exist without such support; for the enormous consumption of coal necessary to develop high speed, and the amount of labor needed to handle it, involve an expenditure far above that of ordinary steamships, and beyond probable receipts from purely commercial sources.

The British, German, and French Governments obtain such vessels by contracts with certain corporations. The notion that these contracts are open to the lowest bidder has no foundation in fact. The same corporations for many years have held the British contracts; for on the uncertain hope of securing a contract British shipowners do not build fast steamships commercially unprofitable. The system, however, creates monopoly. Its best illustration is the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, which owns twenty-five—all but four—of the German steamships of 14 knots or over. The remainder belong to the Hamburg-American Company, which has recently entered into a combination for a division of the German Asiatic subsidy. However desirable such a system may be in Europe, it is not acceptable in this country, and it has been discarded in the preparation of the subsidy bill. The bill creates equal opportunities for all Americans to build and own fast steamships; guaranteeing to the citizen operating one fast steamship relatively the same support as is granted to the corporation operating ten such vessels. This assistance is graded scientifically on the basis of the coal consumed, which is a measure of the cost of speed.

Furthermore, the special encouragement afforded to fast steam-

ships has been fixed after a careful comparison with the British and German subsidies. That the special allowance to fast steamships—outside the subsidy allowed on even terms to all vessels—is not extravagant will be clear from this statement: The eleven British mail steamships of the Cunard and White Star lines, which made 113 voyages during the fiscal year 1899, received in mail pay and Admiralty subsidies \$1,041,500. Precisely similar American steamships, if they existed, making the same voyages, would receive as offset to that amount, under the subsidy bill reported by General Grosvenor, the sum of \$1,052,090, a difference of less than \$11,000.

The subsidies to the Peninsular and Oriental, the North German Lloyd, the Messageries Maritimes, and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha steamship lines, connecting the Mediterranean coast of Europe with China and Japan by way of the Suez Canal, are greater than those proposed by the subsidy bill; and the chance for American competition lies in the exemption of the direct transpacific route from canal tolls. For corresponding steamships the entire subsidy proposed barely equals that paid to the Canadian Pacific line from Vancouver to Asia. The number of ocean screw-steamships of 14-knots or upward constitutes only seven per cent of the world's sea-going tonnage. Lloyd's Register for 1899 records only 362; and the great majority of these exist by virtue of legislation at least as liberal as is proposed in the bill before Congress. The feigned apprehension that the subsidy bill will give fast steamships an undue advantage is, therefore, completely refuted by the statistics of shipping.

If the necessity for some legislation and the equitable method of the subsidy bill be conceded, it remains to be determined whether the results will warrant the inauguration of the policy proposed. In estimating these results, there are certain fixed facts upon which the advocates of the policy have proceeded. During the calendar year 1899, American steamships to the number of 110, aggregating 223,341 gross tons, made foreign voyages for which, under the bill, they would have been entitled to \$2,111,359 subsidy; and 962 sailing vessels, aggregating 553,000 tons, made foreign voyages for which they would have been entitled to \$706,313. Between this total of \$2,817,672 and the \$9,000,000 maximum a large margin remains for the growth of our shipping. At the present time the transportation by sea of our exports, weighing in round numbers 28,500,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, requires the steady employment throughout the year of about 3,200,000 gross tons of steamships and 1,000,000 gross tons of



sailing vessels; and in freight and fares the ocean carrying-trade of the United States may be valued at \$175,000,000. The maximum of \$9,000,000 will provide for the operation of 1,000,000 gross tons of steamships and 700,000 gross tons of sailing vessels—a tonnage equal to the transportation of one-third of our exports at the present time. The sail tonnage will be exclusively of domestic construction. The steam tonnage will comprise about 250,000 tons already in existence, 350,000 tons of foreign vessels to be admitted to the flag, and 400,000 tons to be built in the United States.

When it is borne in mind that, as stated, during the fiscal year just closing we built only one steamship, less than 2,000 tons, exclusively for the foreign trade, the growth of shipbuilding required to bring the bill to its full operation is manifest. It is a moral certainty that the building of these 400,000 tons, meaning over \$50,000,000, to be spent by private parties on labor and materials, will increase our experience, efficiency, and economy in such construction as rapidly as our appropriations for the Navy during the past sixteen years have enabled us to acquire those qualities as the builders of warships. These are the qualities now needed, in addition to our increasing advantages in the relative cost of materials, to enable us to surpass Germany and approach Great Britain as a commercial maritime power. With their attainment will come cheaper construction in the United States, compared with foreign prices; and, as construction increases and cost lessens, the need of legislative assistance will inevitably diminish.

The probability of the enactment of the Shipping Subsidy Bill lies in these facts: (1) that the growth of manufactures and agriculture have given to ocean transportation a position in the minds of the people hitherto held almost exclusively by railroad problems; (2) that industrial conditions insure its success; and (3) that the bill itself is the result of more thorough investigation than the subject has ever before demanded and received.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

## THE PASSION PLAY AT OBERAMMERGAU.

DURING the summer months culture, in its widest sense, will be focused at two points upon the European Continent. At one place, Paris, the material opulence of modern life, with its noisy splendor and spectacular attractiveness, will be presented; at the other, Oberammergau, a peaceful and quiet Alpine village, a legacy of the deeply religious life of former times will be transmitted to us in the form of an impressive play.

It is of the latter, the Passion Play, that I wish to speak; and to do this understandingly a retrospect of the early history of the drama among the Indo-Germanic races is essential. In Paris to-day church and theatre are widely separated, as indeed they have been from the golden age of France to the period of her decadence. But, among the Germanic nations, church and theatre have been combined for centuries as centres of culture and education; and in view of this fact the play at Oberammergau acquires a deep historic significance, for it constitutes the last surviving relic of the religious drama of mediæval times.

The original form of the religious drama, both among the Germanic and the Romanic peoples, is identified with the Easter message of the angel at the brink of the grave, as related in the Epistle of St. Mark, chapter xvi, and quoted by Goethe as the symbol of a higher union in Faust — "Christ is Risen." The extraordinary dramatic power of this simple meeting was evolved from the ritual of the Church into the basic scene of a Christian drama. The "responses" of the Catholic service contained the nucleus of the dialogue; and when later, three priests, symbolizing the three Marys, advanced to the crypt, where they were met by a fourth, personifying the angel, the Biblical text, no longer epic-didactic, resolved itself into dramatic action. True, the service was still sung in Latin; but the process of events explained itself, and was now for the first time clearly understood by the congregation. And, finally, when Christ entered triumphantly with the labarum, while the dove,



as the symbol of union with God the Father, descended from on high amid the jubilant "hallelujahs" of the choir, the foundation of the music-drama among the Christian nations was laid.

These dramatic episodes of the ritual gradually acquired greater independence, and became disunited from the actual service. Purely secular and, occasionally, humorous incidents were introduced; and, in course of time, owing partly to the scruples of the clergy and partly to the increasing number of spectators, these representations were removed from the church itself and transferred to the churchyard or the market-place. By the beginning of the thirteenth century a new and complete Easter play had been thus evolved from the religious ceremonies of Eastertide.

Other portions of the Scriptures were soon added; the Passion of Christ eventually becoming the favorite theme. The most characteristic element here furnished by the Catholic service—the Lamentation of the Virgin—was, however, lyrical in its nature. This *motif* had already at an early date become emancipated, like the Easter celebration, from the ritual of the Church, and had further been converted by the minnesingers, then in their glory, into an independent poem. The Lamentation of the Virgin at the Cross, at first purely a monologue, upon the appearance of John the Baptist became dialogue, here again assuming the form of a minnesong; and when, finally, the words of Christ were added a scene arose which became fully incorporated into the Passion Play.

Another component and interesting feature of the Passion performances is the Magdalene play, which, in the Erlau version, constitutes an independent part; in the Benedictbeuren version, a broad episode; and in one of the Vienna plays, a whole act. The Magdalene here forms a contrast to the figure of Christ; standing forth as the embodiment of man's fall through sin—to be atoned through the suffering of Jesus. These great religious dramas, which, in addition to the Passion, contained the Magdalene play, the Lamentation of the Virgin, and the Easter play, and which, at a later period, were still further amplified by the addition of the Christmas and the Three Kings performances, were given in Germany from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; and numerous manuscripts, still extant, give evidence of their great popularity. They were, however, by no means confined to Germany, having been known in France as *mystères*, and in England as "mysteries," a name still preserved in the occasional German title "Mysterien."

The Passion Plays have everywhere elicited a greater interest than that attaching to any other form of the sacred drama, and have consequently, with continuous modifications, survived to the present day. They were distinctively sacred operas, and revealed a close identity with the Easter celebration. In the early period the action was meagre, while the dialogue was almost exclusively Latin, and in the strict ritualistic style, for nearly every part was sung. In a few instances only the Latin incantation was followed by the German translation, which scarcely ventured to emancipate itself from the metre of the original Latin text.

The first independent German interpolation was a Lamentation or a Magdalene part; the oldest text, "*Ludus Paschalis, sive de passione Domini*," being found in the ancient monastery of Benedictbeuren, in the vicinity of Oberammergau. There was no attempt at dramatic construction, however, until about the fourteenth century, when a Vienna play with Latin and German text appeared. The manuscript of another great play, dating from the fourteenth century, and given in a consecutive performance of two days at Frankfort-on-the-Main, has, unfortunately, almost entirely disappeared, the leader's score only being preserved. Yet this score, in connection with several contemporaneous productions associated with it, suffices to afford a general insight into the composition of the work. It embraces the life of Christ from the Baptism to the Resurrection, and is founded upon a homogeneous, artistic plan. Each act begins and ends with a chorus; and the German language is used extensively, although in many instances serving only as a spoken translation of the vocalized Latin.

The emancipation of the play from the ritual was not established until the fifteenth century, when a number of independent dramas modelled upon a grand scale were produced at St. Gall, Frankfort (1493), Alsfeld, and Heidelberg; the last three being based upon the before-mentioned Frankfort drama of the fourteenth century. In all these productions the plot was presented with painful exactness. Every action was accompanied by words. The spectator became completely absorbed in each situation of the sacred story; and the scenes, as in the case of certain sermons of that day, were based upon traditional legends and Biblical parallels.

At that time the Passion Play had reached the zenith of its development. A fixed tradition had become established both as to form and content; and even a peculiar mode of stage construction



had become developed—a mode based partly upon the crypts, altars, and galleries of the church, and partly upon conditions of natural environment as conceived by the author. Fortunately, several of these plans of stage construction have been preserved, while the text-books, which were circulated from place to place, are still in existence.

As regards the number of performances, South Germany has always taken the lead. In 1496 a play lasting two days was performed at Sterzing in the Tyrol; and in 1414 another, extending throughout a period of seven days, was given at Bozen. Especially popular, however, was the Passion Play in Switzerland, where performances were given far into the period of the Reformation. In this connection it is only necessary to recall the great festival at Luzerne. Heidelberg, also, was a great centre of the religious drama; and here (1513) we first find the Old-Testamentary prefigurations, which appeared as prologues, epilogues, and intermezzi.

The further development of the sacred drama since the fifteenth century is closely associated with the genesis of the play at Oberammergau. A splendid work on this subject was published in 1880 by August Hartmann; and the labors of this renowned investigator have since been ably supplemented by Karl Trautmann. According to these writers, a tradition of the Oberammergau peasantry traces the beginning of their play—or “G’spiel,” as the Bavarian dialect has it—back to the year 1633, when Oberammergau was stricken with a “pestilential contagion.”

The Passion Play that the people of Oberammergau have since played, however, was furnished to them by the clergy of the Imperial monastery of Ettal. It originated at Augsburg, from which city an old commercial highway led over the mountains to Innsbrück and Venice. As one of the principal relay-stations on this route, Oberammergau gradually acquired many interesting products of culture, among them being the oldest existing text of the present play, preserved in a manuscript of 1662. According to this, the play was a combination of an Augsburg passion by St. Ulrich and Afra (fifteenth century) and a mastersinger play by Sebastian Wild (Augsburg, 1566). It is positively known that from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century many Easter and Passion plays were performed at Augsburg; and an interesting relic of this time, an Easter-Saturday service, has recently been brought to light.

The traces of the Latin Resurrection-plays and of the Lamentations are distinctly discernible also in the Passion by St. Ulrich. Its

connection with the Eger production of the fourteenth century is manifest throughout; while further relationships may be traced to a Thuringian drama of 1391, a Bohemian, a Herzingen of the fifteenth century, and the celebrated Passion of Alsfeld. The Oberammergau play may be accepted as a type embodying the salient features of all the sacred dramas of mediæval times. One of its constituent parts, for example, the Augsburg Passion, with its simplicity of expression and manly utterance, transports us into the midst of German mediævalism, and recalls the rugged strength and unquestioning piety of that distant period. Indeed, so powerful are the main features that we gladly overlook the prolixity of detail.

In the Augsburg play a number of scenes also suggest the mediæval stage, with its tripartite construction, the *raison d'être* of which has not yet been clearly ascertained. In singular contrast to this disposition of all localities side by side is the limited scenic arrangement in the mastersinger play by Wild. In St. Ulrich's Passion each scene, as, for instance, the prayer at the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, and the Interment, could be locally represented—an impossibility upon the mastersinger stage, where numerous episodes were merely recited after the fashion of an epic poem.

These two Augsburg versions, the Passion Play and the Mastersong, were skilfully united by an unknown hand. The former, "Die Passionstragedi," was given in its original form as late as 1662. In 1680, however, an addendum of fourteen pages was inserted; and this supplement, found pasted in the original play-book, was borrowed from a Passion by Johann Aelbl, performed at Weilheim in 1600. Aelbl's work also was based on earlier models, such as the Zurich Passion of 1545—by the celebrated mastersinger Jacob Rueff—the two Freiburg plays of 1599 and 1604, and the Luzerne production of 1494, the last mentioned showing traces of still more remote origin. All these constituents survive in the Oberammergau version of to-day.

In Aelbl's play allegories are already introduced; and in the version of 1680 the soul is personified in five different ways. From then until 1750 we note a marked transformation as to form. Both the Passion and the Mastersong conception became influenced by the Jesuit drama and the Italian opera. Just as the Gothic church at Ettal was rebuilt in the rococo style, so the Passion of Christ was now glossed over and gilded with the veneer of the eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1750 Father Ferdinand Rossner, of Ettal,



prepared a revised version of the play, which was adopted at Dachau in 1760, and later also at Erl, in the Tyrol; and the general form of the present Oberammergau drama dates from that period. The words, music, nine treatises, and eighteen prefigurations, as existing to-day, may all be traced to the middle of the eighteenth century, as may also the explanatory choruses, the arias of the "guardian spirits," and the numerous allegories culminating in the greatly overlaid apotheosis of Christ. While many salutary excisions have already been made, further careful pruning and revision, at the hands of an experienced artist, would, in this age of impartial historic research, undoubtedly be justifiable.

The repeated interdicts issued against the Oberammergau play have, on two occasions, seriously menaced the continuance of the performances. In 1770 even the petitions of the community could not procure a revocation of the order for their suppression; and not until the accession of Karl Theodor was a new concession granted, and that only with the express understanding that all objectionable features would be abrogated. On this occasion the unimportant changes were again undertaken by a clergyman of Ettal, Magnus Knipfelberger. In 1801 another prohibitive mandate was issued, and remained in force until 1811, when the reigning king, Franz Joseph, finally yielded to the entreaties of the indefatigable George Lang; Father Ottmar Weisz having in the meantime remodelled the verse.

In 1815 Weisz again undertook an improvement of the text, which was set to the chaste and simple music of Dedler. By this time the allegories had entirely disappeared, while the Alexandrines of the eighteenth century had been supplanted by an unostentatious prose version. In 1830 King Ludwig, that Mæcenas of the arts, stamped the performances with his personal approval, the venerable Goethe having previously spoken his "placet." This favorable movement was followed, twenty years later, by the publication of Edward Devrient's work, which attracted the widest attention, particularly in Protestant North Germany. Since then it has become fashionable for both believers and unbelievers to undertake an occasional pilgrimage to Oberammergau.

As we journey to Oberammergau, Munich, with its ancient and modern art treasures, lies behind us. The train rushes along the borders of the "Starnberger See" toward the mountains, whose misty outlines are faintly visible in the distance. At Mundl, where

a branch road has this year been opened, cars are changed, and we are swiftly carried past the broad green slopes of Mundl and Kofel to our destination. Many changes for better or worse have taken place here within the last decade; but the kernel remains intact. The parsonage is still surrounded by trim white cottages, with far-projecting roofs and shingles, and with quaint façades ornamented with rococo paintings in the Italian style. Here is still the so-called "House of Pilate," revealing, upon its architecturally enframed panels, "Christ before Pilate" and the "Resurrection." Most of these frescoes, it is said, were painted by a native of Oberammergau, the distinguished Franz Zwink, dubbed by his fellow-townsmen "der Lueft'lmaler."

Oberammergau is quite an artistic centre in its way. Wood-carvings of every description are annually sent forth from the little cottages here to every part of the world; and the crucifix-carver of Oberammergau is almost as well known as the Passion Play itself. Men, women, and children may here be seen congregated about their narrow work-tables busily engaged in carving multifarious designs, ranging in character from crucifixes and images of the saints to Moorish kings, elephants, oxen, asses, peasant dolls, and lords and ladies in old-fashioned garb; and among this motley aggregation we may not infrequently discover productions of real artistic value—fine carvings of white wood recalling the creations of the mediæval artisan. These wares were formerly vended by the natives, who journeyed abroad with their packs, and thus acquired a fund of new impressions. But the conditions here, as elsewhere, have now changed; and the commerce in these goods is conducted by agents whose connections extend to Russia, Denmark, Spain, and even across the ocean to South America.

Yet, after all, the interest of the community centres in the play. All are dominated by this one idea, and spend their time in preparation. The whole village participates in the performance. Every individual must experience the sacred story in his own way, and seek to identify himself with the rôle assigned to him. More particularly is this true of the leading actors in the drama. In addition to the necessary physical and mental endowments, a blameless life is here regarded as a primary requisite; and, in this connection, one learns that the assignment of very inferior rôles was formerly regarded as a sort of punishment.

The stage management, formerly in the hands of Ettal clergy-



men, is now in charge of professionals; and this applies also to stage construction, decorations, and costumes. The financial department is conducted by a "Passion Committee," to which a supplementary "Bureau of Residences" has recently been added. Indeed, all departments are now organized upon a grander scale; and rates have greatly increased in consequence. On the other hand, better seats and ampler accommodations may now be secured. During the coming season, nineteen hundred rooms, furnished with thirty-five hundred beds, will be at the disposal of guests; and the auditorium will hold about four thousand persons. Formerly only a comparatively small portion of the theatre was enclosed, the spectators, for the most part, sitting in the open. At that time fully six thousand persons could be accommodated; and the impression was that of a great popular gathering. But exposure to the weather during a nine-hour performance was by no means a pleasant experience; and to obviate the difficulty a large hall has now been erected. This hall, which in appearance is not unlike one of our unsightly railroad stations, is spanned by six towering arches, each of which is forty-three metres broad and twenty metres high, but the stage still remains uncovered.

According to an ancient custom, the dawn of the festival is announced at three o'clock in the morning by a general reveille upon the drum. Soon the bells begin to peal, while the band marches through the village. At six o'clock high mass is celebrated with music; and after this, from every nook and corner of the village, one may perceive costumed figures hurrying to the theatre-meadow.

On entering the theatre one sees before him an open proscenium. There is but one curtain, and that upon the central stage; and the mediæval decorations and tripartite construction are discernible. It is the Renaissance stage of Shakespeare and of the Italian opera. Nevertheless, certain features still suggest the theatrical framework of the mediæval Passion; the time-honored method of detailed localization being preserved, for instance, in the balconied houses of Annas and Pilate, situated respectively at the right and left wings of the proscenium. This arrangement, whereby six distinct localities may be simultaneously presented, is borrowed from the mediæval Passion, and has been adopted by Otto Devrient in Goethe's *Faust* and Goetz von Berlichingen, and by Ernst Possart in representations of Shakespearian plays involving complicated and intricate changes of scenery.

As the construction of the Oberammergau stage occasionally recalls the Attic theatre, so the chorus entering from both sides also strongly suggests antique models. The direct prototype of the Oberammergau chorus, however, was the mediæval "Proclamator," or, more directly perhaps, the herald of the mastersingers. As it is, each of the eighteen dramatic tableaux is enframed within a lyric commentary, effective or tedious as the case may be.

Inasmuch as the text-book of the forthcoming performances has not yet appeared, a detailed description of the action is not feasible. I shall, therefore, confine myself to an exposition of the principal features. Here, first and foremost, the entry of Christ into Jerusalem must be regarded as especially powerful. What tumultuous throngs of people are here presented! Hosanna! resounds behind the scenes; the curtain of the central stage rises, and we gaze far into the distance; for the background to the picture is here formed by the sunlit hills of Oberammergau. Groups of children, bearing palm-branches, now throng to the front of the scene, followed by men and women, young and old, in endless procession, swelling in numbers as they approach the proscenium, and, with gaze directed backward, waving palm-branches in greeting to Christ, who now appears in the background with His Apostles. The head of the procession disappears behind the scenes of the central stage only to emerge in the adjacent streets on both sides. Here the crowds, now compactly massed, enter the town-gates, and then pass obliquely across the foreground, where they take their stand.

Meanwhile, our gaze is directed to still another avenue, along which the high priests and scribes may be seen advancing. Indeed, throughout the entire first chorus we behold the surging of the festal multitudes until, finally, Christ appears in the broad circle of the outer stage and descends to address the multitude. "Every detail," as Edward Devrient remarks, "is conducted with a remarkable delicacy of sentiment." While the address is in progress, the curtain of the central stage is closed, so that the temple court, with the tables of the traders and money-lenders, may meanwhile be arranged. The scene opens, and Jesus enters to disperse the violators of the temple. Here again we find a magnificent ensemble—the confusion and anger of the traders whose money-tables have been overturned; the fluttering away of the liberated sacrificial doves; in the midst of all Christ in an attitude of lofty indignation; and in the foreground the scribes, wroth at the proceeding of Jesus, whom the multitude applaud.



"All these complex groups [says Edward Devrient], though loud and vehement in their denunciation or approbation, are nevertheless clear and definite in expression. There is not the slightest suggestion of inarticulate noise; and Christ's address is clearly distinguishable throughout. Thus, while every feature is distinctly characteristic, the tout-ensemble is vivid and impressive."

One of the most striking features of this representation is the complete absence of statists, or mute performers. All participate in the action; and even the children speak and gesticulate. Says the director of the famous Meiningen troupe:

"The grouping of dense masses of the populace as here accomplished is a truly marvellous achievement. When the great difficulty of producing such effects with the well-drilled corps of our court-theatres is considered, even the most skilful manager cannot but stand abashed before the artistic sense, indefatigable diligence, and unity of effort characterizing the performances of these simple country folk."

Although somewhat deficient from the standpoint of high histrionic art, these performances impress us by their naïve simplicity and deep sincerity of purpose. Indeed, wherever an effort has been made to instruct these good people in the technique of acting, the charm has been broken, and the insufficiency of the achievement has become painfully evident. Less effective are the living pictures elucidated by the chorus. The idea is in accordance with traditional typology; but the execution is rarely effective from an artistic point of view, while the parallels, or points of comparison, are frequently inappropriate. Moreover, the action is interrupted by these intermezzi, which greatly extend the play, and render the performance of the Passion fragmentary.

And yet the multitudes that assemble here patiently remain throughout a performance lasting continuously from eight in the morning to half-past five in the evening. HANS DEVRIENT.

## HAWAII'S REAL STORY.

THE Hawaiian nation as a nation had hardly begun—back in the years when the various islands were consolidated under the regency of the first Kamehameha—before the movement was started which was to end in the utter dissolution of the kingdom nearly eighty years later. The beginning of this movement was made with the son of the first king, the chief Liholiho, who succeeded to the throne as Kamehameha II. At the time of his accession he was but a youth, 22 years of age. He was proud, impulsive, wilful, the true type of a Polynesian autocrat, brooking no opposition, and holding himself above the laws he himself promulgated. In many things he was the slave of his passions; and he openly violated the sacred Kapu, the ordinance of the priesthood, by which very many things were forbidden—a custom from which comes our word “taboo.” In violating this, the most sacred institution known to that people, he unwittingly took the first step in the series of events that have led to the Hawaiian Islands becoming part and parcel of the territory of this Republic.

This step was soon succeeded by one fully as important in preparing the way for the advent of those influences destined to fit the people for the great political and social changes which have since taken place. The second step forward out of the gloom of absolute heathendom and gross superstition was the wholesale destruction, in the spring of 1820, of the idols and temples; and it followed closely upon the defeat in pitched battle of those who still clung to the ancient “Kapu,” and who had risen in futile revolt against the new order of things. Then there landed on the shores of Hawaii the first of those who had been sent from the extreme eastern borders of the United States to preach the Gospel of Christ to a people who, by their own act, had cast aside the lowest form of idolatry, and were without any form of religious belief.

The arrival of these persons at this particular time, *i. e.*, just when the people were destroying the symbols of an idolatrous form of worship, was an event without parallel in the history of the world.



From the moment the first American missionaries landed on the shores of Hawaii from the little brig "Thaddeus"—which, considering her mission, may be called the "Mayflower" of the Pacific—the work finally leading to the annexation of those isles to the United States steadily progressed. But the influences bringing about so momentous an event worked slowly, silently, and, for the most part, unsuspectedly in their trend for many years. In fact, it is only in the light of retrospection that it can be now seen that actually they were at work as early as I have indicated.

The first Kamehameha ruled the lands by right of conquest; having invaded and subdued them in succession from Hawaii, at the southeast of the chain, to Oahu, at the northwest, stopping short of Kauai—the "Garden" Island—a hundred miles still further to the northwest. The chief who ruled the latter, though he had nominally given his adherence to Kamehameha I, was still styled "King of the Seaward Isle" (*i. e.* Kauai and Niihau) by foreign powers. This title rankled in the breast of the great conqueror's successor, who resolved to extinguish it; so he "annexed" the island—diplomatically.

The annexation was dramatic, too; for, setting sail from Oahu in a small vessel, with but few retainers, as if on pleasure bent, the king suddenly, when off the north point of Oahu, commanded the helmsman to steer for Kauai. In spite of the protests of all his retainers, who feared his captivity and death on landing; in spite of his own ignorance of the exact location even of the island; and in spite of the hundred miles of stormy water to be traversed, he held on, and landed safely; and, contrary to all expectation—other than his own—he was received cordially by the chief, Kaumualii, whom he intended to depose.

Not only was his reception friendly, but Kaumualii of his own accord offered to turn over to Kamehameha's authority his fort and gems, as well as his "many men, muskets, and powder." The king, who had voluntarily placed himself at the mercy of the chief, must have felt relieved at this display of magnanimity; and he repaid it by inviting his powerful subject on board his vessel, and then carrying him away, an honorable prisoner of state, to Oahu, where he was compelled to marry the widow of his king's father, the dowager Queen Kaahumanu, while the king made one of his own adherents governor of the island he had so diplomatically acquired.

The last act of this ruler was in keeping with his whole life.

He resolved, in 1824, to visit England and the United States "to see for himself" what were the effects of laws based on Christianity in the countries from which came his present teachers. But in England his visit was terminated by the death of himself and his consort. Though the royal pair could not inform their people of what had been told to them, the respect shown by the English Government to the remains of their late royal guests, which were brought to the islands in a Government vessel, produced a profound impression on the minds of the chiefs and the people—convincing them that in following the instructions and advice of their foreign teachers they had begun to take a place among the civilized nations of the world.

But the feelings engendered by the kindly actions of the British Government and people, on this and other occasions, could not diminish the stronger sentiments of love and veneration which the islanders felt toward those who had come to them from the United States, as the pioneers in the work of Christianizing and humanizing them by daily example and precept. The influence of those missionaries, whose numbers were increased from time to time, was naturally felt in affairs of state as well as in religious matters. In the latter it was paramount, but in all temporal concerns they were consulted. In his "History of the Sandwich Islands," Jarvis says that "although the missionaries erred in judgment on some points, the general influence of their body was to enlarge the liberty of the subjects."

As time went on there were those among the British residents who foresaw the further introduction of republican principles, and, as a natural consequence, the final absorption of the islands into the American Union. To counteract this influence they introduced into the islands, in 1827, priests of the Roman Catholic Church. But this move reacted on its originators; for the priests selected and sent out came from France, and their acts well-nigh led to the supremacy of that nation in the islands. This would probably have been the result had the new form of faith met with popular favor. For a while the religious controversy that ensued between missionary and priest raged furiously; and many of the things said and done, by over-zealous partisans on both sides, could not fail to shake the belief of the simple-minded natives in the meekness, forbearance, and brotherly love of their Christian teachers. But the final outcome, as affecting the liberty of the subject, was the securing to him of perfect freedom to worship God, without interference by the state.



This right, with others, was accorded to them in the first constitution, promulgated by Kamehameha III, in 1840. Besides guaranteeing freedom of conscience to all, this instrument provided for the annual election by the people of a certain number of representatives "to sit in council with the chiefs, and establish laws for the nation." The chiefs spoken of constituted the "Upper House," and for many years the two classes of lawmakers sat together as the legislature.

Thus, a quarter of a century from the consolidation of the government of the islands under the supreme rule of Kamehameha I, who lived and died an idolater, and twenty years after the introduction of Christianity into the islands, the people were living under an intelligently administered monarchy—nominally limited, though actually autocratic. Such was the status of the government and the people of "Hawaii-nei" (*i. e.*, the group collectively) at the close of what may be called the first step in the process of absorption into the territory of the United States.

During the next period of 24 years the progress made in educating the people in self-government—republicanism—was hardly perceptible. This was due in a great measure to the fact that during much of that time the autonomy of the kingdom was seriously imperilled through certain acts of British and French residents and official representatives. Thus, for example, in 1842, while the United States acknowledged the independence of the kingdom, the commander of a British war vessel and the British consul compelled Kamehameha III to cede the islands to the British Government; and the English flag was hoisted over the fort at Honolulu. But, as soon as it was intimated that this act was considered an "unfriendly" one, because the United States had but a few months before acknowledged the independence of the kingdom, the islands were restored to their king, the Hawaiian flag was rehoisted and saluted, and four months later the independence of the kingdom was recognized jointly by England and France.

In those troublous times the most conspicuous figure in the ranks of the "Missionary Party," as the body of pioneer missionaries and their friends began to be called, was Doctor Gerritt P. Judd, who had accompanied the second party of missionaries as practising physician. From the time of his arrival Dr. Judd displayed so much ability in his profession, so much energy of mind and body, and so much tact and shrewdness in advising upon political and social affairs, that he was, in 1842, constrained to take office

under the Government as Minister of Public Instruction. Upon doing so he severed his formal connection with the body of missionaries, in compliance with the general policy of the Missionary Board which forbade its agents engaged in spiritual work to take formal part in secular affairs outside of their own earthly concerns.

During the succeeding ten years Dr. Judd became chief adviser to the king; and during the temporary cession of the islands to Great Britain he concealed and guarded the public archives, and practically set at defiance the British naval officer and consul. He was Minister of Public Instruction, of the Interior, and of Finance, and, as such, virtual ruler of the kingdom. In 1849 he was sent to the United States on a diplomatic mission, taking with him Lot Kamehameha and Alexander Liholiho, nephews of Kamehameha III, who occupied the throne afterwards as Kamehamehas IV and V; and upon the return of the party he resumed his duties in the administration. But, as it became evident as time went on that Dr. Judd was determined to concentrate all the power in himself, a mass meeting was held, in 1853, and a committee from that body demanded of the king, and obtained from him, Dr. Judd's dismissal from office, and honorable retirement to private life.

At the time, his retirement was looked upon by the body of men and women he represented as a severe blow to their hopes and aspirations. They had so long identified themselves with the Hawaiians that they had come to look with jealousy and misgivings upon the advent and influence of foreigners not directly connected with the Missions. In a certain sense they looked upon the native people as their own—people whom they had led out of the bondage of idolatry, and to whom they had imparted the knowledge of their having souls and of how they might be redeemed. All this, they felt, had been done with such good results that, in 1870, on the fiftieth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity, they concluded that the time had come for declaring, officially, that their "missionary" work had been accomplished, that the people had been enlightened and Christianized, that spiritually they were able to stand alone, and that in spiritual affairs they needed no longer to be regarded as the wards of the American Board of Missions, or, in political matters, as the wards of any foreign power.

They believed, as a body, that the land—a goodly heritage—was for the Hawaiians, and that it should remain so forever; not realizing that while the race was being elevated, spiritually and mor-



ally, to a high plane of intelligence, it was decaying physically, and that the loss of its autonomy was, therefore, near at hand. They did realize, however, that, though firmly grounded in the Christian faith and in the tenets of self-government, the Hawaiians were easily blown about by every wind of political and religious doctrine, and would always need their (the missionaries') counsel and advice. But those sturdy pioneers felt that their day was drawing to a close; and they began to look to their sons to succeed them in the supervision of affairs, both spiritual and temporal. To prepare them for this work, by far the greater number of the young men were sent for their higher education to the United States, of which they were "citizens," though born on foreign soil; and there they fitted themselves for the practice of law or medicine, or to engage in commerce or in agriculture.

When these young men returned to the kingdom they were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Americanism, and impressed with the idea that it was the destiny of the kingdom to become, in the near future, a part of the great Republic. But they realized from the outset that this idea was repugnant to their elders, to whom such destiny did not appear as manifest as it did to the sons. It was, indeed, the earnest hope and desire of the elders that the young men should perpetuate the independence of the kingdom, by advising and directing its sovereigns, as the elders had done up to that time. It was the old battle of 19th century religious and political progress against 16th century puritanical conservatism. The latter was rendered more stubborn by the exercise over a nation for half a century of an authority which, though beneficent as a whole, was autocratic; being controlled and directed up to that time by the narrow politico-theologic policy of the American Board of Missions in far-away Boston, as promulgated in annual letters to the missions in the islands—a policy restrictive, inflexible, and unsuited to the exigencies of present times and circumstances.

During his reign the king and his advisers were constantly annoyed and alarmed by intrigues and covert demonstrations looking to the dismemberment of the kingdom. But through it all they were sustained by the confidential assurances of protection made to them by the United States Government, as well as by the resolute declaration of Mr. Marcy, then Secretary of State, to England and France, that the Government he represented "would not allow them [the islands] to be owned by or fall under the protec-

tion of either of those powers, or of any other European nation.” “And,” he added, “it seems inevitable that they must come under the control of this [the United States] Government, and it would be but reasonable and fair that these powers should acquiesce in such a disposition of them, provided the transference was effected by fair means.” This declaration was made in the latter part of 1853, and was steadily adhered to through the succeeding years. And those years were marked by a series of events which still further prepared the Hawaiians for the coming change.

Kamehameha III died, and was succeeded by Alexander, as Kamehameha IV. Through his marriage to Emma Rooke—the daughter of an English resident who had married a native woman of rank—the young king’s affiliations were all decidedly English. He was, therefore, opposed to the negotiations looking toward American annexation, which had been set on foot during the reign of his predecessor; and these were broken off and remained in abeyance during his reign of nearly ten years.

In 1863 Kamehameha died, and was succeeded by his brother Lot, who ascended the throne as Kamehameha V. He showed himself to be a true type of the ancient Kamehamehas. He believed fully in the “divine right” of kings, above all in that of the dynasty of which he was the last representative; and, as far as he was able, he restored the rule of irresponsible chieftainship.

Among the earliest public acts of Kamehameha IV was the abrogation of the existing constitution, the calling of a convention to frame another, and then the dismissal of it and the proclaiming of one of his own. Under the provisions of this document no act of the legislature could become a law without his signature, which he could withhold without assigning any reason for doing so. He chose and dismissed the members of his cabinet at his pleasure. He appointed “Nobles” for life, who sat and voted, as did his cabinet officers, in the legislature. The number of these soon equalled that of the representatives, so that he could always control legislative action. As the writer has said in another place:

“The same inherited love of power and semi-barbaric display which controlled him in forming this famous ‘Constitution’ influenced him strongly in his feelings toward those who were, and had been for many years, trying to elevate his people in moral, social, and religious life. Without being openly hostile to such he was a dead weight upon them. He held to the traditions of his forefathers, and, though nominally a Christian, was in thought and feeling a heathen. Inordinately proud of his name and rank as a ‘Kame-



hameha,' he held to the last his belief in his 'divine right' to rule, and dying refused to name a successor, since in him the royal family died too."

It is, perhaps, needless to say that under his reign the question of annexation was largely neglected. Apparently, in fact, it was wholly superseded by that of establishing reciprocal commercial relations between the two countries. This scheme met with great favor amongst the foreign residents on the islands, and might have been carried through at that time had it not been for the fears expressed by Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, in a letter written by him to Mr. McCook, minister resident on the island, in which he said :

"A lawful and peaceful annexation of the Islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this Government; and if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

While Kamehameha V was not opposed to the scheme of reciprocity, having in fact encouraged it, he was known to be implacably hostile to any movement looking toward annexation. This feeling, with his intense pride as the last of his dynasty, led him to refuse to name a successor to the throne. Upon his death, that office, for the first time in the history of the islands, became elective, and a proclamation was made for the legislature to convene at an early date for the purpose of choosing a successor.

There were two candidates for this high office, namely, the Dowager Queen Emma, relict of Kamehameha III, and the avowed representative of the British element; and Lunalilo, a chief of the highest rank, and the steadfast friend of the American missionaries. As it was fully understood that the choice of the legislature would result in the triumph of either the republican or the monarchical principle, preparations were quietly made to secure the former; and the people of the islands were called upon to signify their choice at a popular election held a short time before the assembling of the legislature. This was done, and Lunalilo being the unanimous choice of the people throughout the group, there was nothing for the legislative body to do, when they met, but to carry out the will of their constituents.

It may be added, in this connection, as illustrative of the importance of this popular election to the missionary party, that the venerable Dr. Judd rose from a bed of sickness to cast his vote for "Prince William," whose first act almost, as King Lunalilo, was

to visit his beloved "father" in his retirement. A few months later he followed Dr. Judd's remains to their last resting-place.

Lunalilo had reigned barely twelve months before annexation was freely discussed. But the Hawaiian people had too recently given expression to their wishes in their choice of a sovereign to be ready to vote for so radical a change; and it was not lost sight of, by even the most ardent of the annexationists, that "the consent of the people" was the one condition insisted upon by the Government of the United States as necessary to the consummation of such an event.

During his brief reign Lunalilo called into his council, as members of his cabinet, or as nobles, several of the pioneer missionaries; while their sons took their places on the bench, at the bar, in the legislature, and in the civil service of the kingdom. Their influence was exerted at that time to bring about a reciprocity treaty; and to secure this an offer was made to cede Pearl Harbor, near Honolulu, to the United States as a *quid pro quo*.

This proposition met with violent opposition from a strong Hawaiian element which was led by the man who later controlled the political and material affairs of the kingdom for a number of years. This was Mr. W. M. Gibson, a Virginian by birth, a man of great ability and possessed of marked political sagacity, but, at the same time, a man of expedients, whose aim it was to hold all power himself. It was he who now came forward as the champion of Hawaiian independence. "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" was the motto he selected; and it was chiefly through his efforts that the cabinet of the king was constrained to withdraw the tender of Pearl Harbor to the United States. While this act brought the reciprocity negotiations to a standstill for the time being, it really helped forward annexation; for it was then looked upon as a foregone conclusion, by the majority of the business men, that if reciprocity could not be achieved, to avoid commercial bankruptcy annexation must be brought about.

King Lunalilo died in February, 1874. Since he, like his immediate predecessor, failed to appoint a successor to the throne, the legislature was again called together to elect a sovereign. At this time also two candidates were put forward. One was the Dowager Queen Emma, who represented, as before, the English party; the other was Kalakaua, the descendant of a noble family distinct from the Kamehamehas. The latter, though hardly in



sympathy, and certainly not identified, with the American missionary party, was supported by its members and elected. On that occasion the defeated natives betrayed the inability of the race to govern itself. In discussing this event the writer said:

“For the past hundred years the supreme authority had been invested in one family. And when that family died out, and the people were told they could choose their ruler from the few remaining representatives of noble families, they were intoxicated with their newly acquired privilege, and at this election the minority expressed their displeasure at their defeat by murderously attacking the representatives and indulging in a serious riot.”

Inasmuch as it was necessary, in order to quell this riot, to call on the commanders of the two United States war vessels then in the harbor of Honolulu, and for Mr. Pierce, the American minister resident, to use his personal influence with the defeated candidate to secure her peaceful acquiescence in the election of Kalakaua, the United States Government realized two important facts: (1) That it was in a certain sense responsible for the establishment of Kalakaua on the throne; and (2) that the consent of the natives to annexation might not, after all, be of such prime importance, inasmuch as they had proved their inability to govern themselves.

During the following twelve years events tending to weaken the monarchy and to strengthen republicanism followed each other in rapid succession. Commercial reciprocity with the United States was established, and as a result millions of dollars poured into the islands each year in exchange for the enormously increased output of island products, particularly sugar. The king, who at the commencement of his reign called to his cabinet and council men distinguished for their worth and high standing in the community, soon allowed himself to be carried away by specious plans for his own political aggrandizement; and his racial fondness for display and extravagance led him into ways which his then official advisers could not countenance.

It was at this time that Mr. W. M. Gibson, who was now a power in the legislature, was called into the cabinet as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. While ably conducting these affairs, he managed to bring all the other government departments under his control; and by keeping the king amused he gradually kept him from taking an active part in the important affairs of his kingdom. He created the “Palace party,” and openly pitted himself and it against the missionary element, then designated the “Fort Street Church” party.

The latter, realizing that the king was entirely under Mr. Gibson's influence, and finding that it was useless to attempt to bring about reforms through ordinary constitutional methods, resolved to effect the desired reforms through revolutionary acts. Their first step lay in abandoning the native element, and in enlisting in the proposed movement British, French, German, and other foreigners—aliens and subjects alike. This accomplished, they organized these elements into an effective, armed force, with which they finally compelled the king to dismiss the Gibson ministry, and to sign a new constitution, which left him but the outward show of kingship, and vested all political power in themselves. Whether even this show of royal state and power would have been long left to Kalakaua is an open question. His death, which occurred but a short time later, while he was visiting San Francisco, placed his sister, Liliuokalani, on the throne, she having been named his successor during his lifetime.

The story of her reign is short. Being a woman of great force of character she could not brook the restraints thrown about her by the terms of a constitution which her people had no voice in framing, and which virtually disfranchised them. Betrayed by her strong, passionate nature into the utterance of rash, ill-advised threats, she was easily convicted of plotting to overthrow those in power, and as easily deposed. On the ruins of the monarchy rose a shadowy Provisional Government, which in the end was extinguished by the annexation of the islands to the United States.

That this was the foreordained destiny of the Hawaiian Islands those who have carefully followed their history for the past century can hardly doubt. That the Government of the United States has steadfastly believed this to be their ultimate destiny is proved by the declarations of successive administrations during the entire period. But the people of our great Republic did not recognize this ultimate destiny until they had, by intervention on behalf of another island people, involved themselves in a war that resulted in the acquisition of other remote island territory, to hold which demanded the possession of the Hawaiian group. F. L. CLARKE.



## LESSONS OF THE \$175,000,000 ASH-HEAP.

THE destruction of insurable values now going on in all sections of the United States will rank among the strangest vicissitudes of American underwriting. Although the great cities are supplied with most alert fire departments, with more buildings constructed on fireproof principles than ever before, with experienced inspectors working in the interests of insurance companies to lessen the fire hazard, the record of loss to date for this year exceeds that reported in almost any previous year save at exceptional periods, when such disasters as the great fires at Chicago and Boston occurred, which not only crippled several insurance companies, but frightened others into liquidation.

In 1899, according to "Chronicle" tables, the value of the property destroyed by fire in the United States exceeded the sum of \$150,000,000. This year we shall pay \$175,000,000 for our "national ash-heap," unless the loss records improve. Within the limits of Greater New York, the fire losses in 1899 were greatly in excess of those reported the preceding year; the losses in Manhattan alone reaching \$7,458,840 in 1899, as against \$4,155,191 in 1898. In Philadelphia the situation has been even worse.

Pittsburg has lately reported a \$1,000,000 fire in a building erected about two years ago upon plans furnished by experts interested in avoiding the fire-trap features of a structure which was burned on the same site a few months earlier. This fire has demonstrated, beyond dispute, that fireproof buildings are oftentimes not what they are reputed to be. Chicago has also had heavy losses, and unless conditions improve in that city the insurance companies will pay out more than they take in. In many other places also heavy losses have occurred; the greatest disasters curiously enough befalling the very risks which underwriters had insured at low rates, in the belief that the hazard was small, and the property on the whole well protected.

Now what lesson is supplied by this \$175,000,000 "ash-heap?"

Does it disprove our theories of fireproof construction, and show that the fire-hazard of our modern "sky-scraping" office buildings and hotels is greater than we had been led to suppose? Or does it signify that "four-story fire departments" are antiquated devices in these days of thirty-story buildings, and that to protect life and property at the great centres of population means must be found for raising the standard of our municipal fire-extinguishing equipment above what is now considered essential?

An insurance expert is authority for the statement that there is not a fireproof building in New York city to-day. While that may be an exaggeration, it is probably true that we have trusted too much in the protection afforded by massive beams and steel framework. Large-area buildings of great height, no matter how perfect the construction, may not, in the long run, prove safer than the four-story structures of fifty years ago, whose upper floors could be easily reached by an ordinary fire-ladder. With escaping gases confined beneath asphalt pavements threatening explosions in the cellars of abutting property, with heavily charged wires penetrating modern buildings at every floor and running criss-cross from structure to structure, with powerful engines and independent lighting plants installed in most modern buildings, it is a question whether many of the improvements of nineteenth-century civilization have not more than counterbalanced the advantages of improved construction as regards the fire hazards of large cities.

However this may be, it is certainly true that a single fire to-day might entail more fearful consequences than half a dozen losses fifty years ago. Then, but twenty or fifty tenants were domiciled in a single structure; now, thousands have offices under one roof. Of course, the "conflagration hazard" has been lessened by the monuments of stone and steel which block a fire's progress in our great cities to-day. In New York city the entire district west of Broadway in the vicinity of Warren street might have been destroyed two years ago, had it not been for the resistance offered by the Home Life Building, which was enveloped in flames while the wind blew a hurricane. The structure acted as a barrier, and undoubtedly saved adjoining property. This fire, however, opened the eyes of underwriters to the real state of affairs, and led to a revision of rates on many large buildings which had been insured for almost nothing during the disastrous competition among insurance companies to secure a great volume of premium income. Experts



turned again to the problem of extinguishing fires, and all agreed that "four-story fire departments" could not be relied upon to extinguish flames in buildings 300 feet high. The stand-pipe system of forcing water through street attachments to the roofs of tall structures, which has since been installed in some buildings, has no doubt solved the problem of protecting much that is valuable on lower Broadway.

The Home Life blaze, which has been studied by experts throughout the world, illustrates the danger in any locality having a congested population, narrow thoroughfares, and "sky-scraping" buildings. The tall structure was attacked from the side by flames which broke out in a building of ordinary construction. The small building was devoured in no time; and although the big fellow resisted nobly, it nevertheless succumbed when the glass in dozens of exposed windows gave way under the fearful heat. While there was little within the building for the flames to feed upon, there were no barriers to obstruct the draught area of the elevator shafts; so that within a few minutes an upper story was converted into a roaring furnace. Everything was done to save the property, but the wind was blowing a gale at the time, and it seemed as if the firemen were using squirt guns to put out the flames. It soon became evident that little could be done to extinguish the blaze; and thousands of spectators witnessed the unusual sight of flames playing havoc with the upper stories of a magnificent building in the presence of the best equipped fire department in the country. That fire was a \$1,000,000 object-lesson, which insurance men and engineering experts everywhere will not soon forget!

Most of the destructive fires that have recently laid waste important blocks in the business sections of large cities have repeated the lesson of the Broadway blaze in at least one or two particulars. They have made experts hesitate to call a building fireproof until the "exposure hazard" has been ascertained, *i.e.*, until it has been learned how great is the danger from the proximity of neighboring tinder-boxes. The business section of almost any large city will furnish examples of the most approved structures standing beside old rookeries liable to destruction at a moment's notice. The disadvantages of the latter might almost counterbalance, under trying conditions, the good points of the former; the actual difference between them being the question over which experts are now puzzling.

Then, too, the "blizzard hazard," although sometimes over-

looked, may prove costly any dark night when the streets of a great city are covered with snow. A case in point was the partial destruction of a business building near the financial district of an important commercial centre. The firemen were summoned promptly, but the horses had difficulty in hauling the heavy apparatus through the snow, which choked the narrow thoroughfares. Because of the bitter cold, the hydrants were hard to manage; but the firemen were fortunate enough to confine the blaze to a single block, at a property loss, I think, of less than \$1,000,000. Had the wind taken the flames across the street, a most valuable territory would have been invaded, where the old-style buildings would have fed a fire of great destructiveness.

Now, the remedy for all this is easily within our grasp. It is merely the question of common sense and a very few dollars. Any city big enough to support an elevated railway system is certainly important enough to maintain an elevated fire service. With our magnificent modern buildings towering in the air as high as church steeples, we must find something better than the step-ladder device of the water-tower with which to protect life and property.

By means of the stand-pipe system of forcing water to the top of tall structures we can throw a stream from the roof of a building three hundred feet away. Why not install such plants throughout the congested districts of all our large cities, and place the extinguishing forces in instant command of anything on fire for blocks around? Are we not rather backward in adhering to the uphill method of fighting fires inherited from the time of our grandfathers, who easily reached the top story of the highest office-building of their day, when we might in an instant send men by express elevators to unlock the floodgates of water upon a burning building at the very vantage point of attack?

In New York it might cost say \$1,000,000 to protect in this way the dry-goods district, where \$900,000,000 of insurable values are thought to be concentrated; and this expense would be trifling in comparison with the premiums derived from that business section. With streams of water pouring on a burning building from above and below, what chance would there be for flames to gain much headway? Picture to yourself a dozen firemen struggling with heavy hose up twenty flights of stairs and along strange, dark hallways, and you will get an idea of the difficulties the elevated service would entirely avoid. At best, the present system offers nothing



but a zigzag connection with the street engine, there being constant danger of the hose giving way at a sharp corner somewhere. Think, too, of the time consumed in effecting this imperfect connection, and that seconds saved are dollars gained.

The stand-pipe service is very simple, consisting of little more than two fair-sized iron pipes connected with the water system and extending from the cellar to the roof of a tall building. The pipes are penetrated at the curb by two openings affording nozzle connection with a fire engine in the street; so that, when the firemen arrive, they have merely to run the hose a distance of fifteen or twenty feet from the engine to the stand-pipe, send a few men to the roof to handle the equipment there, turn on the pressure, and begin the work of extinguishing. This service might be supplemented, in the case of very large buildings, by stationary engines and independent pumping plants, which could be utilized in emergencies.

Think of what such protection would mean in the case of a hotel blaze, where hundreds of guests are often penned in little rooms opening into air-shafts or enclosed courts. It is well enough to point to coils of hose and polished nozzles in the hallways, and to estimate the number of gallons that could be thrown upon a certain spot in a given time. But in case of a panic, with men, women, and children blocking the passage-ways, and fighting to board overcrowded elevators, it might be very difficult, even for firemen, to get the apparatus in working order.

I well remember the complacent assurance of a clerk at the ill-fated Windsor Hotel in New York as he answered my query about the fire hazard of that structure: "It would be impossible for this house to burn," he said. "Twenty watchmen are on duty all night, and flames could not gain headway without their knowledge. The house is watched so carefully that a disaster could not occur!" He seemed almost offended at my apparent unwillingness to accept his view of the situation; and had I suggested the possibility of the building burning to the ground in broad daylight, with thirty fire-engines in attendance, I suppose he would have considered me incapable of appreciating the ability of uniformed hall boys to smell smoke, and of a dozen chamber-maids to cry out the alarm.

The elevated service could probably be utilized to excellent advantage in some small towns and villages, where most of the buildings centre around the town-hall or the church. Here it might be well to install a stand-pipe system within range of the

most hazardous section. It does not matter how the pipes are arranged, whether perpendicularly or horizontally, so long as the elevation can be attained. Any plumber could do the work. Enlightened communities will ultimately, I believe, demand this system. Whatever may be done within the next decade to promote the safety of life and property, I feel sure that we shall sooner or later come to realize that to let water run down-hill is easier than to try to force it up-hill.

Mr. Edward Atkinson says that all who have combined for purposes of mutual insurance in the United States have soon learned this lesson—that the only persons who can prevent loss by fire are the owners or occupants of the insured premises. In France, where a rigid personal responsibility attaches to the assured, decided progress has been made toward lowering the cost of insurance. Chicago has recognized the necessity of improving its public buildings by making theatre-owners pay heavily for their neglect. On this basis a playhouse properly constructed, affording virtually the advantages of fireproof protection, is insured for \$2.50 per \$1,000 of insurance. To this rate, an additional charge of from five to fifty cents is made for each specified deficiency; bringing the price to prohibitive proportions in instances where protective measures have been utterly ignored.

When property-owners realize that the fire-rate is nothing less than a tax, which can be materially reduced by the exercise of proper care on their own part, and the insurance companies recognize the necessity of correcting the evils incident to the annual scramble for business without regard to questions of “moral hazard” or the fundamental principles of underwriting, we shall hear less about the fire waste in large cities, and about such fearful disasters as Ottawa’s late conflagration.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES.



## KIAOCHOU: A GERMAN COLONIAL EXPERIMENT.

THE immediate prelude to Germany's colonial career in Asia was the murder, by a Chinese mob, of two German missionaries, at the village of Yen Chou-fu, in southern Shantung, on November 1, 1897. The murder was a cowardly deed, worthy of the severest punishment; and the promptness with which the avenging Kaiser struck gained the approval of the foreign communities in China, and of the press abroad. The German minister demanded from the Peking Government an apology for the attack, indemnity for the families of the victims, compensation for the expense his Government had incurred, and the lease of a naval station upon the coast of China.

The Chinese agreed readily to the first three demands, and Germany did not wait for their formal consent to the fourth, which, in fact, seems to have little connection with the others; but, on November 14, of the same year, she landed a force at Tsingtau, in Kiaochou Bay, in Shantung, and took possession of the forts and adjacent territory. This occupation was supposed to be temporary only; but two years have passed since then, and the German flag still flies over Tsingtau, which is now as much German territory as are the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The seizure of Chinese territory was deliberately planned. It was foreshadowed in the speech of Baron Marshal von Bieberstein in the Reichstag, in November, 1896. He stated on that occasion that the interests of Russia and of Germany would give them an opportunity of acting in harmony in the Far East. In the Kiaochou incident this opportunity came; and Russia's acquiescence in Germany's aggression, in spite of her promise in the Cassini Convention to protect China, indicates a prior understanding between the two Powers. The German legation was probably instructed to seize on the first opportunity to make demands for territory; and the German minister at Peking is reported as having said that the attack by the Chinese upon some German officers in the boat of the "Cormoran," at Wuchang, an incident which shortly followed the murder of the missionaries, would have served his purpose quite as well.

If there is any doubt upon this question, the remarks of German statesmen and the German press, after the event, dispel it. In a discussion on Chinese affairs in the Reichstag, on April 27, 1898, Herr von Bülow, Secretary of State, made an unusually candid statement. He said that the partition of China would not be brought about by Germany; but, he added:

"All we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty-handed. The traveller cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it, when it does start. The devil takes the hindmost. But we do not desire—and I beg to impress this point on you—we do not desire a partition of China, and I do not believe that there is an immediate prospect of such division. But, in any case (and here, I think, I can best enumerate the advantages secured to us by the occupation of the port as well as the reasons which induced it) in any case, I say, we have secured in Kiaochou a strategical and political position which assures us a decisive influence on the future of the Far East. From this strong position we can look with complacency on the development of affairs. We have such a large sphere of action and such important tasks before us that we have no occasion to grudge other nations the concessions made to them. German diplomacy will pursue its way in the East, as everywhere else, calmly, firmly, and peacefully. We will never play the part of mischief maker, nor will we play that of Cinderella."

This statement is an equally clear analysis of Germany's motives in seizing Kiaochou and of her intentions for the future. There is no probability that she will ever give it up, and it is practically certain that she will extend first her influence and then her actual control over the whole of Shantung. The Kaiser has himself declared that soil on which German soldiers have died in the performance of their duty and on which the German eagle has once laid his claws shall always remain German territory. So far as China is concerned, she has lost a province. She may erase from her map Shantung, as she has already done in the case of Formosa and practically of Manchuria. In the treaty of Shimonoseki, in 1895, Japan showed how easy spoliation was; and, to revert to Herr von Bülow's picturesque simile, we may now regard the train as pretty well under way, with Japan, Russia, France, England, and Germany provided with reserved compartments.

China at once recognized the German colony as an established fact, and lost little time in accepting the inevitable. The seizure of Kiaochou was formally ratified in a convention entered into at Peking between the Chinese Government and the German minister, on March 6, 1898. The preamble of this convention states that the Emperor of China, being desirous of preserving the existing good relations with the Emperor of Germany, and of promoting an in-



crease of German power and influence in the Far East, grants a lease for ninety-nine years for certain land in Shantung, covering both sides of the entrance to the bay and an area around it. The sovereignty of China is said to be retained, but it has become a very attenuated prerogative. It is provided that she shall make no laws or do any other act having reference to the leased territory without Germany's consent. In particular, the movement of Chinese troops within 100 *li* (about 33 miles) of high water around Kiaochou Bay is prohibited. Germany has the right to build forts as well as naval and coaling stations, and to occupy with troops the mainland and islands adjoining the entrance to the bay. It is provided that, in order to reduce possibility of friction between the two powers, the government of the leased territory shall be in the hands of Germany.

In this convention there is a peculiar provision that if Germany wishes to give up this land before the ninety-nine years expire China shall take over the whole area and pay Germany for the costs she has incurred, and in such case Germany may have another place on the coast. The convention has a supplement regarding railway and mining concessions, providing that Germany may build certain railroads in Shantung, connecting Kiaochou with the mineral fields of the province and with the proposed trunk lines of the empire. It provides, also, that mines may be opened, in which work German subjects shall have preference, and in the development of which Chinese capitalists may coöperate, if they wish. In the articles providing for railways and mining rights it was deemed necessary to add these clauses :

"In inaugurating a railway system in Shantung, Germany entertains no treacherous intention toward China, and undertakes not to seize unlawfully any land in the province.

"In trying to develop mining property in China, Germany is actuated by no treacherous motives against this country, but seeks only to increase commerce and improve the relations between the two countries."

The Chinese official mind is too intelligent to be much reassured by these two clauses as to German designs on the government of Shantung; but they will be useful in placating the people, who need to be convinced that foreign railroad and mining projects portend no harm to them, and that government by foreigners does not mean confiscation. The moral aspect of such action as that of the German Government in Shantung is an interesting consideration. It is as wrong for governments as it is for individuals to take away the

property of others; but in speaking of the seizure by one government of the territory of another we must not be misled by the analogy of private property. To characterize the seizure of Kiaochou as "an act of piracy," as was freely done in the anti-German press, is to lose sight of this distinction. When a government takes territory from another it acquires no property, except such as is devoted to the machinery of government. Private property remains in the hands of its previous owners, and the annexing government, as a rule, obtains the power of administration only.

If the result of this change of masters were to impoverish the annexed population and enrich the aggressor a great wrong would be done; but when annexation means the substitution of prosperity for poverty, enlightenment for ignorance, justice for extortion, and when the advantages all fall to the ruled and the burden of labor and expense is the reward of the rulers, much may be said to modify, perhaps even to justify, the initial wrong. Besides, there is no statute of limitations between nations which determines when title becomes incontestable; and the Manchu masters of China may derive whatever comfort they can from the fact that their ancestors, some two and a half centuries ago, were the aggressors, and imposed a foreign dynasty upon the people of Shantung and upon those of the other provinces of the Middle Kingdom. Germany probably cares very little how the moralist looks at her policy; and the moralist himself may reflect that there is little abstract justice in the relations of states, and may rejoice when he finds aggression leading to beneficial changes.

In seeking a *point d'appui* in China, Germany was directed to Kiaochou by both physical and political considerations. Except Shantung, there was scarcely a province in which she could have planted herself without encroaching on the alleged rights of others. It is a sad commentary on the decadence of China that there is scarcely any desirable territory along the coast which does not fall within some foreign government's "sphere of influence." To have gone north of Shantung would have been to enter a field where the White Czar is self-predestined master. South of Shantung, in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, we come upon the Yangtze Valley, which has been staked out by England in a shadowy agreement with China that no part thereof shall be alienated to any other power. The coast of Fukien, further south, has been preëmpted by Japan, by virtue of her annexation of Formosa—a preëmption which has



been recognized by the Chinese Government in an agreement, made in April, 1898, that no part of this province shall be alienated to any nation but Japan. In the next two provinces, Kuangtung and Kuangsi, any German establishment would have been regarded with more than disfavor by England and France.

Shantung, therefore, was almost the only place left, and in Shantung the only available place was Kiaochou Bay. This bay is a great sheet of water twenty miles in width, with an outlet to the Yellow Sea only one mile and three-quarters wide. This outlet is commanded by headlands, about six hundred feet in altitude, admirably suited for fortifications. There are eleven or twelve fathoms of water in the entrance, and in the bay itself the depth varies from twelve to thirty fathoms. The wide area of the bay makes it unsuitable for riding at anchor; the sea becoming very rough in storms, and sometimes positively dangerous for small boats. Accordingly, ships at present anchor under shelter of the promontory, near the little island of Tsingtau (Green Island), which has given its name to the young German city on the adjoining mainland. The island itself has been renamed Arcona, in reference to Germany's naval victory over the Danes. Further inside the bay, just behind the peninsula which forms the northern shore of the entrance, a great breakwater is under construction, which will afford the finest harbor on the coast from Hongkong to Port Arthur. Hongkong is British, Port Arthur is Russian, Kiaochou is German, and China has not a single deep-water harbor for herself except that of Amoy.

The country behind Tsingtau, the *hinterland*, is fertile and picturesque. Already the higher mountains have given up their Chinese names and have been rechristened in the tongue of their new masters. The highest is Prinz Heinrich Berg, another Signal Berg, another Bismarck. The soil in the valleys is fertile, capable of producing wheat, barley, millet, corn, and, above all, sweet potatoes. The population, however, is very poor and exceptionally stupid. Before the Germans came, there were only fishing-villages where Tsingtau now stands, and the food of the people consisted of fish and sweet potatoes. In point of wealth the population might have been graded by the quantity of sweet potatoes they consumed; the rich eating three meals a day of this tuber, the well-to-do two meals, and the poor only one.

There is no country in the world in which poverty means such absolute destitution as in China; and the necessities of human life,

under the stress of adversity, come nearer to zero here than the Western mind can conceive. At present, with German money freely spent, plenty prevails; work being easy to find and labor well paid. American flour has usurped the place of the sweet potato as the staple article of food. In German Shantung all have enough to eat, while those in other parts of the province are threatened with a terrible famine. The rains have been deficient recently; the wheat has not been put into the ground; and starvation, in the next few months, will destroy many thousands of the poor. In the territory under foreign control all will be somehow fed. The noblest burden which the white man can take up is to enter the lists in behalf of the miserable millions of Asia in their ceaseless struggle with want. Thus may the Germans in Shantung, as do the English in Egypt, more than justify their rule.

The great defect of Kiaochou as a commercial colony is that there is not much trade there. In China, the large cities grow up and trade flourishes in those localities which are the centres of networks of rivers and canals. This accounts for the prosperity of Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Hankow, and dozens of other cities of the empire. There is no transportation to compare in cheapness with Chinese canals. Branching off from the rivers they ramify the country, carrying on in their millions of boats a gigantic commerce. The absence of an extended system of inland water-communication has prevented enthusiasm among the German merchants in China as to their colony's future. American experience shows, however, that railways can make a seaport prosperous; and with the energy, the money, and the intelligence which are at the service of Tsingtau, prosperity could be brought to a less favored site.

Public works are being carried on in the new possessions on a most comprehensive plan, and millions of marks are being spent upon them. The colony is the especial pet of Prince Henry, whose influence the Government generously recognizes. Five millions of marks were voted for Kiaochou in 1898, eight millions in 1899, and a larger sum is contemplated for 1900. With this money roads are being graded and paved, a fine system of sewers on a large scale is under way, bridges are being thrown across streams and mountain gullies, harbors improved, channels buoyed, and lighthouses riveted upon dangerous rocks.

One of the most interesting enterprises is the forestry department. A large number of foresters have been engaged by the Gov-



ernment to restore the vegetation on the yellow and denuded hills. To prevent erosion, thousands of little walls have been built across the mountain sides, and in every pocket and crevice trees and shrubs have been set out. These have been brought from Japan, from Hongkong, and even from Europe. In particular, large quantities of Japanese moss have been grafted on rocks and ledges. The surrounding country, with its encircling mountains, with the green islands and the sparkling water of the bay, is already beautiful, but it is the intention of the Germans to make it even more attractive by means of art.

Besides the money spent by the German Government itself, encouragement has been given to a number of syndicates to take up enterprises in Shantung. The breakwater now under construction at the cost of millions of marks is the work of a syndicate. Another syndicate has contracted to build a railroad from Tsingtau to the coal-field at Wei Hsien, about 100 miles distant, in two years, and thence to Chinanfu, 150 miles further, in two years more. Here the road will connect with the Tientsin-Chinkiang trunk-line, for which an Anglo-German syndicate has a concession.

The Wei Hsien coal-field is supposed to be the richest in Shantung, and the opening of it is relied upon by the Germans to create a naval coaling-station and an industrial and manufacturing centre. At present coal is brought from Japan, and costs about ten dollars gold per ton. It is the lack of inland means of transportation which enables coal brought in sailing-ships and steamers from Japan, Australia, and Wales to compete with China's mines at nearly all the seaports. At the mines of Wei Hsien coal is worth about \$1.50 gold, per ton, and there it is largely consumed. With every additional ten miles from the mine, however, the price rises and the consumption diminishes, until, at forty miles distance, the price is eight times as great as at the mouth of the pit, and charcoal locally produced is cheaper. From this point on its use gradually ceases.

Another railroad will run from Tsingtau through the southern part of Shantung, joining the Chinkiang-Tientsin line at Ichoufu, and touching other mineral deposits, the development of which has been leased out to various syndicates. The mining prospects are bright, and the coal and iron and other minerals will suffice to insure the prosperity of the colony. The prospectors of the syndicates have found alluvial gold as well as many reefs of rich auriferous ore. There are valuable deposits of iron, lead, copper, and mica, and, near

Ichoufu, there is a diamond field of unknown area, but certainly of some value, for it has been resorted to by the Chinese for many decades to secure the points for glass-cutting instruments.

It may seem strange that, in so densely populated a country as China, gold-fields of any importance should have remained undiscovered for so many thousands of years. The explanation is twofold. In the first place superstition with regard to disturbing the dragon supposed to repose beneath the soil has prevented any thorough examination below the surface of the ground; and secondly the Chinese have never been familiar with methods of dealing with refractory ores. Before the coming of foreigners they knew of gold only in its free state; and, until the last few years, the Chinese Government has persistently frustrated mining enterprises.

That Shantung is rich in gold has long been known, and for centuries there has been a constant export from there of metal secured at various localities by crude washing of gravel in the river beds. Chinese miners tell marvellous stories of the richness of the hills, from whose hidden stores the summer torrents wash down annually the minute specks which are the reward of their laborious search. During a recent journey in Shantung, the writer was gravely assured by some alluvial miners that in the gullies of a neighboring mountain a peculiar bird had laid a large nestful of golden eggs which they hoped some day to hit upon. The Chinese believe that foreigners have supernatural powers for the discovery of precious metals; and the great mass of the country people are convinced that foreign prospectors, whom they sometimes notice walking along examining the ground with downcast visage, can see several yards beneath its surface.

The purpose of Germany at Kiaochou is evidently commercial, not military. The port of Tsingtau has been declared a "free port," or one into and out of which merchandise may be shipped duty free. Goods taken across the Chinese border beyond German territory are subject to the duties of the Chinese Government, and to facilitate the collection thereof a Chinese custom-house is located at Tsingtau. The establishment of this custom-house is disliked by the colony, which has a sentimental objection to the exercise of functions of any kind by the Chinese authorities on German territory. To overcome this objection, Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, placed a German in charge of the custom-house there, with a staff of Germans exclusively, and authorized the official use of the German language in their transactions. In spite, however, of these



conciliatory measures, it seems probable that the Chinese will be compelled to move their stations across the border and leave Kiaochou free from even the semblance of their control.

The trade of Tsingtau, at present, except upon German Government account, is not significant, and the duties collected by China are small. The exports of Shantung are ordinarily sent to Tientsin and Shanghai for shipment, or to Chefoo, hitherto the only port open to trade in the province. It is hoped that the railroads will direct this trade to Tsingtau, and German influence will be strongly used to prevent any railroad reaching the sea elsewhere. China herself will probably never be in a position to defeat this policy, and no other country is likely deliberately to thwart Germany in this matter.

In fact, England, the only power that might have wished to do so, has been the first to recognize and confirm Germany's hold, not only on Kiaochou, but on all Shantung. In an official declaration made on April 20, 1898, the British Ambassador at Berlin declared to the German Government that England, in establishing herself at Wei-hai Wei, her newly acquired fortress in Shantung, had no intention of injuring or contesting the interests of Germany in the province of Shantung, or of creating difficulties for her in that province, and that it was especially understood that England would not construct any railroad communication from Wei-hai Wei and the district leased therewith into the interior of the province. German influence would seem to have gone pretty far when the British Government makes such formal recognition of it!

While the ambition of Germany at Kiaochou is chiefly commercial, the military feature has not been neglected. The port is garrisoned by about two thousand German troops, and a German man-of-war is always in the harbor. The heights adjoining the entrance to the bay are fortified by small batteries, but no very formidable guns have as yet been put in position. When coal is made available by rail, and the port becomes, as it is hoped it will, a great coaling-station and a site for docks and naval stores, the German fortifications will no doubt be made to rival those of Russia at Port Arthur and of England at Wei-hai Wei.

The young German soldiers in Shantung have had to contend with much sickness. In spite of the fine climate and of the picturesque location of their quarters, disease has made serious inroads among them, due, it is said, to the digging for the drains and public works. The soil is of disintegrated granite, very similar to that of Hongkong, where the

mortality was great for several years after the founding of the colony. At Tsingtau, two or three burying-parties a day may be seen at present winding their way across the hills to the cemetery. It is noticeable that the soldiers suffer to a far greater extent than do the civilians; and it is supposed that this is due to carelessness on the part of young recruits, who are heedless of the importance, so great throughout the Far East, of drinking distilled water. The German officers have hit upon the novel theory that disease is carried from place to place by dogs, and in all the Chinese villages these have been relentlessly pursued and shot. To one familiar with the barking hordes that snap at the foreigner's heels in all the towns in other parts of China, the result of this sanitary measure is a welcome one. It is a novel experience to pass through Chinese villages without a vociferous canine welcome and *envoi*.

Besides the troops in barracks in the immediate vicinity of the harbor there are numerous garrisons in other parts of German territory, and in the mountain passes leading across the border. One of the most interesting of these is at the village of Li-tsun, which is about eleven miles distant, and is easily reached by an hour's gallop over fine roads, winding over hills and through picturesque villages each surrounded by its grove of mulberry trees. Foreign control is everywhere visible in the courtesy with which foreigners are treated, in the unaccustomed cleanliness, and in the occasional German word which some village lad, delighted with his newly acquired knowledge, shouts after the wayfarer. The village of Li-tsun is occupied by German troops, and here the officers are engaged in the interesting experiment of drilling Chinese recruits. Since October 1, 1899, they have now enlisted 125 men—100 foot and 25 horse—forming the nucleus of the Kaiser's first Chinese regiment.

The Chinese enter eagerly into this service. They receive eight Mexican dollars per month, with good food, good quarters, and clothing, which is far more than they could hope to obtain in any other employment. At first the promptness and accuracy of military drill are very trying to the Chinese. To be well set up and faultless in appearance, to obey instantly and precisely the orders given to them, are qualities about as un-Chinese as possible. It is a pleasure to see how an awkward coolie can be transformed into an alert, intelligent, and ready soldier, and this in less than two months.

The method employed has been the application of that influence which the Chinese relish least and respond to best, namely, force.



German military discipline is not light-handed at best; and for the Chinese, who had to lay aside in a moment the shiftless habits bred into their race through centuries, it was a severe ordeal. After the first month, however, the lesson was more or less learned, and the German-Chinese soldier is now a proud and contented man, rejoicing in his proficiency. The officers assert that they can rely on their recruits, when led by Germans, in a contest with their own countrymen; but they have formed the deliberate opinion that a Chinese army, however well drilled and armed, is not to be feared unless led by foreigners.

All experience in China teaches the rapid disintegration of any foreign educational structure when the outside pressure is removed. It is probable that the laboriously built-up fabric of Chinese Christianity itself would lapse in a few decades if missionaries were withdrawn, and would turn into some rank superstition, merging, perhaps, as Confucianism and Taoism have done, into the nondescript cult of Chinese Buddhism.

The Chinese recruits are all carefully selected for physical soundness. They must be under twenty-six years of age, and, as the supply is unlimited, only the best are taken; and there is no reason to fear that on the physical side they will prove bad material. For hard work on simple food and poor lodging the Chinese cannot be surpassed, and their powers of endurance are admitted by all who come in contact with them. The new squad at Li-tsun was marched thirty-four kilometres without any ill effects eight days after enlistment—an experiment which the officer in command frankly admitted would not have been tried in Germany. As cavalry they are not a success, and their grotesque efforts to ride properly are for their instructors an unfailing source of amusement and chagrin.

The good effects of this military training will not be confined to the soldiers themselves. They come from a wide area, and their experience cannot fail to influence their friends and companions. A body of young men like these recruits, taught in foreign methods, given the benefit of association with foreigners trained in the use of arms of precision, acquainted by experience with the advantages of good houses, good food, and good habits, when sent back to spread the new gospel in their native towns and villages must be an educational force. They will certainly help to overcome the popular anti-foreign sentiment, because men who have lived a year in a German barracks will no longer tolerate the preposterous ideas as to

the practices of foreigners which now prevail. Some of them even may be the providential instruments in the longed-for reconstruction of the Chinese Government itself.

The opinion has been above expressed that Kiaochou will remain German, and that, far from withdrawing, the Germans will extend their influence more and more widely until it covers the whole of Shantung. Similarly, Manchuria is almost certain to pass under the flag of Russia, and parts of Southern China are almost as certain to be annexed to the colonies of France. The prospect is far from reassuring to nations bent on trade, as are the United States and England, not seeking dominion over territory, but an open market. The French frankly use their colonies for their own exclusive benefit, overburdening goods other than French with oppressive taxes. Russia has recently declared that Talienwan, her new harbor in Manchuria, shall be a free port, to which the ships and trade of all nations are cordially invited; but the world has not forgotten her promises about Batoum, in the Baltic, or how they were broken. Germany declares that Kiaochou is to be a free port, and there is no reason to doubt the present sincerity of her declaration, but no one can tell what the future may have in store; and Kiaochou may be closed upon some change in national policy.

Under these circumstances, the effort of the United States to secure formal undertakings from China, and from her prospective spoilers, that all cessions of territory shall be subject to the express stipulation that no discrimination shall be made against American trade therein commends itself as wise and farseeing statesmanship. If this guarantee be forthcoming Americans may look on without alarm at the process of China's disintegration; for every new advance by Russia, Germany, or France would only be the opening of another door for the trade of the United States and for the development and civilization of China herself.

CHARLES DENBY, JR.



## CHINESE CIVILIZATION : THE IDEAL AND THE ACTUAL.

WESTERN students of Chinese life and letters are surprised at the lofty ideals of government, of the family, and of society set forth in the ancient classical literature, which from generation to generation has exerted an ennobling influence upon the thoughts of the people. But they are also surprised that these ideals have been realized to so small an extent in government, in the family, and in society.

Ancient Chinese literature is a witness to the nobility of human nature in its best thoughts and aspirations. The Sages taught that man is made for virtue: "To be benevolent is to be a man." They taught that virtue distinguishes men from animals, and that when men fail to be virtuous they cease to be men. The heart of man tends toward goodness as water tends to flow downward. Water may be forced upward, but that is not its tendency; in like manner men may be driven to evil, but it is not according to their nature. The mountain clothes itself with forests and verdure, but axmen come from the neighboring city and cut down the trees; fresh shoots spring up from the living roots, but the cattle browse them down until the mountain is bald and desolate, and men say it is the nature of the mountain to be bald and desolate. Not so: its condition is the result of violence to its nature. Thus man's nature seeks to clothe itself with virtue, but it is assailed by external evils, till finally the recuperative powers of the heart become paralyzed, and we look upon the evil man and say it is his nature to be evil. Not so; his true nature has been overcome by the evil that is alien to it. "The end of learning is to recover the lost heart," which is the "child-heart" that all men have in common.

Orthodox Confucianists have always laid emphasis upon the inherent goodness of human nature; and because it is "natural" for men to be good they have taught that it is an easy matter to be good. It is only necessary to have a right example set by men in high stations, and the "people" will revolve around them in virtuous conduct as the sun revolves around the earth. The great Emperor Shun, who was the embodiment of all virtue, needed only to sit in his seat

of state and look south, and lo! all classes of his subjects obeyed spontaneously the law of Heaven. "The virtue of the superior man is like the wind, the virtue of the common people is like the grass [upon the house-top]; when the wind blows the grass bends."

Confucius tersely describes the ideal condition in human relations as realized "when the prince acquits himself as prince, the minister as minister, the father as father, and the son as son;" that is, when men in every rank in society discharge faithfully the duties belonging to their place. The "law of Heaven" is the law of right, the law of duty, and wisdom consists in correctly applying this law in the relations of life. Confucius taught that the end of learning was to develop and make manifest the innate virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest in the highest goodness.

The Emperor, the "Son of Heaven," stands before his people as the representative of Heaven. He must offer the prescribed forms of worship to Heaven and Earth, the great dual powers in nature from which all life springs; he must extend this worship to other leading objects in nature, to his ancestors, to the rulers of preceding dynasties, and thus preserve "harmony" between man and nature, insuring the orderly recurrence of the seasons with the common bounties of life, and exemption from pestilence, famine, and flood. He must judge between his people without partiality. He must instruct them in their ignorance, rebuke and punish them for their sins, protect them against their enemies, and stimulate them to study the teachings and imitate the examples of the Ancient Sages, since their teachings are the embodiment of wisdom and their examples an illustration of virtue.

Ministers must be eyes and ears and hands to the Emperor, must give him right information as to the condition of the people, and right counsel in matters of government. They must have no other will than to carry into execution the "Sacred Will;" they must have no other ambition than to make the reign of their Emperor glorious in the peace and prosperity of the people.

Fathers receive from their ancestors right instruction and example in the regulation of the family, and it is their duty to apply that instruction and imitate that example in the government of the family, so that each member may observe the requirements that have been fixed for his rank in this fundamental social organism. To the son the father is an object of worship while living, and at death must be honored with funereal rites that are the expression of the utmost filial



piety, while in the years that follow decease the memory of the parent must be kept fresh by appropriate ceremonies of worship.

The Confucian ethical system is founded upon the conception that man is a part of the evolution of nature, and his moral acts are acts that are in harmony with the law of nature, that is, the law of Heaven. There is no recognition of a personal Supreme Being who is above nature and its law, the final source of obligation, and the Lord of human destiny. Confucianism has deified nature and man in the interrelated systems of nature-worship and ancestor-worship, and has thus marred the symmetry of its ethical teachings.

But while we criticise the errors that inhere in these teachings, we must not withhold our appreciation of the high ethical content of the best Confucian thought. The Emperor rules his people, as the representative of Heaven, with justice and benevolence; his officers carry out his will in directing and adjusting the affairs of the people with sympathy and fidelity; the people dwell together in peace and happy fellowship under the protection of beneficent laws; families are bound together by the strong ties of parental love and filial piety. These affections are strengthened and regulated by the exercise of prescribed forms of politeness, which have been so long sanctioned by custom that they are believed to have their origin in one of the cardinal virtues of the heart. These virtues are benevolence, righteousness, observance of etiquette, wisdom, faithfulness.

The Chinese tell of a "Golden Age," far back in the dawn of their national history, when the noblest conceptions of family and social life were realized in the experiences of men. For brief periods, under the rule of benevolent princes, men had a taste of this Edenic order of society, when officers refused bribes and ministered equal justice, when the people strove with one another in deeds of kindness, when bars were not needed upon doors, when lost articles were passed by untouched, and when the practice of virtue was universal.

These conceptions of an ideal society have found expression in the ancient classical literature of China, have been discussed by Chinese scholars for a hundred generations, and are as familiar to the thoughts of the people of the present generation as are the conceptions of a Christian society in nominally Christian lands. The Chinese people have educated consciences. It is a mistake to think of them as having blurred and obscure notions of right and wrong. The Confucian system of education, which is the basis of Chinese civilization, largely consists of instruction in questions of political and social economy;

these questions being always considered in their relations to nature and to ancestors. Wrong is not only committed against living men ; it is committed against the orderly course of nature, and especially against ancestors, who are honored by the virtues and dishonored by the vices of posterity.

In China there is a failure in duty known as "public sin," which means the sin of an official in allowing calamities such as floods or droughts or famines to visit the people. An officer temporarily deprived of his rank, until he should repair the breach in the bank of the river caused by excessive rains, said to the writer : "It is difficult to escape public sin." Li Hung Chang, viceroy of the province, was deprived of his yellow jacket for the same "sin." An official had just been appointed to take charge of repairs on the Yellow River, when a more serious breach occurred. In reporting the matter he humbly acknowledged his sin, and begged the Emperor to fix his punishment. The Emperor forgave him for the reason that he had just entered upon his office, and so was not fully responsible for what had taken place.

The "Great Shun" said in ancient times : "The man-heart is turbulent, the law-heart is weak." This truth as to the antagonism between the passion nature and the moral nature in man has received faint recognition from the teachers of China. They have recognized and stated with clearness man's capacity for virtue, and have painted an attractive picture of an ideal society ; but they have neglected to consider the nature of those forces operating in human nature to defeat the realization of its ideals. They have spread out their best conceptions of the aspirations of the law-heart, and have taught that they were not difficult of realization ; but they have neglected to consider the confusion wrought in those aspirations by the turbulence of the man-heart.

Chinese history has not been without examples of upright rulers and faithful citizens, of "compassionate fathers and filial sons ;" but the ideal state, the ideal family, have been, for the most part, themes to be talked about, to be written of in elegant essays, but not to be striven after, or experienced. The "Son of Heaven" has usually proved to be a son of earth in his bondage to its passions and allurements. Ministers have been eyes and ears and hands, not for the service of their princes, but for the service of their own ignoble appetites and ambitions. Society has not been ruled by the law of benevolence, but by the law of selfishness. The operation of this



law is also seen in family life. Parents regard children as given to them to command; children in turn have few rights in the presence of their parents. There is a popular saying that "parents are the family gods," and too often they rule in their households with the authority of gods. The disciple of Confucius learned through observing the relations between the sage and his son that "the superior man is not intimate with his children." In general the hard and selfish rule of parents begets a formal and selfish service in children. Falsehood and duplicity take the place of truthfulness and candor, and unloving authority is met by unloving obedience.

To the superficial observer of Chinese life there seems to be a wide divergence in the moral character of different classes of the people. Official life is seen to be a vast sink of corruption, while there is a good measure of business integrity and mutual trust in general intercourse. To understand Chinese character we must search for the motive-forces operating in the lives of the people. It is related of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who was fond of going out incognito to study the condition of the people, that his attention was directed by a companion to the multitudes passing out of the city gate. The Emperor replied: "I see but two men passing out of the city gate. Their names are Ming and Li" (Fame and Wealth). All of this activity, the Emperor judged, was for one of two ends, to win fame, or to secure wealth. The Chinese people when they feel at liberty to speak with frankness are severe critics of their own social condition. They do not declare that truthfulness and integrity are national virtues, but that untruthfulness and want of integrity are national vices. In these things the Sages failed to realize in practice their own exalted teachings, and their defects have been palliated by their disciples. Mencius taught that men should not "bend an inch" in order to "straighten ten feet," lest the evil principle being introduced they should bend ten feet to straighten an inch; but in the incidents of his life there are many cases of his bending for no better reason than that he was under the power of the spirit of the times. There is a saying often heard from the lips of the Chinese: "Falsehood is the wisdom of the superior man." The man of culture and virtue knows when and how to prevaricate. He is no bungler in this art!

There is much business honesty in China, but the root of that honesty is not fidelity to fundamental convictions of right; it is rather a strong sense of business responsibility, a realization that "honesty

is the best policy," and that failure to meet obligations will bring exposure and loss. The larger the transactions the greater the responsibilities, and the stronger and more numerous the checks against dishonest dealing. Thus, as business increases in importance the quality of business integrity improves, but the humble huckster who has a "moving price" for his wares, according to the shrewdness or gullibility of his customers, is at heart as honest a man as the prosperous merchant who sells at "one price" to all customers. The vast volume of trade in China does not rest for security upon mutual confidence in character, but upon mutual dependence. Business is safe-guarded by family responsibility, by official supervision, by trade-guilds, by individual security, and above all by a desire for a good reputation to insure permanent prosperity. In official life the opportunities for acquisition and the methods of achieving success are wholly different; and so officers of the same essential character as the merchant-class seem to be a less honorable and trustworthy type of men, as judged by their lives. Wealthy merchants often purchase official positions, and are most to be feared as "administrators of justice."

In spite of the teachings concerning the dignity and rights of men conferred in common by "compassionate Heaven," the strong in China have ever oppressed the weak, the cunning have circumvented the simple, the few have "eaten the sweet," and the many have "eaten the bitter." The ox of the rich man in times of general distress chews a full cud, while the family of the poor neighbor starves. Families sell the last article of furniture to buy the last cup of rice, and then wander forth to perish in their search for food. If the distress is widespread some small governmental provision is made; but too often these streams of "imperial grace" are lost in their courses as they flow out to the people through the channels of corrupt officials. These illustrations are taken from extreme conditions, but it is in such conditions that character is put to its surest test. Chinese civilization is remarkable in its conceptions and remarkable in its partial achievements; but it has not "renovated the people," and they have not found it as easy as the flowing of water to follow the precepts of the Sages.

We have drawn a contrast between Chinese civilization in its ideals and in its results. The radical cause of failure to realize these ideals has been pointed out—the weakness of human nature, the conflict in each individual between what Mencius calls "the great man"



and "the small man," the noble and ignoble affections and aspirations. Yet, in the evolution of this civilization other causes reveal themselves, and help us to understand its strength and weakness, its persistence and immobility.

The first cause of arrested development that may be mentioned is the wide separation of China from other great centres of civilization, which deprived Chinese thought in its formative period of the inspiration that would have been derived from the inflow of fresh ideas. Buddhism entered China at the beginning of the Christian era. Mohammedanism and Nestorianism followed in the seventh and eighth centuries; but this was long after the formative period of Chinese social life.

Two thousand years before Christ the interrelated systems of Nature-worship, Hero-worship, and Ancestor-worship had already taken on definite form, and were observed with a fixed and elaborate ritual. These systems have been transmitted to the present time with but slight modifications in significance or in their ceremonial observance. The Five Great Relations in the Heaven-ordained constitution of society were already recognized and defined as those of "prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, friend and friend." The family had assumed its essential type, with the authority of the lord of the household limiting the freedom and restraining the impulse of its members. Paternalism, taking its type from the family, had stamped itself upon the institutions of government; and the nation was in theory one great company of brethren, under the care of Heaven and Earth, with the Prince, the "Son of Heaven," as their representative, to carry out the "will of Heaven."

There is a unity and consistency in the Confucian system of ethics and religion that stamp it as indigenous. Among the writers who preceded Confucius by many centuries there was no acknowledgment of indebtedness to sources outside of themselves. We read in the classics that those who first apprehended truth communicated it to others, who accepted it, as they felt it to be in harmony with their natures. Confucius declared himself to be "a transmitter and not a producer." He believed himself to be a reformer sent of Heaven to better the condition of men, but not by proclaiming new ideas and setting up new institutions. His watch-cry was, "Back to the Ancients," to the teachings and customs of the founders of the nation, when even fierce barbarians, who had not been conquered in war, had been "melted" and transformed by music and dancing and

by the practice among them of the ceremonies of propriety. Though for nearly two thousand years Buddhism has exerted a considerable influence in China in ministering to the religious cravings of the people, it has wrought no essential modifications in the teachings of Confucius. China, like one huge family, separated from external influences, has been dominated in thought by the teachings of the Ancients, which have been gathered into the "Sacred Books," containing within them the sum of human knowledge.

The supreme honor paid to the Sages, literally "holy men," both in their persons and in their teachings, is a second cause of arrested development in Chinese civilization. The Confucian conception of a sage is not of a man inspired by a living personal spirit, but rather of a man whose nature is the perfect embodiment of the "law of Heaven." This law is self-directed. It is not the outgoing of thought or will from a personal Heaven, but radiates from Heaven as light from the sun. It is the source of transformations in nature, of growth and decay; it acts necessarily and spontaneously, in harmony with its nature, which is that of order. This "law of Heaven" not only operates to produce order in physical nature, but is also the regulating principle in the nature of man. When man's nature is under the perfect dominion of law, it is in harmony with Heaven and Earth in sustaining and nourishing the varied orders of being. The Sage is said to be the embodiment of Heaven and Earth; his virtues commingle with the virtues of Heaven and Earth. According to the traditional teaching Sages have perfect knowledge from birth; without the need of study they apprehend truth in open vision. When Confucius said of himself, "My knowledge is not from birth, but by acquisition," his disciples explained that this statement must be placed to the credit of the master's modesty and of his desire to make himself a pattern for others, who, being without the perfect natural endowments of the Sage, must study in order to know.

Thus the Chinese regard their Sages as possessed of perfect knowledge and virtue. Their teachings and example are accepted as infallible. They are incarnations, not of celestial beings, but of the "law of Heaven," and are the heaven-sent instructors and guides of men. To follow them is to walk in the path of virtue, to neglect their teachings is to be lost in a wilderness of error. The Sages gave clear and often beautiful expression to many of the first truths of human knowledge, and pointed out the duties correlated with these truths, until at length there grew up an elaborate and complicated



social ideal, a conception of a perfect family, a perfect state, and of the "law of Heaven" operating through all, to fix the rank and determine the duties of the various members.

The result has been to create out of the teachings of the Sages a vast social mould, into which the Chinese mind has been continuously poured, to take on the same unvarying type of thought. If men under the inspiration of Christian civilization, with clearer visions of truth, with greater freedom in the interchange of thought, with the new motives to progress begotten of modern discoveries, have shown a strong disposition to regard knowledge already attained as ultimate and complete, it should not be difficult for us to understand the immobility of the Chinese mind, fashioned as it has been by the thoughts of the past, which have been accepted as the final expression of truth. If Confucius, standing near the end of the long line of Sages, believed that his mission was only to emphasize the teachings of the ancients, how could common men presume to think outside of the circle of the teachings of the Sages?

The system of Confucian education is a third cause that has operated to give to Chinese civilization a fixed and rigid form. Learning has always been honored in China. It has been the one open door through which all classes of the people could attain to honor and to official rank. But learning has been confined within narrow lines. The teachings of the Sages have been gathered into the "Thirteen Classics," or, more exactly, the "Thirteen Scriptures." These Scriptures are literally the road along which men must pass who are inquiring after truth. This classical literature, including commentaries from the hands of later scholars, contains the sum of Chinese learning.

For the first few years of their school-life boys are set to the work of memorizing these classics, which they accomplish with marvellous success, but with little thought of the meaning of the endless chain of words.

When several books have thus been carved upon the memory, the work of explanation begins, first from the lips of the teacher, and then from the students. There are no easy steps in this pathway of learning. The boy of twelve is taught to explain how the prince should rule his kingdom; with what ceremonies he should bury his father, and worship at the tombs of his ancestors; how officials should serve their princes; how parents should regulate the family; how children should obey both the living and the dead. When some progress has

been made in mastering the meaning of the classics, the student must begin to match phrases, and to compose rhymes under prescribed regulations. The most serious and the crowning work of the student is to acquire the literary style of composition, which he is to use in preparing essays on themes taken from the classics. These essays, in their beauty of penmanship, elegance of expression, correctness of thought, aptness of quotation, are accepted in the competitive examinations as tests of scholarship, and if successful the writers are rewarded with honors, and finally with official preferment. No other training is thought necessary to qualify the aspirant for the highest civil office. His "stomach" is full of the wisdom of the Sages. He has learned from them the duties that pertain to the "five great relations," and he has only to apply this wisdom to special conditions as they arise.

It is said that when the first Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty—two centuries before Christ—attempted to destroy the classical literature, the scholars restored it from their memories. Certainly the scholars of any city in China could now rewrite the leading classics from memory. Not only are Confucian scholars saturated with these writings, but the more striking sayings have passed down into the common speech, so that those who are "blind with their eyes open" (the uneducated) are constantly quoting them without thought of their origin. The common speech is loaded with proverbs that reflect the thoughts of the Ancients. Scholars competing for honors must present in their essays the traditional interpretation of the doctrines of the Sages. If they should presume to set forth views of their own, not in harmony with this interpretation, they would be stripped by the public examiner of honors already conferred, and would be excluded from competing for literary distinction. Thus the educational system of China has not served to lead men's minds into new lines of thought or into fresh fields of investigation; rather has it served to confine the thoughts of each generation of scholars within the limits of "ancient instruction," and to stifle independent thought and inquiry.

Again, the system of Ancestor-worship has helped to stamp the thoughts and customs of China in its formative period upon the life of the people in subsequent ages. This peculiar cult had assumed definite form twenty-two centuries before Christ, and the ceremonies of worship then existing have undergone but little modification down to the present time. The ancient classical writings imply, and in



passages definitely teach, the conscious existence of the spirits of the departed, and their presence with the living, especially when the ceremonies of worship are observed. That Confucius had no clear notion of a conscious life beyond the present is made evident by his answer to his disciple's inquiry concerning death, "Not knowing life, how can I know death?" In the centuries subsequent to Confucius, philosophical writers, in their explanation of the evolution of nature—without conscious departure from the teachings of the Ancients—rejected the thought of continued conscious existence after death, but still laid stress upon the duty of worship.

The setting up of tablets in the household to symbolize the departed as present with the living is a custom relatively modern in its origin, though the offering of food and wine, with prostrations at the family tombs, was in practice at the dawn of Chinese history. The tablet is set up as a part of the funeral ceremony. Upon it is written the name and age of the deceased, and the additional characters, "Divine Lord, Divine Seat." The spirit of the departed is the Divine Lord, and the tablet its abiding-place. From this time the tablet is worshipped by the household as a symbol of the departed ancestor, and it takes precedence over the living heads of the family in honors conferred at weddings, funerals, the New Year, and important fêtes.

The superstition of *Feng shui*, pointing out the conjunction of events and conditions of life that involve men in good or evil fortune, has woven itself within the texture of the system of Ancestor-worship, and has added to its power over the minds of the people. The good fortune of a family is vitally related to the proper location of the family tomb, and to propitious external conditions. A wealthy Chinaman in extreme distress of mind once called upon the writer, prostrating himself to offer his supplications, explaining that the survey for the road of the "fire-wheel-cart" passed near the tombs of his ancestors, and that the rumbling and screaming of the carts would disturb their slumbers, and so bring misfortune upon the living. Fortunately his mind was set at ease, as the line of the road was changed before construction!

The first care of an officer when he receives promotion is to set in order the tombs of his family, often at much expense for buildings and mounds and shrines, for groves and walls and walks. When an officer has received high distinction through the grace of the Emperor, posthumous honors are bestowed upon his ancestors, since

their virtues were made lustrous in the life of their descendant. This system has placed the power of government, to a large degree, in the hands of the aged. Only the lower official ranks are usually reached in middle life, and it is not until the best powers of body and mind have begun to weaken that the highest places of honor and responsibility are secured. The confusion in government can often be traced to the palsied hands that are guiding its affairs.

Thus, through a system that has made gods of departed men, and has placed them over households as guardians of the living, generations of men, as they have wakened to consciousness, have found themselves in bondage to the past. Ancient customs must be followed without question, and all innovations must be suppressed as betraying a spirit of apostasy from the standards that have been unalterably fixed.

The foregoing presentation of the influences operating upon Chinese life will help to an understanding of the rigidity of the ruling thoughts of the people, and of the unchanging character of their institutions. China was secluded from the outside world; the Sages were the oracles of Heaven; their teachings were the final statement of truth. Confucian learning perpetuated and strengthened this system of thought; and Ancestor-worship added its power to fasten the system upon the religious convictions of men, until their capacity for progress was weakened, and the very thought of progress was well-nigh lost.

The hope of China is not in itself. The realization of its best thought must come from without. Christian civilization will bring to China a truer conception of the nature of man, a better understanding of his relations and duties, of his dignity and destiny. It will turn the faces of the people from the past toward the future, and will enrich their lives with a quality of love and fellowship and hope that Confucian civilization has been powerless to bestow.

D. Z. SHEFFIELD.



## IS CRIME INCREASING ?

THE belief that crime in the United States is on the increase is widespread and commonly accepted. We find it difficult to reconcile such a belief with our optimism as to our national progress. Are we to believe, as the preacher and the moralist sometimes aver, that our material growth has been at the expense of our moral standards; that in the race for wealth our people have been losing that wholesome respect for law and righteousness which formerly prevailed? If we admit the fact, can we reject the conclusion? We may deny that there is a dark spot on the picture of our national progress, or we may pass it over in silence; but a matter involving such momentous consequences for our social life should be faced and not shirked.

There are few who stop to question it. As to the accuracy of the fact alleged, when writers of unquestioned standing state the increase of crime as a fact universally recognized the ordinary reader feels himself relieved from the duty of further examination. Instinctively he seeks confirmation of such an increase of crime in his own experience. He notes the daily record of crime which appears in the newspapers, and if he reflects upon the matter at all he reaches the mournful conclusion that we are going to the dogs. It may be pointed out to him that crime, and indeed everything else, secures a far wider publicity to-day than ever before; but even granting this he is led to believe that a spirit of lawlessness prevails in our country which is in unhappy contrast with the law-abiding habits of an earlier day.

The American people have not accepted the conclusion that crime is increasing in the United States without the weightiest evidence in behalf of such a proposition. A review of the writers who have touched upon this subject seems to place the fact beyond question. In his standard work on "Recent Economic Changes" (p. 345) the late David A. Wells said:

"In the United States, while crime has diminished in a few States, for the whole country it has within recent years greatly increased. In 1850 the proportion of prison inmates was reported as one to every 3,448 of the entire population of the country; but in 1880 this proportion had risen to one for

every 855. These results are believed to be attributable, in the Northern States, mainly to the great foreign immigration, and, in the Southern, to the emancipation of the negroes."

Mr. Henry M. Boies, in his work on "Prisoners and Paupers," is still more emphatic. Commenting upon the returns of the census of 1890, he says:

"Some of the disclosures made are, however, shocking if not appalling in the highest degree to our confidence in the future. One of these is the abnormal and disproportionate increase in the criminal class in society. That increase is from 1 in 3,500 of our population in 1850 to 1 in 786.5 in 1890, or of 445 per cent; while the population has increased but 170 per cent in the same period. In the last decade, with an increase of 2.45 per cent in population, the number of inmates of our penitentiaries, jails and reformatories has increased 45.2 per cent, or nearly twice faster than the general population. \* \* \* \* \* Such a disproportion cannot continue indefinitely without a relapse into barbarism and social ruin. It is more startling because such a state of things does not exist in other civilized nations, as public records show."<sup>1</sup>

English writers also echo the same opinions. Mr. William Douglas Morrison, in his work on "Crime," speaks of the increase of crime in the United States as a fact universally recognized and attested by such high authorities as David A. Wells and Dr. F. H. Wines. Mr. William Tallack quotes General Brinkerhoff of Ohio as being able to show in 1885 that the "tide of crime in the United States was rising with alarming rapidity."<sup>2</sup> The assertion here quoted was supported by the figures already given, which need not be repeated.

In a contribution to the "North American Review" for December, 1897, Professor Lombroso, the distinguished Italian criminologist, attempted to answer the question, "Why has homicide increased in the United States?" He claims that while in other countries such crime is diminishing, in the United States the very reverse is the case. In 1880 there were, he tells us, 4,600 arrests for homicide in the United States, while in 1890 such arrests numbered 7,500. Not only is the ratio of these figures to the population far higher than in the countries of Western Europe, but it is plainly increasing at an extraordinary rate, which can only be explained by peculiar conditions in the United States, which he attempts to analyze.

This testimony appears unimpeachable, yet the high character of the witnesses need not deter us from an impartial examination of their assertions. It will be seen at a glance that one and all rest the case

<sup>1</sup> "Prisoners and Paupers," New York, 1893, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Penological and Preventive Principles," p. 140.



upon the figures of the United States census, which are here reproduced in full :

CENSUS.	PRISONERS.	PRISONERS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.
1850.....	6,737	29
1860.....	19,086	61
1870.....	32,901	85
1880. ....	58,609	117
1890.....	82,329	132

Repeated year after year, and printed together in the official census reports, these figures are naturally accepted as strictly comparable. The contrast of the extreme years 1850 and 1890 shows an increase in the number of prisoners which goes far to justify the uncomfortable conclusions of the writers quoted. But are the figures to be relied upon? Dr. F. H. Wines, who compiled these statistics in 1880 and 1890, cautions us in his report of the latter year to be chary in our comparisons. He says :<sup>1</sup>

“The increase in the number of prisoners during the last forty years has been more apparent than real, owing to the very imperfect enumeration of the prison population prior to 1880. Whatever it has been, it is not what it might be supposed to be, if we had no other means of judging it than by the figures contained in the census volumes. The comparison between the number of prisoners in 1880 and in 1890 is not open to this criticism, since the enumeration was made after the same method at both the dates named.”

The differences in methods here noted were not mere technical details in the gathering of statistics, of interest only to the specialist striving after scrupulous accuracy in his statements, but facts of importance vital to the present inquiry. In addition to the census figures, other evidence of an increase in crime from 1850 to 1880 may be in existence; but if so, it is not adduced by the writers who have sought to demonstrate the fact. Their sole reliance is upon the census figures, and with the latter their whole proof stands or falls.

Before 1880 the figures printed in the census volumes were gathered by loose and careless methods. Inquiries were made of State and local officials as to the whole number of prisoners in given districts. In official documents relating to the enumerations of 1850 and 1860, I have searched in vain for any reference to the figures. No explanation is vouchsafed as to how they were gathered or what they mean. In 1870, however, I find that the question as to prisoners did not refer to the inmates of work-houses or houses of correction, but there is

<sup>1</sup> Eleventh Census, “Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence,” Vol. I., p. 126.

no explanation of the omission. In short, this part of the census work was very carelessly carried out. This is illustrated by an incident which occurred in taking the census of 1870, which is related by a person thoroughly conversant with the facts. A census enumerator rushed into the office of one of our State Boards of Charities and Corrections to inquire how many prisoners there were in the State. On being informed that the office did not have the exact information, he replied that there was nothing left for him to do but to guess the number; and the figure which he evolved from his inner consciousness became the record of the prisoners of the State. The case may be extreme, but the methods employed permitted such extreme cases.

All statistical authorities look with the greatest distrust on totals gained by summary processes. A change in the direction of accuracy was made in the year 1880, when an individual record was prepared for every prisoner in the United States. The aggregates were no longer obtained by summary processes, but by a patient compilation from single records. The same course, with even greater fulness of detail, was pursued in 1890. By the admission of the census authorities, which we have seen is well founded, our reliable information as to the number of prisoners is confined to these two years. Comparisons with earlier years must be abandoned, and with them all attempts at the numerical measurement of an increase of crime fall to pieces.

That there may have been an increase of crime in the United States in the last hundred or in the last fifty years is neither affirmed nor denied. It is simply asserted that there is no valid documentary evidence of the crime movement for these periods, and in the absence of precise records statistical inquiry is precluded. Such a comparison of the crime of to-day with that of fifty or a hundred years ago might be extremely instructive, but it is not the only inquiry which the alleged increase of crime suggests. We have been told that crime is now increasing, and that such an increase appears to be an inherent tendency of the progress of our civilization in the United States. It is this assertion which gives the topic present interest, and in this aspect the record of the immediate past is more significant than that of remoter periods. Within the past quarter century the materials are not lacking for a judgment of the question.

For more recent years, the testimony of the United States census, that in 1880 there were 117 prisoners for every 100,000 inhabitants, while ten years later the number had increased to 132, points toward some increase in crime. The inference implies, it is true, that an in-



crease in the number of prisoners is a trustworthy indication of an increase in crime, and all the authorities quoted have accepted this implication without hesitation or reserve.

We certainly have a sufficiently clear idea of what we intend by the phrase "the quantity of crime" with its "increase or diminution." Obviously, the quantity of crime is the whole number of punishable offences which occur within a given period, such as a year. We would measure such quantities in two different places, or at two different periods, by ratios to the respective populations. Yet we must be aware that in any strict sense the quantity of crime never has been and never can be recorded, since many offences occur which escape the knowledge of the authorities. While we are wont to speak of the quantity of crime, it is in reality the amount of recorded crime which our statistics reveal; and the question arises: What records are best adapted to indicate changes in the quantity of crime? These records vary considerably. We find figures based upon the number of arrests, others giving the number of sentences imposed, while in the United States we appeal most frequently to the number of prisoners. None of these facts is in a strict sense a measure of crime. Taken together they are, at the most, indications of its volume.

Now, if the number of prisoners increases, it is natural to ascribe such growth to a larger number of offences committed. This reasoning appears so obvious that it may seem puerile to question it; yet a brief examination will show no necessary connection between the premises and the conclusion.

The publication of the State census of 1895 revealed the fact that the inmates of penal establishments in Massachusetts had increased more rapidly since 1885 than the population, to the alarm of some good citizens of that commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> A study of the reports of the Prison Commissioners of the State showed the writer that this increase was not the growth of ten years, but that it had taken place in the latter part of the year 1885, after the census had been taken. On June 30, 1885, all the prisons of the State confined 4,346 persons, while at the close of September of the same year their inmates numbered 5,344. Nor was this change due to the fact that in September the tramps and petty criminals had gone into winter quarters; for in September of the previous year the prisons had only 4,388 inmates. Here seemed to be the evidence of a most extraordinary increase in

<sup>1</sup> "Worcester Evening Telegraph," September 3, 1899.

crime in the brief space of three months. Fewer crimes were punished, yet the prisoners increased nearly one-fourth in number! Yet for the whole year, ending September 30, 1885, there were 26,651 persons committed to prison, against 26,739 in the preceding year.

Anomalous as the situation appears, it is easily explained. In July, 1885, a law was passed in Massachusetts which doubled the punishment for drunkenness. Term sentences were henceforth to be twice their former length, while the offenders who were sent to jail in default of paying fines also remained in confinement twice as long as before the passage of the act. The procession of drunkards through the Massachusetts jails continued as before, but the new law checked the rapidity of the march and crowded these prisoners together before they emerged from the portals of their prisons. The ranks were even thinner in 1885 than before; for in the year ending September 30, 1884, the contingent was 19,564 persons, and in the following year, 18,701. At the end of the first year we find 1,157 still in confinement, and at the end of the second year, 1,765. It is clearly a change in the punishments and not a change in the number of offences which the figures record. Had the law been to the contrary effect the number of prisoners would have diminished.

This illustration shows more clearly than would an argument that the number of prisoners depends upon the length of sentences as well as upon the number of offences. And here we find an explanation of Professor Lombroso's highly colored view of homicide in the United States. His distinguished learning did not save him from a simple mistake in reading the figures. When he spoke of arrests for homicide he should have said, "Prisoners charged with homicide either sentenced or awaiting trial." There were, indeed, 7,386 such persons in the prisons of the United States in 1890; but in a great majority of cases their crimes were committed long before the census year, and comparatively few represented the crimes of that year. Had the author really known the number of offences for the single year he would not have found homicide to be so much more frequent in the United States than in western Europe.

The number cannot be definitely known, but may be approximately estimated. In the year 1890 the federal census recorded eighty-six homicides among the prisoners of Massachusetts, while from State documents we learn that in the year ending September 30, 1890, the number of persons committed for homicide was twelve. The crimes punished in the year numbered, therefore, about one-



seventh of the prisoners confined for the crime. If this proportion holds good for the United States at large, our 7,386 homicides confined in 1890 represent about 1,053 crimes punished in the census year. The ratio to the population is not quite two in 100,000 inhabitants, while both in Germany and in England, which, by the testimony of the author, have the least homicides, the figures which he quotes are five arrests in every 100,000. Condemnations and arrests are not synonymous, but to reach the proportions quoted for Germany and England we could assume as many as 2,500 arrests. So much for the greater frequency of homicide in the United States. The proposition that it has greatly increased rests upon the same misapprehension of the figures cited; for it need not be demonstrated that, with the gradual substitution of term and life sentences for the death penalty, the number of prisoners would of necessity increase faster than the population.

Our illustrations suffice to show how misleading it may be to accept the number of prisoners as an indication of the quantity of crime. If it be used at all, it must be with infinite caution, and with a precise knowledge of changes—both in the laws themselves and in the vigor of their enforcement—which may have intervened between the years compared. In comparing different communities by the same test the sources of error in interpretation become almost innumerable. Few can pretend to that minute knowledge of all the conditions involved which is necessary to extract any definite information from so complex a resultant as the number of prisoners, and it is the part of wisdom to abandon it entirely. Mr. William Douglas Morrison has well said: “All competent statisticians are agreed that the movement of crime in a community cannot be determined by a reference to the movement of the prison population, or in other words by an appeal to prison statistics.”<sup>1</sup>

Truly the argument for an increase of crime rests upon slender foundations. Both its premises and its reasoning are dubious, and the result of our examination is in effect the Scotch verdict, “Not proven.” But such verdicts are proverbially unsatisfactory; and when the issue is of great importance purely destructive criticism is but a mocking consolation. If we are to reach any valid conclusions, we must build anew upon a more stable foundation. Our criticism has pointed out where we may look for this. We must seek records

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, March, 1897.

which, for each year compared, give an indication of the crime committed in that year, and in that year only. The census gives us no aid, nor is there any other compilation of facts which relates to the entire nation; but in the public documents of some of the States there are records which answer our purpose. These States are few in number, and are all in the northern and eastern sections of the country. The records available picture faithfully some aspects of the crime movement in these communities, and in the absence of direct proof to the contrary we may fairly conclude that in States adjacent to them, having similar social and industrial conditions, the same tendencies are at work.

Our inquiry must be two-fold: first, as to the facts; and, second, as to their significance. It may seem idle to inquire whether an increase of crime, if such there be, is synonymous with a weakening of the moral character and tone of the community. Yet such is the inquiry we propose. For after all, what is crime? It may be doubted whether the word means the same thing to the statistician and to the moralist. We venture to believe that the public makes little discrimination—that, for it, the word crime calls up a series of pictures of offences against the law which involve a high degree of moral delinquency.

But pictures, however vivid, do not constitute a definition. Though the law has attempted to make distinctions between felonies and misdemeanors, the dividing line between the two is so vague and indefinite that statistical records have rarely been able to take cognizance of the distinctions. Whenever the statistician speaks of crime he includes all classes of punishable offences. Those who use the statistics of crime frequently overlook this important fact, and often ascribe to the figures an ethical significance which they do not contain. No one would class violations of bicycle ordinances or throwing waste paper in the street in the same moral category with murder and arson. Yet as such widely divergent offences are punishable they are all included in the aggregate of crime. We must, therefore, know what classes of offences have multiplied in number before we can estimate the moral significance of the changes which may have occurred. We must inquire into the movement of particular classes of crime after discussing that of crime in general.

In Massachusetts we have since 1879 in the reports of the Prison Commissioners a record of all persons committed to all prisons of the State in each year ending September 30. Starting with 16,501



persons committed in 1879, the figure increased slowly until 1882, when, with a bound, it reached 22,865. This was succeeded by a period of gradual increase, until in 1889 the maximum figure of 34,098 was attained. Since that date the figures have never been so high, and in the year 1892 even fell to the low point of 17,861. If the figures for the later years range somewhat higher as a rule than at the beginning of the record, it must be remembered that the population was also increasing. Calculating the number of commitments for each 100,000 of the population, I find it, in 1879, to be 939, and, in 1882, 1,238. Increasing somewhat less rapidly than the absolute figures the ratio reached 1,564 in the year 1889; but since then there has been no year in which it was as large as between 1882 and 1889. These figures fail to show a progressive increase in crime in Massachusetts, though a portion of the period under review witnessed a growth.<sup>1</sup>

In Pennsylvania the records of the State Board of Charities and Corrections tell us the number of persons committed annually to jail by magistrates. Some are held for trial, some merely as witnesses, but the greater number are sentenced to terms of imprisonment under the summary jurisdiction of magistrates. While all may not be offenders against the law, it is probable that the proportion of those who were eventually released without punishment did not vary from year to year. Again, the number of persons involved increased from 47,161 in 1875 to 66,419 in 1895, but this increase was less than that of the population. The number of such commitments in 100,000 inhabitants was 1,209 in 1875, and 1,156 twenty years later, while for the intervening years the figures exhibit great constancy and regularity.<sup>2</sup>

The State of Michigan also offers some interesting testimony as to the total number of persons committed to the jails of the State. While the penitentiaries are not included, it is explained that the inmates

<sup>1</sup>The number of commitments per 100,000 population in Massachusetts have been

1879....939	1884....1,400	1889....1,564	1894....1,073
1880....957	1885....1,372	1890....1,487	1895....1,148
1881....941	1886....1,272	1891....1,213	1896....1,135
1882...1,238	1887....1,302	1892.... 762	1897....1,204
1883...1,284	1888....1,442	1893.... 800	1898....1,119

<sup>2</sup>Prisoners committed in Pennsylvania per 100,000 inhabitants.

1875.....1,209	1890.....1,001
1880.....1,028	1895.....1,156
1885.....1,150	

of such institutions pass a preliminary stage in jail before trial, so that they are comprised in the jail figures. In the year ending September 30, 1875, the number of persons charged with crime was 6,833, and in 1897 it was 17,400; but in comparison with the population the increase was by no means so marked. In the former year the ratio of persons charged with crime to 100,000 population was 502, and in the latter year 739. This higher level was not obtained by a gradual progression, but by an irregular movement, in which the tendency toward larger ratios was often interrupted.

A diligent search among the records of the States has discovered no other figures from which an indication of the crime movement could be found. So far as it goes the evidence is that in Massachusetts offences gained on the population up to 1889, and have since failed to keep pace with it; that in Pennsylvania the progress of population and crime has been uniform; while in Michigan offences have outstripped the population in growth. The testimony is not sufficient to establish a general rule for the northern and eastern parts of the country, but the facts stated assuredly warrant us in affirming that if there has been an increase in crime it has been inconsiderable. As the inquiry proceeds the lurid picture of our progressive deterioration becomes almost colorless.

We cannot say with Lombroso that crimes of violence have increased. On the contrary, all the indications are that, whatever may be the movement of crime in general, graver offences are relatively less frequent than formerly. Of all the crimes in the Penal Code those of violence against the person are justly regarded as the most serious. It is certainly gratifying to observe that in Massachusetts such crimes are on the decrease.<sup>1</sup> In 1880 there were 94 such crimes punished for every 100,000 inhabitants, and in 1898 only 69. The records of the other States furnish similar testimony. In Ohio, in 1885, the prosecutions for crimes against the person numbered 54 for every 100,000 inhabitants, while in 1890 and 1895 the figures were respectively 51 and 46.<sup>2</sup> In Michigan we find a division of offences into "high crimes and minor offences." Even in that State,

<sup>1</sup> In Massachusetts the figures for a number of years per 100,000 are :

1880.....	94	1896.....	76
1885.....	97	1897.....	73
1890.....	82	1898.....	69
1895.....	77		

<sup>2</sup> Computed from Judicial Statistics in the Annual Reports of the Secretaries of State.



while the total number of offences increased, we find that "high crimes" were recorded in the ratio of 111 to every 100,000 inhabitants in 1875, and in the ratio of 91 in 1897.<sup>1</sup>

By the concurrent testimony of all the figures serious crime is not increasing. Such an increase of crime as has been shown for a portion of the period covered in Massachusetts, and for the whole period in Michigan, is due to the multiplication of minor offences. Is this increase morally significant? Does it mean, as some have said, an increase of petty lawlessness, not alarming for the moment, but full of danger for the future?

A moment's consideration of the character of petty crime will dispel any anxious forebodings for the future. Again the State of Massachusetts, with its admirably detailed reports, comes to our aid. In its numerical importance the chief offence against the laws of Massachusetts is drunkenness, and this exerts a powerful influence upon the aggregate number of offences. In 1880, the persons punished for drunkenness numbered 615 in every 100,000. In 1882 the number rose to 908. For a series of years it remained very high, touching 1,187 in 1889. But in 1891 it fell off to 864, and in the following year reached the minimum figure of 368. Since then it has risen somewhat, and in the year 1898 attained the figure 762. So far as Massachusetts is concerned the increase of crime from 1880 to 1889 resolves itself into a greater number of punishments for drunkenness. One cannot believe that the amount of drunkenness has increased and diminished in the fitful and spasmodic fashion in which the figures vary. It is not the offence but its punishment that has varied.

The figures for drunkenness cannot be interpreted to show a declining respect for the law, yet it is a type of many of the minor offences. Again, the number of the latter in the records depends not so much upon the number of reprehensible actions as upon the cognizance taken of them by the authorities. Changed social conditions may render it necessary to restrain actions heretofore considered

<sup>1</sup> In Michigan the figures per 100,000 population for a number of years are :

	HIGH CRIMES.	MINOR OFFENCES.
1875.....	111	391
1880.....	108	364
1885.....	93	492
1890.....	98	428
1894.....	109	687
1895.....	114	522
1896.....	95	596
1897.....	91	648

harmless. The most important change in this respect which has taken place in the United States is the growth of our cities. Life in the midst of a crowded population is subject to restrictions unknown in rural regions. Thus, in 1895 the arrests for drunkenness in the cities of Massachusetts numbered 3,417 for every 100,000 inhabitants, and in the towns 750. We may well concede the vice to be more frequent in cities; but this enormous disproportion in the number of arrests must be in part due to the fact that in the cities police officers are more frequently encountered. Again, in the crowded thoroughfares of cities other minor offences must be noticed which might be overlooked in the country. For example, we hear nothing in the country of the crimes of the bicycle, yet the repression of such offences is one of the daily activities of the police of our cities. Illustrations might be multiplied of actions which in the country constitute no offence, but which in cities must be repressed by the law. That such offences occur may indicate a lack of adjustment to the conditions of city life, but it does not mean a moral decline. If there has been an increase of petty crime, which seems probable, we have an adequate explanation of it in the growth of cities.

Let us briefly summarize the conclusions of our inquiry. Crime, in the broadest sense, including all offences punished by law, has probably increased slightly in the last twenty-five years. On the other hand, crime, in its deeper moral sense, as we are apt to picture it, has decreased. Changes in our environment, not changes in our moral standards, have multiplied minor offences. The increase of crime which our modern life reveals is thus a social and not a moral phenomenon.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.



## THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER.

### I.

#### THE NATURE OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEM.

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THE appearance of the United States in the circle of world powers, although seemingly sudden and unexpected, has been a natural evolution of recent political and economic tendencies. The time has come when the intensity of the struggle for new markets and for opportunities for investment has forced the great commercial nations, by the instinct of self-preservation, to demand that the field of competition be kept open, even by the exercise, if necessary, of paramount military force. In supporting this demand the United States will obey the motive of enlightened self-interest which actuates other producing nations. She cannot take any other course without condemning herself to industrial stagnation at home as well as to a loss in prestige abroad. The appearance of foreign states as borrowers in the New York money market is one of the many signs that the period of economic isolation for the United States is drawing to an end, and that she must enter into the competition for the world market and into the field of international finance.

In this contest the problem for the United States, on the economic side, is to attain the greatest producing capacity by the efficiency of competitive machinery and labor, while on the political side it is to keep open the opportunity for the free play of this competitive power in the world's markets. If commercial freedom were the rule among nations, so that there could be no discrimination against the most efficient producer, the industries of the United States would need no political support in the contest for commercial supremacy. But, by reason of the conditions which have prevailed in the world from the beginning, under which diplomatic finesse and military force have been brought to the support of national commerce, it is essential that those peoples who can produce under the best conditions should not be deprived of the opportunity to sell in the world's markets. This is the

significance of the economic and political problem which confronts the American people, and which makes important their foothold in the Philippines as a lever for keeping open the door of China and for sharing in the development of Asia.

Let us examine a little more closely the nature of the contest which confronts modern civilized nations, and discover, if possible, the best way to win and hold supremacy in that contest.

The controlling element of the economic problem is the greatly increased severity of competition. This is due to a combination of the factors which make up the complex conditions of modern industrial life. Among these factors are the division of labor, the development of machinery, the growth of capital, and the revolution in the means of transportation. The mere appearance of the locomotive and the ocean steamship as factors in production and exchange, while producing a remarkable revolution, did not at once level the barriers between markets. Freight rates were much higher a generation or a score of years ago than they are at present; and it required their gradual reduction to the minimum cost of the service rendered to bring into play the full efficiency of railways and canals in merging isolated local markets into a world market, sensitive to every flash of the electric wire bringing the news of a crop failure, a cabinet decision, an act of Congress, or the declaration of a railway dividend in the most distant quarter of the globe. It required also the adaptation of industry to the new conditions before producers could begin to reach out beyond their own country.

As Prof. Liesse declares, in his original and striking book, "*Le Travail aux Points de Vue Scientifique, Industriel, et Social*," "The concentration of industries has been accompanied by a more and more extended expansion of markets. To local competition were added first that of the surrounding region and then that of the entire country. Finally, in spite of economic fetters, competition has become international." It is upon this international competition that the United States is compelled to enter, whether she wishes it or not, by the conditions of her industrial development. Her production of finished goods and her fund of saved capital have overrun the needs of the home market. But in seeking to enter the world market she finds rivals seeking to fence off particular portions for themselves and to frame the rules of the contest in such a way as to take away the element of a fair fight under the conditions of economic freedom. How a continent has been thus fenced off is well set forth by Prof.



Schurman, President of Cornell University, in his speech on "Expansion," before the Union League Club of Chicago, on February 22, 1900:

"In our blind idolatry of the Monroe doctrine, in our devotion to the stay-at-home policy of the eighteenth century, in our intense desire to avoid all international obligations, we have allowed great nations of Europe to partition out Africa among themselves and exclude American products by means of discriminating tariffs devised to secure for their own manufacturers a monopoly of the new markets."

The conditions which confront the business world to-day are essentially the product of very recent years. Cheapness and swiftness of transportation removed one of the insuperable barriers to the creation of a world market, but they did not in themselves create it. At least three other steps were required—the organization of industry, the growth of a fund of capital sufficient for production upon a large scale, and the development of organized markets. It is because these are approaching the goal of an organized world market that the conditions of competition, between different peoples, have suddenly become so acute that diplomacy and the sword are being invoked, on the one side to secure exclusive opportunities, and on the other to preserve equality of conditions. So long as the American producer limited his activity to the home market, and a complacent government lent him the aid of a high tariff to put his experiments on a firm footing as well as to shut out sporadic competition after these experiments had become established industries, it mattered little to him that Tunis or Madagascar had closed its doors to any trade but that of France, or that Russia was gaining financial control of Persia and was trying to shut her rivals out of Turkey and to dictate the trade policy of China. But within a few years the eyes of the American manufacturer have been suddenly opened to the fact that there is a world market in which he must be a competitor if he would dispose of his products and find labor for the thousands expecting it at his hands, and that equal opportunities in this market could be preserved only by the resolute support of his government.

If the question were a purely economic one it could be answered upon purely economic grounds. Under this head alone, however, there is much that is novel in the severity of competition. It is evident that every factor which affects cost of production and transportation will affect competitive power. Such diverse things as the size of cars and locomotives, the rates for the loaning of money, the

efficiency of the currency, the prizes offered for the invention of labor-saving machinery, the freedom of transactions from needless restrictions and taxes, and the burden falling upon industry for the maintenance of the state and the army, will all be elements in determining the cost and efficiency of production in any community in competition with its rivals. It will not always follow that the absence of the regulation of industry and of generous public expenditures will afford better results than their presence, but each proposition of this character should, at least on its economic side, be weighed solely with reference to its ability to further production and competing power.

Transportation is one of those sciences in which economy and efficiency mean much in the acuteness of modern competition. The American railway system is superior to that of European countries already in the size of locomotives and of cars, and in cost of service. As a rule European distances are so slight that economy in car-space, power, and freight-rates has not yet become a controlling factor in the competition with America; but every reduction in the cost of moving freight over the great distances in the United States increases the competing power of this country. Prof. Henry T. Newcomb, whose researches have shed so much light upon railway development, showed, in a report to the Department of Agriculture in 1898, that the average revenue from freight per ton per mile on the railways of the United States fell from 1.613 cents in 1873 to 0.806 cents in 1896, a decline of 50 per cent in twenty-three years.

Nearly every year has contributed some new element to this reduction of the cost of transportation. Steel rails have supplanted iron, train-brakes have reduced the cost and increased the safety of handling trains, and (to quote from Prof. Newcomb) "the general use of larger locomotives has led to a considerable increase in the average number of cars in each train, which has been accompanied by a notable tendency to substitute larger cars for those which, in the natural course of business, have to be replaced, thus increasing very materially the efficiency of the train as a machine for moving commodities."

The development of organized industry upon a large scale was a necessary pre-requisite to competition in a world market. The division of labor, the use of expensive special machinery capable of producing goods far beyond the requirements of local markets, and reduced cost of superintendence, are among the elements in this



organization of industry. The removal of the barriers of distance paved the way for production upon a large scale and for the development of these economies to the highest degree. It became possible for each industry to find a home, without regard to distance from its markets, in the community affording the best conditions for production—manufactures of iron near the mines, and manufactures of textiles in the towns and cities where an organized body of skilful workers already existed. It became possible not only to transport materials greater distances from the place of their origin to the place where they were to be made up, but also to distribute finished products with greater economy at long distances from the original place of manufacture.

This specialization of industry was not accomplished in a day. The railway development of the world hardly attained serious proportions before 1870, and was far from complete within the memory of men still in their prime. Prof. Newcomb, in his work on "Railway Economics," calls attention to the fact that in the United States "more than half of the present railway mileage has been constructed since 1880." In 1870 this mileage was only 49,160. There was an increase of 70 per cent to 1880; but even at that date the railways of the United States had a length of only 87,724 miles, which was destined to rise by 1890 to 163,597 miles. The growth since then has been less rapid, because the equipment of the country has been nearing completion.

In France, the growth in railways in operation, exclusive of local lines and tramways, rose from 17,221 kilometers in 1872, to 37,739 kilometers in 1900. In Russia, within the short period from 1887 to 1900, according to the "Russian Journal of Financial Statistics" for January, the mileage of the state railways has risen from 2,928 to 20,346 miles. In the whole of Europe, according to an article by Prof. Edmond Théry in "L'Économiste Européen" of January 5, the aggregate of railways in operation increased from 134,591 kilometers on January 1, 1875, to 269,743 kilometers (165,000 miles) by December 31, 1898. When the very recent character of this development is weighed for a moment, it becomes clear that the nations of the civilized world are only standing upon the threshold of the world market, and that the struggle for its possession is yet before them.

The development of industries upon a scale for supplying this world market necessarily followed at some remove the organization of the means of transportation. This organization reduced to a minimum the

friction involved in bringing products into the world market. It remained to take advantage of these conditions by increasing the supply as the market widened and the demand increased. How remarkable a development has been witnessed in this direction within one or two decades was set forth in an address delivered at Chicago, on February 20, by Secretary Gage. He pointed out that, while from 1870 to 1899, population in the United States increased by 100 per cent, exports increased from \$392,771,768 to \$1,227,023,302, or 212 per cent; production of wheat rose from 235,884,700 to 547,303,843 bushels, or 132 per cent; pig iron, from 1,665,179 to 11,773,934 tons, or 607 per cent; steel produced, from 68,750 to 8,932,857 tons, or more than twelve thousand per cent; telegraphic messages, from 9,157,646 to 76,805,175 in number, or 739 per cent; post office receipts, from \$19,772,221 to \$95,021,384, or 380 per cent; and salaries paid in public schools, from \$37,832,556 to \$123,809,412, or 227 per cent.

The last item is one among many which are specially significant of the changed conditions of modern life, because they illustrate how large a surplus fund is left for the employment of the professional classes and for ministration to higher ideals after full provision has been made for the exacting conditions of the struggle for existence. It is out of this great surplus that large professional salaries and growing taxes for public improvements are paid, with great benefit both to the competing power and to the higher life of a community, while leaving larger resources than a generation ago for the necessities and comforts of the working people.

The accumulation of capital is another modern fact contributing greatly to the concentration of industry, thus permitting a greater and greater division of labor, resulting in the growing efficiency of the individual at his special task, and a greater aggregate product from a given number of workers. The growth of the fund of surplus capital has made possible investments in machinery and manufacturing plants which would not have been conceivable a few generations ago. It has been possible to make investments in enterprises requiring a long time for their completion, like transcontinental railways, inter-oceanic canals, and tunnels, for which the world could not have afforded to spare the capital when its resources were comparatively limited.

When the French railway system was inaugurated, in 1860, it required—in spite of the great progress which had been made in the use of machinery and the saving of capital—the intervention of the



Bank of France to sustain the necessary financial operations and obtain from the public sufficient subscriptions of capital for carrying on the work. The amount of capital called for in any single year was not more than \$60,000,000, which would be treated as a moderate single transaction in the financial operations of to-day. Regarding the total capital of about \$2,700,000,000, representing the value of the French railway system at the present time, Prof. Liesse declares that "even the boldest spirits would have been astonished about the middle of the century if the possibility could have been revealed to them of assembling all this capital for a special object, without exhausting the available resources demanded by all the other branches of progressive industry." But each year nearly this amount is now offered from savings for the use of industry.

The compilation of the new securities issued in the civilized world made up annually by the "*Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels*," the well-known Belgian financial journal, shows the amount to have been 9,129,054,150 francs in 1896, 8,911,870,530 francs in 1897, 8,902,776,660 francs in 1898, and 10,577,406,550 francs in 1899. The issues of railway and industrial securities alone in 1898 were 5,448,091,660 francs, and in 1899, 6,648,483,960 francs, or more than twenty times the amount needed in France in 1860 to inaugurate the railway system of the country.

The manner in which the great fund of savings, groping for safe investment, is piling up in civilized countries is indicated by a glance at the increase in deposits in the European savings systems. Let us take a few illustrations at random: The Prussian savings-banks increased their deposits within the five years ending with 1898 by about 40 per cent, or by a sum of more than \$350,000,000. The French private savings-banks at the close of 1899 carried deposits of 3,405,647,025 francs (\$657,000,000), equal to about \$16 for each inhabitant of France. The impoverished people of Italy, sinking under the burdens of an excessive military establishment and a foreign policy too ambitious for the resources of the country, showed deposits in the ordinary and postal savings-banks at the close of 1899 amounting to nearly \$400,000,000. The savings of Belgium deposited in the savings-banks run much above \$100,000,000. Even in Russia, which is suffering under industrial depression and extensive famines, the savings deposits in different classes of banks rose from 518,537,000 roubles on November 30, 1898, to 580,331,000 roubles (\$308,500,000) by September 30, 1899. In the United States the growth of

deposits in the savings banks was from \$549,874,358 in 1870 to \$2,230,366,954 in 1899.

So rapidly has this accumulation of money affected interest rates, by creating a supply of capital in excess of the demand, that conversion of debts at a lower rate of interest was one of the most striking features of the money market and the stock exchanges prior to 1897. There was a hardening of discount rates in the latter year, resulting from the opening of new outlets for investment, including the new industrial activity in the undeveloped countries of Africa and the East.

This supply of surplus capital has resulted in the creation of great banking institutions, handling a speculative fund of thousands of millions of dollars, which often plays a dangerous part in the stock market when it is not loaned in the ordinary operations of production. This great fund shifts from market to market under the impulse of slight differences in the discount rate or the rental for gold; sometimes threatening as much damage to the small investor, who counts upon steady values, as a cannon ball let loose upon the deck of a ship. The ability to draw upon this fund at moderate rates has, however, permitted the constant growth of the concentration of industry, and this concentration has permitted great economies in methods of production. Towns and cities have sprung up at the waving of the magic wand of organized capital, and the creation of varied industries on a grand scale has brought about the birth of various related industries.

An important phase of the movement of capital deserves mention. This is its international character. In his interesting book, "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Mr. Hobson truthfully declares that "dealers in Stock Exchange securities and in the precious metals are in active, constant competition at all the great commercial centres of the world." International finance has become a power which disregards boundaries, takes scant account of personal and class feelings, and sometimes dictates terms to nations. In its ordinary functions, however, its work is beneficent. It governs the equations between values in different markets by sending capital to those markets where the rental is highest and, therefore, where its efficiency is greatest in ministering to the needs of the race. The free movement of capital between international markets, selfish and pitiless as it seems to be, is in reality but the fluctuation of the barometer of need and supply, the application of the law of greatest usefulness to the most sensitive and responsive of the tools of modern social development.



It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, but rather a natural result of this increase of competition, that industry should attempt to throw up barriers for its own protection. While competition was local the producer of moderate capacity could hold a local market by the fixed customs of his clientage and by the difficulty of bringing products from a distance into competition with his. He may have made mistakes in buying raw material and in employing out-of-date and wasteful means of manufacture; but if he had no local competitors, or if they all pursued the same indolent and inefficient methods, he had nothing to fear from competitors from without.

Cheapness and rapidity of transportation by land and water changed all this. Within the limits where freight charges did not eat up economies of production, the most ingenious and up-to-date producer was enabled to find the spots in the world where production was less efficiently organized than his own and to drive the local producer there to the wall. As these limits set by the cost of carriage became more and more widely extended, it came to be seen that the only defense against such competition was for the weaker concerns to surrender to the stronger, or to secure an agreement by which there should be a voluntary abstention of the one from entering the territory of the other, or a division of profits or business. Thus the extent and intensity of competition due to the widening of markets forced producers to turn to pools, combinations, and trusts as a natural weapon of self-defence. The great corporation, possessing the most efficient machinery, naturally supersedes the mere pool or trust, and contributes much more to the competing power of the community.

It is when the "trust" has swallowed up its rivals for the control of the local market, and reaches out for the control of foreign markets, that it seeks to bring political power to the aid of economic efficiency or inefficiency, and thus projects the problem of controlling the international market into the field of world politics. It is this struggle between the great political powers of the world for bolstering up national economic power which constitutes the cardinal fact of modern diplomacy. The issue involved is sometimes obscured by motives which seem to be purely national and political, rather than economic; but the controlling fact is coming home more and more to statesmen, even of the least advanced countries, that the real basis of national power is capacity for competitive production. Henceforth, therefore, the aim of national leaders promises more and more to become the finding and keeping of markets and fields for investment—

in fine, the creation of national trusts vested with the power of taxation and with military and naval force for the object of seeking and holding exclusive markets on the one hand, and of increasing national competing power in free markets on the other.

That this conception of the great State trust, fusing into one mighty combination for distinctly economic ends all the industrial and military power of a nation, is no figment of the imagination, is plainly demonstrated by recent events. Conditions in Asia, Africa, and South America bear witness to its reality. As Senator Depew, of New York, so forcibly remarked, in a recent speech :

“To relieve home congestion, starvation and revolution, England, Germany and France are increasing their armies, enlarging their fleets, and either waging war or on the eve of great conflicts while partitioning Africa, threatening China, seizing Asiatic principalities, and madly building railroads across the continents of Asia and Africa. By victorious war and triumphant diplomacy we are in our own territory within easy reach, at Manila, of China, Siam, Korea, Annam, the East Indies and Japan. Without war or entangling alliances we will have equal rights with other nations to the ports of the Orient, with all that it means for the demonstrated superiority of our manufactures and the surplus harvests of our farms.”

The keenness of international competition for trade is illustrated not only by the actual colonial establishments of the great powers, but by the appointment of special commissions to investigate trade conditions abroad, and by the effort to raise the consular service to the highest degree of efficiency. Great Britain has sent two special commissions to China recently to investigate the opportunities for trade there, and Lord Charles Beresford has interested the world in the proposition that this great market should be kept open to free competition. The French Government has sent two commissions of merchant experts to China, who have made reports of great value, which are kept under the seal of secrecy for the benefit of French trade. The German Government has taken similar steps to open trade opportunities, and sustains by its political prestige investments of German capital in banks and railways in South America and Turkey. The new German railway in the province of Shantung is not only supported by a syndicate of the strongest German banks, including the Disconto Gesellschaft, but, according to the “*Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels*” of December 3, 1899, is under the direct protection of the German Foreign Office, and will share its earnings with the Imperial Government. The German Empire, moreover, through control of the railway system at home, offers a system of differential rates to her exporters, in order to enable them to increase their sales of



German products in foreign markets. The United States is waking up to the necessity of organizing her consular service upon the basis of merit; and even Sweden, according to a recent consular report, has appointed a special commission to ascertain in what manner Swedish consuls can best further the export trade of the country.

But, perhaps, the most perfect example of the great State trust bringing to the aid of national competing power all the resources of military and political force is that of the Empire of Russia. On this point it is only necessary to quote the language of a semi-official Russian publication, just issued for the first time in English, "The Russian Journal of Financial Statistics." Here is its definition of the economic position of the Russian State:

"Russia, as a nation and a country, is far behind England in wealth, and America in productiveness. In regard to accumulated wealth, it is behind other countries as well, viz., France and Germany. But this does not prevent the Russian State from being by far the *greatest economic unit on the face of the globe*. It is true, of course, that its national debt, almost equal to that of England, is far less than the national debt of France, while its railway-net is neither as extensive nor as valuable as Germany's. But, on the other hand, if one turns to its assets, it will be seen that the Russian State occupies a unique position. As a land-owner, it draws an annual *net profit* of 45 million roubles from its forests, mines, and agricultural property; the land it has ceded to or purchased for the communities of ex-serfs bring it in over 800 million roubles; as a constructor and purchaser of railways, it is building one of the longest lines in the world, and works 20,300 miles of railway on its own account, the *net profit* on which, \$68,000,000, represents one-seventh of that on all the railways of the United States. Besides being a capitalist and banker, the Russian State is a metallurgist and spirit merchant. Apart from its banking operations, the State Treasury in 1898 received over \$850,000,000 into its safes, nearly 400 millions of which had nothing in common with revenue from taxation. What private person, what family, however fabulously rich it may be; what railway company, however extensive its railway-net; what trust, can show figures like these? Even the budget of such a country as France is outstripped by \$200,000,000."<sup>1</sup>

The Russian Empire, therefore, may be described as the greatest "trust" in the world. From the natural attributes of government monopoly it meets no opposition on Russian soil. Seeking to guard industry at home by high tariffs, and to promote competition abroad by distributing with a generous hand in loans and bounties the gold derived from the infinite resources of international finance, and armed with absolute command over many millions of people, who are accustomed to ready submission to the military system, the Russian Empire represents the greatest organized force which confronts Western civilization. "Upon the highlands of Central Asia," as

<sup>1</sup> This extract is printed just as it appears in the Russian publication in English, except that sums in English pounds sterling are converted into American money.

Prof. Williams so tersely declared in a brilliant address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, in April, 1899, "have been bred in the past the races which overran and dominated the civilized West; and where these swarms were once raised other millions may spring up in the future to obey the call of the conqueror and spread devastation among those more cultured but less lusty peoples who represent our race."

Russian policy proceeds without interruption along the lines of least resistance, but with many resources for removing obstacles where they are encountered. This policy is directed by an educated and far-seeing autocracy, who keep steadily before them the end of making Russia the ruler of Europe and Asia. While smooth words drop from the lips of Russian ambassadors at foreign courts, the council of ministers at St. Petersburg, with its diplomatic and financial agents scheming in Central Asia, watches for new opportunities for extending Russian influence.

Prof. Williams, in the article already quoted, written more than a year ago, declared—with a prescience which would have been wonderful but for the known continuity of Russian policy—that, "though for the time being there is little advertisement of Russian Asia in the newspapers, it is not likely that she has abandoned her earlier intention of securing Turkey. Even Persia and India remain well within the horizon of her ambition." These predictions have been verified by the creation of a Russian bank at the capital of Persia, which has advanced about \$12,000,000 to pay off the debts of the Empire, upon the condition that the custom-house receipts shall be pledged for the payment of interest on the loan. As the London "Statist" of February 3 well remarks:

"The Loan Bank, which is in reality a Russian State concern, will obtain complete control over the custom houses of Persia if the interest falls in arrear, and unless the whole government of Persia is reformed it is perfectly certain that the interest will fall in arrear. Obviously [remarks the English journal], the Russian government has been quick in availing itself of our troubles in South Africa, for it is hardly likely that our Foreign Office would look on approvingly while these negotiations were being conducted if it were not already too much occupied with more pressing matters."

Intrenched in Central Asia, Russia, with her railway system completed, would be in a strategic position which would endanger not only all China, but also the English possessions in India. The Chinese-Eastern railway, the eastern branch of the Trans-Siberian, cuts directly across the Chinese province of Manchuria to Port Arthur,



which has been already leased by the decrepit Chinese government to the Russian Empire. Offshoots from this railway, as it skirts the southern border of Asiatic Russia, will give Russia the ability to mass troops at any point along the British frontier, and to draw upon the millions of hardy cavalry of the great Steppes, almost in the twinkling of an eye, while Great Britain is moving troops and supplies by the circuitous water route through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the ports of India.

The scope of Russian plans does not stop with the completion of the Trans-Siberian line. Already engineers are studying the preferable route for the Trans-Caspian Railway, which will lead direct from the boundary of European and Asiatic Russia through the heart of Persia, giving Russia a port on the Persian Gulf, and enabling her to flank British India on the west. Only in the case of the Bagdad Railway, which will be an extension of the German lines in Asiatic Turkey, does Russia seem to have been outgeneraled by another power hungry for world empire and the opportunities for financial exploitation. How far-reaching and well advanced are Russian plans for bringing Western Asia under her political and economic system is set forth in a striking manner by Mr. Alexander Hume Ford in the March number of "The Century." He says:

"This situation has been foreseen by Russia for at least a generation. Like a hand, the palm of which firmly covers Siberia and Transcaspia, the Czar has planted his railway system in Asia. From this strong palm five fingers radiate, and feel their way preparatory to closing in for the next firm grasp. At present an apparently weak and insignificant finger of steel is gradually slipping from its point of connection with the palm, in the Caucasus, towards Constantinople; it has made some progress. The next finger almost touches Teheran, and is gliding down through Persia to the Gulf. The middle finger slips out from under the palm at Merv, in Central Asia; it has touched Herat, and, unless stopped, will soon reach Kandahar and the Arabian Sea, touching British India teasingly in the ribs near Karachi. The index-finger, starting from Samarkand, has already reached the border of China."

It is obvious that with the completion of this railway system Russia would be in a position, in case of war, to dominate Asia. Massing her forces around the Caspian Sea, and pouring reinforcements at short range and by quick railway runs upon any threatened point, she would be able to imitate the effective tactics of Napoleon's early campaigns, striking from a secure centre at the weakest points on the scattered lines of her enemies.

When to this remarkable military position is added the power which a nation organized like Russia derives from the resources of

international finance, some conception may be formed of the economic and political engine which is being perfected at St. Petersburg. Finance, by the issue of negotiable securities, and by the shifting of these securities from one national market to another under the attraction of trifling differences in price and in the discount rates, has come to recognize no national boundaries or local obligations. Among the most conspicuous of the so-called "international securities" are the government loans and the guaranteed railway bonds of the Russian Empire. So skilfully has Russia appealed to investors, and so steadily has she built up her international credit, that within the thirteen years from 1887 to 1900, as set forth in "*L'Économiste Européen*" of January 26, she has increased the nominal capital of her debt by more than 40 per cent—from 11,619,432,000 francs to 16,453,691,000 francs (\$3,200,000,000)—while the annual debt charge, including some contributions towards the sinking fund, actually fell from 278,591,000 roubles to 274,612,000 roubles (\$140,000,000). The meaning of these figures is that the Russian Empire has obtained from the investing community—and nearly all of it from the savings of Western civilization—the use of about a thousand millions of dollars for equipping her railway system, creating a navy, and strengthening her internal resources, and this without adding a penny to the amount which she was already paying for the use of a little more than two thousand millions.

It is into the deep well of the world's investment fund that Russia has been able to dip almost without stint for carrying out her imperial plans since she began to show her ostentatious friendship for France, and since she anchored her credit to a firm foundation by adopting the gold standard. It was the avowed purpose of M. de Witte, the resourceful minister of finance, who has risen from a railway employee at a flag-station to one of the most powerful places in the world, to attract foreign capital into Russia by putting an end to the régime of paper money and adopting the gold standard.

Within three or four years, without having to wait to educate public opinion or to combat the fallacies of popular agitators, decree after decree was issued which raised Russian paper money to a fixed rate of exchange, authorized gold contracts, accumulated the largest gold store in the world, and permitted the resumption of gold payments on demand. Within the three years from October 1, 1896, to October 1, 1899, the paper money in circulation fell from 1,047,600,000 roubles (\$545,000,000) to 555,000,000 roubles (\$290,000,-



000), fully covered by gold; and the gold in circulation rose from 30,300,000 roubles (\$16,000,000) to 662,300,000 roubles (\$345,000,000). Never perhaps in the history of the world was a calculated cause, where so many diverse elements were involved, followed so promptly by the expected result. Foreign capital poured into Russia in a stream of gold and in goods which equipped mines and mills and factories with the resources of production; and within four years more joint-stock companies were floated than had been formed in a century before.

If military and industrial rivals are not to be fed upon the great savings fund of Western civilization, this fund must find employment for itself, and give employment to labor in fields where its use will contribute to the ethical as well as the industrial progress of the world. If all markets were open, if all opportunities for labor and for employing the fruits of labor were free to men of all nations upon equal terms, that nation would confess its cowardice and decadence which was not willing to trust its fate on the economic field of the world to the energy, inventive genius, and productive power of its people.

It is precisely because certain states seem to fear this competition, and desire not only to deprive it of all conditions of equality, but to exclude its influence completely from undeveloped countries, that intervention is justified by those states which represent in the truest sense the political and social ideals of Western civilization. To them is entrusted the solution of the economic problem by the demand on their part for a fair field for its working out, in which all peoples shall have an equal opportunity. Toward this great end the American people can afford to devote their most strenuous efforts, serene in the faith that under such conditions their own victory will be sure, and the higher interests of civilization served.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

## DOES GOVERNMENT SERVICE PAY?

To THE question, Does Government service pay? a two-fold answer may be given: It pays the beginner very well and the man of experience indifferently. Curiously enough, it is the only business or profession offering no incentive to excel. In fact, the clerk of mediocre abilities, who is just able to perform his duty, is better off than the one who exhibits talents of a marked order and is eager to gain promotion. Contradictory as these assertions may sound, I rely upon the official records to prove them.

The reason why the Government service—and it should be understood that in this article I am dealing solely with the civil establishment, and make no reference to the Diplomatic or Consular service, or to the Army or Navy—is attractive to the young man starting out on his career is that the Government, in contrast to the private employer of clerical labor, is an exceedingly liberal paymaster, and an equally indulgent taskmaster. Jasper Swingle, twenty-one years old, a graduate of the high school of Deweyville, Minnesota, has no trouble in passing the not very stiff entrance examination set by the Civil Service Commissioners, and is appointed to a clerkship in one of the executive departments in Washington at an annual salary of \$900. If he is lucky he may get \$1,000. On an average this is fully twice as much as he would receive in other employment.

It must be remembered that Jasper, though a worthy young man, is possessed of no special or technical qualifications. He is not even that very common thing in these days, a stenographer and typewriter; he knows nothing of bookkeeping. He is simply a clerk, who can copy letters, index papers, or perform some other equally elementary office duty. Compare his salary with that paid to his brother, two years his senior, who is “clerking” in a wholesale grocery house in their native town; or his classmate in the high school, who is a bookkeeper in a department store; or his chum, who is the stenographer and typewriter in the superintendent’s office of



the Deweyville street railroad, and it will be seen that Jasper makes the best start in life, especially as he knows that he possesses less ability than these others.

But not alone is he better off in the mere matter of salary. The Government, unlike the private employer, is very considerate of its *employés*. Jasper's brother is fortunate if he does not have to report for duty before 8 o'clock, and he considers himself equally fortunate if 6 o'clock sees his day's work done. Jasper reaches his desk at 9 o'clock, or rather at that hour he must be in his room; but he can take his own time about divesting himself of his outer garments and sitting down in a comfortable chair. At noon, to the stroke, without asking any one's permission, Jasper closes his desk and has half an hour to himself, half an hour in which to eat his lunch, or write private letters, or read a novel, or do anything else he may see fit. That half-hour every day is one of the clauses of the contract, and the Government may not interfere. At half-past twelve Jasper once more belongs to his Government taskmaker until nominally 4 o'clock, but about ten minutes before the hour a strange spirit of unrest creeps over him. He looks at the clock, deliberately wipes and puts away his favorite pen, neatly arranges the papers on which he is working, changes his office coat for his street coat, and at one minute to 4 he nods pleasantly to his room chief and softly closes the door behind him. At the hour he has one foot on the long flight of stone steps leading to the street, and is again a free man until next morning at 9 o'clock. It is true that occasionally, in some great emergency, or in case extraordinary reports have to be prepared, he may be required to work overtime; but the occasions are infrequent enough not to be considered. The Government clerk's day is six and a half hours!

But Jasper has still other causes for congratulation. Thirty days every year he may go off on a vacation, and during the time he is enjoying himself his salary is paid to him in full. If during any one year he falls sick, a headache to-day or a toothache to-morrow, in all not more than thirty days, no deduction of pay is made for his absence, if the fact be certified by his medical attendant. On Saturday, during the hottest months of the summer, his department closes at 3 o'clock; national holidays are religiously observed; and on the day before Christmas and the first day of the year it is the custom for the departments to close at noon. Jasper plays in hard luck if in the course of a year he does not gain three or four extra

holidays; for a celebration of some kind, either local or national, is sufficient excuse for the closing of the departments.

If Jasper makes a comparative statement between himself and his brother it will present this result:

JASPER:	HIS BROTHER:
11 months, or 282 working days, at 6½ hours per day, 1,833 hours; less 5 per cent for holidays, sick leave, etc.	12 months, or 313 working days, at 10 hours per day, 3,130 hours; less 2 per cent for public holidays.
Hours, net ..... 1,741	Hours, net ..... 3,070
Wages ..... \$1,000	Wages ..... \$500

or, put in another form: for 44 per cent less work Jasper receives 50 per cent more wages.

If Jasper does his work only fairly well, if he appears at his desk punctually and is tactful enough to win the approval of his division chief and to get along without friction with his fellow-clerks, he can count with reasonable certainty upon promotion. His promotion will depend upon circumstances and to some extent upon luck, and may be slower or faster as vacancies occur or changes are made; but he may be almost sure that in the course of ten years he will be a clerk of Class 3, at \$1,600 a year; perhaps he will be in Class 4 receiving \$200 a year more, the highest class for graded clerks.

So far he has done very well; he is doubtless better off financially than the majority of clerks of his age and attainments, and he is vastly better off in having shorter hours and being under less strain. If Jasper has been sensible he has saved money—because, despite the popular impression, living in Washington, except to people in society, is as cheap as in much smaller places—and he has studied law or medicine after office hours or in other ways has improved himself mentally. But that has nothing to do with his Government service—and pay.

It is after Jasper has been made a clerk of Class 4 that he discovers that his paymaster, who up to that time has been lavishly generous, becomes extremely niggardly; and he makes the further unpleasant discovery that the mediocre man satisfied with a modest salary, who is content to remain all his life in Government service, stands a better chance of drawing that salary regularly twice a month than the man whose abilities have forced him to the front. As an \$1,800 clerk, thanks to the protection accorded by the Civil Service rules, he is in little danger of being disturbed; as the chief of a di-



vision or as the chief of a bureau changes of administration may, and frequently do, mean his dismissal.<sup>1</sup>

But if he is courageous enough to take the risk he finds out how curiously and unevenly the Government rates services. The average clerk has little responsibility resting upon him; the higher officer has many and heavy responsibilities to assume. The clerk at \$1,200, \$1,400, \$1,600, or \$1,800 is well paid, especially so when it is remembered that a lieutenant in the Navy, on whose vigilance and skill rest the lives of several hundred men, and property worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, receives only \$1,800 a year, and that before a man is considered fit to be commissioned a lieutenant he must have served many years of probation, and have acquired a broad general and technical education.

The difference between \$1,800 and \$2,100 is small in money, but there is a wide gap in the duties the Government requires between the two salaries. It has been said that an \$1,800 clerk has little responsibility resting upon him, and seldom, if ever, is he required to originate or initiate; he simply does the work set before him. The chief of a bureau in the State Department receiving \$2,100 a year has responsibility, and is constantly required to make original suggestions. Or take the chief clerk of the Treasury Department at a salary of \$3,000; or the chief of the division of Public Moneys at \$2,500; or the chief of the Treasury Bureau of Statistics at \$3,000; or the Assistant Commissioner of Patents at \$3,000, and it will be seen that the salary does not keep pace with the technical knowledge required.

As the scale ascends the disproportion becomes even more marked. The First Assistant Postmaster-General, who, in the absence of the Postmaster-General, becomes the head of the Department, receives only \$4,000 a year, as do the second and third Assistant Secretaries of State and the various auditors. The three Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury receive \$500 more, the Comptroller of the Currency \$5,000, and the Comptroller of the Treasury \$5,000. These men must have expert knowledge—they are lawyers or financiers or are possessed of marked executive ability—and in corresponding po-

<sup>1</sup>While changes are less frequent now than they were before the executive departments were placed under the protecting ægis of the Civil Service Commission, the fact that a chief of a division or the head of a bureau knows that he is subject to dismissal at the whim of the member of the cabinet under whom he serves, who, if he is a "spoilsman," has no hesitation in making changes for political reasons "and the good of the service," has often deterred a competent man from accepting promotion.

sitions in civil life receive salaries two, three, and four times as large. So thoroughly do great corporations appreciate the ability the Government is able to command, that as soon as a man demonstrates his worth he is quickly enticed to leave the Government service and enter the office of some great railroad or financial institution. Remembering the inadequate salaries paid, it has always been a wonder to me that the Government is continually able to secure the services of such gifted men.

But if Jasper declines promotion, he may go to destruction on the rock of Scylla after having escaped the whirlpool of Charybdis. To gain prominence makes him a shining mark for the spoilsman when an administration changes, to remain a subordinate will have its disadvantages when Jasper no longer feels the sap of lusty youth. The Government is more soulless even than the most hardened corporation. A humane secretary, in the case of the aged clerks, rather than turn them adrift to die on the roadside like a broken-down horse, has strained the law in the cause of charity by making their duties practically nominal at a reduced pay; but even this is now prohibited, as the Government does not recognize a civil pension list. As Jasper grows older and physical infirmity creeps upon him, his value as a clerk diminishes, and the Government makes him give way to a younger man. His long years of faithful service count for nothing.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to compare our civil service with that of Great Britain. The English Civil Service system may not be ideally perfect, but it comes very close to that state, and offers great inducements to ambitious men of brains. I have before me the return of salaries paid the officers and the clerks of the Local Government Board, a Department to which we have nothing in this country precisely similar, as the duties of the Local Government Board devolve partly on the Treasury and partly on the Department of Justice. The head of the Department is a member of the cabinet receiving a salary of \$10,000 a year, and under him are 530 officers and clerks with sal-

<sup>1</sup>In 1893 the Dockery Commission reported that there were employed in the Government Departments 1,400 persons of sixty years and upwards. Of this number 742 were between 60 and 65; 386 were between 65 and 70; 182 were between 70 and 75; 66 were between 75 and 80; 33 were between 80 and 85; 6 were between 85 and 90; and 1 between 90 and 95. About a year after his entrance into office Secretary of the Treasury Gage established an "honorable service roll," to which he transferred these aged clerks at reduced salaries, as his sympathies were aroused at the sight of these veterans struggling to earn their salaries honestly. Congress, however, decided that the honorary roll was illegal, and practically compelled the Secretary either to dismiss the veterans or else retain them to the embarrassment of the service.



aries ranging from \$9,000 to \$78. The next highest paid official is the Permanent Secretary, the lowest are the boy messengers at six shillings (\$1.50) a week. Of the 530 employés 257 are clerks, copyists, and typewriters, and of these the lowest paid are the boy copyists, who "are paid 14 shillings a week, rising annually, with the approval of the Civil Service Commissioners, one shilling a week to 18 shillings. Boy copyists are not retained after reaching the age of 20." The typewriters, women, receive a minimum salary of sixteen shillings (\$4) a week, with an advance of one shilling a week during the second year, and two shillings a week thereafter, until the maximum of twenty-five shillings is reached. The Assistant Superintendent receives a maximum salary of thirty shillings, and the Superintendent thirty-five shillings. In the English service, with few exceptions, original appointments are made to the lowest grades and promotions come in the regular order of service. The salary, the date of appointment, and the date from which the increase of salary is to be computed are given in the register, so that any clerk may know if undue preference is given to another.

Of the clerks proper, the majority, 116, belong to the second division, whose maximum salaries range from \$500 to \$1,250 a year. Most of them are appointed at a minimum of \$350, with an annual increase of \$25, although some receive a minimum of \$500, and an annual increase of \$37.50, and a few have been appointed at \$900, with an increase of \$50. The higher grade clerks of the second division receive \$1,250 on appointment, and may hope to reach \$1,750 by annual increases of \$50. Second-class clerks are paid from \$750 to \$1,000 as the minimum, with a maximum of \$1,750 after from ten to fourteen years' service. Clerks of the first class receive \$2,000 on appointment, with an annual increase of \$100 until the maximum of \$3,000 is reached; while principal clerks are paid \$3,250, and in six years are entitled to receive \$4,000. Above these are inspectors, general inspectors, and assistant secretaries, whose salaries range from \$4,500 to \$6,000.

It will be noticed that the salaries increase with the responsibilities and length of service. The permanent Secretary, Sir Hugh Owen, K. C. B., has been in the government service since 1849, and outranks all others in the Board in the seniority of service. He has held his present appointment seventeen years, and, like every one else, when first appointed, did not receive the maximum salary, but only gained it after serving three years. The three assistant

secretaries, who have received the decoration of C. B. for their services, have from twenty-seven to thirty-six years of service each to their credit. On appointment they were paid \$5,000, and were advanced at the rate of \$250 until the limit of \$6,000 was reached.

The great distinction between the English and American civil service is this: In the English service the subordinate salaries are lower than in the American service, but the higher officials in England are better paid. In England it largely depends upon the individual whether he shall remain a subordinate or go to the top. If his capabilities are limited he enters the service in one of the junior grades, and must be content to remain there, as the rules do not permit his promotion from that grade to the one above; but if he has abilities of a higher order, and can pass an examination admitting him to a class from which promotions to the highest positions are made, his future is largely in his own keeping. Whatever his position, whether junior clerk or permanent secretary, he need have no fear of dismissal because some other man wants his place. So long as he does his duty he is as much protected from assault as is a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and after having given the best years of his life to the service of his Government his declining days are softened by a pension, and often by a title, which, empty honor though it may be, is a mark of national gratitude not to be despised.

England's success as a colonizer and administrator of foreign possessions has attracted the admiration and envy of the world. The methods by which she has achieved this success are of peculiar interest to Americans, now that for the first time in our history we are called upon to administer outlying colonies. If we are wise we shall pattern after the English system. Here is the very essence of that system put in concrete form by one of England's most successful administrators, Viscount Cromer, the British diplomatic agent in Egypt, in a despatch sent to Lord Salisbury a few months ago:

"Very numerous applications are addressed both to myself and to other English officials in this country by young Englishmen seeking employment either in Egypt or the Soudan. In some cases the applicants come to this country furnished with letters of introduction from friends in England. It may possibly obviate disappointment to many, if, with a view to publication, I state briefly the general principles on which the administration of Egypt is carried on.

"A very small number of Englishmen are employed in high positions. Every effort is made to restrict the number of Europeans, whether of English or of other nationalities, in the subordinate ranks of the public service, which is more especially—and, as far as possible, exclusively—reserved for natives of



Egypt. It does, indeed, occasionally occur that the employment of young Europeans is necessary, but such cases are of rare occurrence. It is no exaggeration to say that only a very small proportion of those who apply to me and to others for employment have the least chance of obtaining it. I should add that, in the cases to which I have alluded above, technical knowledge of one sort or another is generally required.

"Moreover, every selection, whether for a high or subordinate employment, is made with the utmost care, and with sole reference to the merits of the various candidates. Further, it has to be borne in mind that, more especially in the case of young applicants for employment, the claims of those on the spot have to be considered. It happens not unfrequently that in this category are to be found young men, sometimes of English, sometimes of some other nationality, with local or linguistic knowledge which particularly suits them to fill any place which may happen to be vacant, and whose claims are all the more deserving of consideration from the fact that their fathers have not infrequently, for many years past, rendered useful service to the Egyptian Government.

"It cannot, therefore, be too clearly understood that Egypt and the Soudan do not at present afford any wide field for the employment of young Englishmen."

Commenting on this despatch the London "Spectator" said:

"Contrast the French system in Algiers, and even in Tunis, where, though only a protectorate colony, there are said to be 5,000 small French functionaries doing work which natives could do just as well. \* \* \* If the Empire is ever run on the principle of billets for our own unemployed literati, and not in the interest of the governed, we shall infallibly lose it, and deserve to lose it."

"Everyone knows the great success that Lord Cromer has attained [says the New York 'Times']. Here is the secret, in great part. The policy he briefly and clearly describes has two great merits which ought to make Americans in public life study it with care, with prayer even and fasting. One is that it shuts out from the service every man with a 'pull.' As only the high and responsible posts, that could not otherwise be filled, are given to Englishmen, the very best are needed. Favoritism in such matters would be fatal. The other is that the service wins the respect and regard of the Egyptians. It is to a great extent their service. Their sons take part in it and have a chance to win an honest living and credit in it. Its influence tends constantly to fit the people more and more for the sound and safe management of their own affairs. It fosters self-reliance, devotion to right principles, and pride in their maintenance and enforcement. It builds up an intelligent and efficient patriotism. This is precisely the task that we have assumed in our new dependencies. We can find no better guide than Lord Cromer."

A Cromer is needed in Cuba, in the Philippines, in Puerto Rico; but we cannot expect to find Cromers at a salary less than that paid to many first-class salesmen, nor can we expect Cromers to do what has been done in Egypt and in India if they are badgered by politicians, if their tenure of office depends upon the whim of politicians, and if they have to rely upon subordinates whose claim to appointment is the influence of politicians. Since England adopted a civil service system based on merit and not on favoritism, men have been selected for responsible posts without regard to their politics, and they have served the Empire and not an administration. Not one Englishman

in a hundred can remember what the present Lord Cromer's politics were when as Major Baring he was sent to Egypt as financial adviser to the Khedive, nor does any one care. What difference whether he was Liberal or Conservative, so long as he added to the glory of Britain? To-day no man's name is more frequently on the public lips than that of Sir Alfred Milner; and yet how few remember that he commenced his political career as a Gladstonian candidate for Parliament, and was sent by a Conservative Government to the Cape. Fancy a Republican President appointing as Governor-General of Cuba a man who a few years ago ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket!

To get the best men, men like Cromer and Milner and Pauncefote—who commenced life as the private secretary to an assistant secretary—and scores of others who might be named, governing must be recognized to be as much of a profession as is medicine or law or engineering. Men must make of it their life work, must be trained to it from their boyhood as we now train our naval and military officers, and must not be permitted to take it up because they have failed at everything else, or because a Government appointment is to be used to pay a political debt.

But, coming back to my original proposition, I think it will be admitted that to the man who would be content to remain all his life a clerk at a small salary Government service offers great inducements. But the man who looks for something better, who has ambition and brains enough to work for one of the great prizes, whether money or name, should—if I may modify Nelson's injunction to an officer on entering the Navy—"hate the Government service as he would the devil."

A. MAURICE LOW.



## AMERICAN OUT-DOOR LITERATURE.

AMERICAN out-door literature has now reached a stage where, for the first time, perhaps, it can be considered as a whole, and be viewed from a critical standpoint. Hitherto this has been impossible, neither the quantity nor the variety of material being sufficient to warrant one in treating the subject in a broad and general manner. The English out-door literature which preceded the American was neither large in quantity nor valuable in quality. Prior to 1800 there were, comparatively speaking, but few contributions. I do not forget, of course, the quaint little volume, "The Boke of St. Alban's," written by Dame Juliana Berners near the close of the fifteenth century, in which the "Treatysse on Fysshinge wyth an Angle" throbs with a fine enthusiasm, and wherein is shown a keen appreciation of "the swete savoure of the meede floures;" or the oft-quoted and much-reprinted observations of lovable Izaak Walton. These two writers, however, were but oases in a wide extent of barren desert.

It was really not until the appearance of White's "Natural History of Selborne" that the soil of literature seemed to produce writers who were in sympathy with nature. A noticeable publication was an octavo volume of some 300 pages entitled "Country Rambles in England, or the Journals of a Naturalist," by J. L. Knapp, a book more familiarly known as "Knapp's Journals," and published in London in 1828. Bishop Stanley's "A Familiar History of Birds," which appeared about 1840, reached some six or seven editions, but is more to be prized for the painstaking care of its research than for any originality of thought. "Essays on Natural History, Chiefly Ornithological," were issued in 1852, under the signature of Charles Waterton, three volumes of moderate size following each other in quick succession. Their contents were artificial and controversial. In 1855 Charles Boner published in London a translation of Dr. Hermann Masius' "Studies from Nature," a series of essays bearing the impress of deep thought. Four years later "A Tour Around My

Garden," by Alphonse Karr, was translated from the French by Rev. J. G. Wood, of London. In its quaintness and individuality, this work was far in advance of the others. The view of nature taken by these early writers, however, was purely from the standpoint of observation. Their work was objective, not subjective. It was not entirely futile—no honest work can be—but it contained nothing to attract, and it failed to appreciate the closeness which exists between humanity and nature. It treated the latter as if it were something afar off, and did practically nothing to stimulate out-door literature in the New World.

American out-door literature sprang almost at once into full being. It dwelt for a moment in swaddling clothes, but escaped entirely the period of first trousers and downy cheek. Had there been, in the evolution of the birds, no intermediate stage between the sparrow and the eagle, the gulf could not have been wider than that between the early out-door writers and Thoreau. With the latter, the literature of which I write attained at once the full stature of a mature manhood.

Thoreau's love of nature was inborn. Reading may have added fuel to the flame, but the spark was kindled when the boy came into the world. Books were not the fount of his inspiration. He used literature, as Channing says, as an aid. He knew White's "Natural History of Selborne," and, I believe, quotes somewhere from Stanley's "Birds." "Knapp's Journals" were republished in Buffalo in 1853, and probably came under his observation. He read Audubon, experiencing a thrill as he did so; he perused Nuttall, Buffon and other scientists, Cummings' stories, Burton's travels, Drake's voyages, Guyot's histories, the Persian and Hindoo sacred books, the Greek and Latin classics, and the English poets, especially the older ones. He did not quote American out-door literature, for at that time there was none.

The fact must not be overlooked that Emerson's "Nature" was published in 1836, when Thoreau was writing only stray fragments. But Emerson's thoughts were never as closely associated with out-door life as Thoreau's. He stirred the heart; he was surrounded by an atmosphere of peculiar rarity; his clear vision read the secrets of earth and sky; he touched a higher key than Thoreau. But—and herein is the difference—he more frequently deserted the road and the field for the seclusion of the library. For Thoreau all out-doors was a study, filled, not with books, but with volume after volume



and page after page of a literature which no bibliophile could ever hope to possess. And after Thoreau and Emerson comes John Burroughs. His writings mark another era in out-door literature, for he combines Thoreau's love of nature and Emerson's poetic sensibility with a strong love of humanity. He has found both the beauty and the joyousness of nature; and his charming style has been the open gateway through which thousands of delighted readers have passed into the innermost of nature's sanctuaries.

These foremost three writers of out-door literature have been so thoroughly discussed that I have purposely referred to them with some degree of brevity, in order that I might devote more space to those whose names and works are not so well known. The pioneer, perhaps, was Dr. John B. Godman, who published in 1833 a little book of 150 pages, entitled "The Rambles of a Naturalist."

"From early youth [he says] I have devoted myself to the study of nature. It has always been my habit to embrace every opportunity of increasing my knowledge and that of others by actual observation, and I have had ample means of gratifying this disposition wherever my place has been allotted by Providence. When an inhabitant of the country it was sufficient to go a few steps from the door to be in the midst of numerous interesting objects; when a resident of the crowded city, a healthful walk of half an hour placed me where my favorite enjoyment was offered in abundance. And now, when no longer able to seek in fields and woods and running streams for that knowledge which can so readily be obtained, the recollection of my former rambles is productive of a satisfaction which is but seldom bestowed."

Very quaint are the descriptions of these rambles, many of which were by the side of the beautiful Patapsco River, near Baltimore. The lanes and brooks that were his hunting-grounds never failed to yield rare sport. He had few professional books, but the wide expanse of water visible from his window was a volume whose open page he never tired of studying. So devoted was he to nature that it was frequently necessary for his servant to summon him home when a patient called. He was industrious and discriminating in his observations, walking many hundred miles to investigate the habits of the mole; and while making no pretension to literary style, he was not without ability in that direction.

Another early writer, though not a predecessor of Thoreau, was Charles Lanman, who for many years lived in Georgetown, a suburb of the national capital. Between 1847 and 1854 he wrote at least five books, of which "Summer in the Wilderness"—a record of a canoe voyage up the Mississippi and around Lake Superior—"A Tour to the River Saguenay in Lower Canada," and "Adventures in the Wilds of North America" show Mr. Lanman to have possessed an

explorer's enthusiasm, a poet's heart, a painter's eye, and an author's faculty. He was among the first to enter the fastnesses of the Catskills, to explore the picturesque Cheat River country, and to fish for salmon in the Restigouche. He travelled and painted in every State east of the Mississippi River. His works altogether number twenty volumes, and yet to-day he is hardly known. His efforts deserved a better fate, but perhaps he wrote before he had an audience. He was filled with intense love for the old Indian legends which are now disappearing, but which were then charmingly fresh. He caught their spirit, felt his heart throb with their humanity and simplicity, and translated them into a poetic prose. There is a touch of wild life in all his books, and his heart was close to nature. The latter quality is shown in this delightful bit of description of a spring day :

"The woods! A goodly portion of the day have I spent in one of their most secret recesses. I went with Shakespeare under my arm, but I could not read him any more than fly; so I stretched myself at full length on a huge log, and kept a sharp lookout for anything that might send me a waking dream. The brotherhood of trees clustered around me, laden with leaves just bursting into full maturity and possessing that delicate and peculiar green which lasts but for a single day and never returns. A fitful breeze swept through them so that ever and anon I fancied that a company of ladies fair were come to visit me and that I heard the rustle of their kirtles."

While Mr. Lanman was gaining material for his books by extensive travels, Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper, the daughter of the famous novelist, was busy at her home preparing a bulky volume which was published in Philadelphia in 1850, under the title of "Rural Hours." It must have touched a responsive chord, for it ran through several editions. Its best points were an evident love of nature, an observant eye, and a pleasant, though commonplace, manner of expressing the writer's thoughts. It lacked force and virility; and had it been carefully edited the dates of the appearance of radishes and lettuce upon the table, an essay on house-cleaning, and many other trivial things would have been omitted. The femininity of the author is plainly perceptible throughout the book, not always to its disadvantage, however, for there are the woman's eye for color and her quick ear for sound. There is also too faithful a record of the weather, though we pardon this when she chronicles the happy day when the winter wind at last loses its stinging bite, and refers to spring as "the early dawn before the summer day." We can also tell, by the delicate description, that it is a woman who writes of the coming of the early flowers; who feels that to discover the first arbutus is indeed to find a prize; whose tender conscience feels a pang



even as she stoops to gather several bunches "growing so prettily that it seemed a pity to pull them."

The period between 1850 and 1875 was noticeable for the full blossoming of the great trio already mentioned, Thoreau, Emerson, and Burroughs. There were few other out-door writers during that time. The earliest work of Mr. T. W. Higginson, now a recognized essayist, related to out-doors, and appeared in 1863. It was fragmentary, but each fragment was perfect in itself. To a charming style he added a minute observation, even tripping up such an accepted naturalist as Wilson Flagg. He was one of the first to agitate for the revolutionizing of botanical names; proposing to abolish the arbitrary and meaningless Latin names for flowers, and to substitute some appellation indicative of their sweetness, color, or form. While he was not entangled in the whirlpool of transcendentalism, he recognized the value of an honest love for nature—was even convinced, in fact, that it was in some sense necessary. "Our American life still needs," he said, "beyond all things else a more habitual cultivation of out-door habits." The out-door essays of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner and of James Russell Lowell, written about the same time, are characterized by gracefulness and force. In Lowell's critical work, as in his essay on Thoreau, he is, of course, at his best; but "My Garden Acquaintance" and "A Good Word For Winter" are standard examples of literature which has out-doors for its inspiration. With his estimate of Thoreau many readers are likely to disagree; but he has carefully neutralized his condemnation with deserved praise.

A book, well worth reading, but comparatively unknown, appeared in 1875. It is entitled "Foot Notes," and bears the name of Alfred Barron, of Wallingford, Conn., as its author. Its preface, instead of being the inviting threshold one would like a preface to be, is apt to repel anyone of positive tendencies, for in it Barron confesses to a spiritualistic influence. He is inclined to regard it as the hovering, immaterial presence of Thoreau, but he is not quite sure. This confession, while it may dull the otherwise sharp edge of the book, does not prevent us from acknowledging that the author is *en rapport* with nature; that he is poetic and imaginative to a high degree; that he loves the footpaths, the old pastures, everything that is out-doors. The common pokeweed is to him a thing of beauty; and as for the lichens, no one has ever invested them with such a strong human interest as is found in this paragraph:

"I think I may say something about my relations to the lichens, for I have lived somewhat intimately with them. I am a pruner; and the practical man who employs me is vigilant against the insects that prey on the fruit and shelter themselves on the trees. I must be executive and not maunder, so I labor along, diligently scraping the loose bark and mosses and lichens; but I feel all the time as if I were doing a vulgar thing like defacing and tearing down draperies. I suppose this practical man is in some way needful to me; I, too, might become a good deal mossy were it not for the hard scrapings I get from him. But then it does not always feel good to be made so bare and so very real.

"I have to get very near the lichens, and I find that the smaller ones are the most beautiful. These little things have sorcery about them; and one had best not come too close to them. I think they are getting their revenge by fascinating me a little. I don't dare to look at them much; I have to work with my eyes averted a little; still I cannot entirely resist their charm. One of these lichens has a light-brown cup; and when I look at it, it penetrates me like glances from the eye of a woman, and I forget to look at the sun-glints on the river and at the mountains when they are violet."

The book is full of these curious touches and peculiar subtleties; and it is a pity that the author budded, blossomed, and went to seed in his one effort, as I believe he did. He enjoyed a keen, spiritual sympathy with nature, whereas the books of Wilson Flagg, another New England out-door writer who flourished at the same time, lack this quality, and are devoid of any charm or enthusiasm, whatever value they may possess as records of observation.

The true lover of nature is a poet at heart, though he may lack the faculty of expressing himself in poetic form, while the true poet is always sure to be a lover of nature. It naturally follows that out-door poetry covers an immense field; and an attempt to garner everything growing therein would be an endless task.

Preëminent among American out-door poets is William Cullen Bryant. He is imbued with a devotion to nature which is akin to religion, and his sentences move with a rhythm which is both melodious and grand. His "Forest Hymn," beginning, "The groves were God's first temples," is most beautiful and stately. John G. Whittier, too, is a poet of nature. No idyl of winter has yet equalled "Snow-bound," while "The Huskers" is as perfect in its way as one of Millet's pictures. "The Last Walk in Autumn" and "Summer by the Lakeside" are two fine examples, while the mountains find in the rugged Quaker poet an adequate interpreter. Walt Whitman saw the virile side of nature. Longfellow's is the soft, sunny, dreamy experience of nature, as when he says:

"Pleasant it was, when woods were green,  
And winds were soft and low,  
To lie amid some sylvan scene,  
Where, the long drooping boughs between,  
Shadows, dark and sunlight sheen  
Alternate come and go."



Even "Hiawatha," which is altogether an out-door poem, is marked by the same characteristics. Emerson's out-door poetry is like a tonic. Bayard Taylor touches a clear, true note in his poems whenever they relate to out-doors. He has a direct and simple style which leaves a vivid impression.

A notable member of the earlier group of out-door poets was Jones Very, of Salem, Mass., whose praises were sung by Emerson and Bryant. He was thought to be eccentric, and, as he strode solemnly through his little town, seemed surrounded by a mysterious atmosphere. The common people could not understand him, but to this obtuseness he was indifferent; Emerson understood him, and that was enough. His sonnets are as sweet as Wordsworth's, and are marked by a subtle appreciation of nature's moods. He writes of the rain and the snow, the wind and the sky, the stars and the sunshine. He was close to nature's heart, for he says:

"The babbling brook doth leap when I come by,  
Because my feet find measure with its call."

and he adds that the birds know him as a friend, and that the flowers expect him on the hillside when spring comes. John James Piatt, too, must be fairly admitted into the company of out-door poets. His song is soft, but sweet and clear. He is not great either in conception or in execution, but he is always melodious and sincere, and at times displays a charming delicacy of touch. Edith M. Thomas has also written some excellent out-door poetry. Nor must we forget the two Massachusetts poets, Dora Reade Goodale and Elaine Goodale, who have seen directly into the heart of nature. Their voices have always been pure, and unaffected, and natural, their songs spontaneous, their sentiments exquisite. Of their genuine inspiration there can be no question.

But if there were not another interpreter of nature Maurice Thompson would be sufficient. His prose essays are praiseworthy, but his poetry is of fine quality. Observe, for instance, his little poem, "Before Dawn." It contains only sixty-three words, and yet for expression and description is marvellous. I quote it entire:

"The keen, insistent hint of dawn  
Fell from the mountain height;  
A wan, uncertain gloom betrayed  
The faltering of Night.

"The emphasis of silence made  
The fog above the brook  
Intensely pale; the trees took on  
A haunted, haggard look,

"Such quiet came, expectancy  
Filled all the earth and sky:  
Time seemed to pause a little space;  
I heard a dream go by!"

This list of out-door poets could be indefinitely extended; but enough has been shown to prove that we do not lack singers whose notes are worthy of all attention. Happily, the day is not far distant when they will address an audience far larger than that which to-day finds satisfaction in their songs.

From the limited number of authors in the early period of American out-door literature, and the still more restricted circulation attained by their works, it is pleasant to pass to the wide-spread appreciation bestowed to-day upon those who write of nature. We now have magazines devoted exclusively to out-door topics; Thoreau's books are issued in luxurious editions; and we see the later writers enjoying popularity and the practical results thereof. Indeed, the bibliography of current American out-door literature would fill a volume of no mean dimensions.

The list would, of course, be headed by the delightful volumes of John Burroughs, and would include the sincere and sympathetic essays of Maurice Thompson, and the artistic work of William Hamilton Gibson, whose pen was as graceful in its expression as his pencil. Edith M. Thomas possesses a finer sense than is given to masculine minds, and "A Summer Holi-night" is so ethereal and rarefied as to be almost weird. Sarah Orne Jewett has some delicate touches of nature, evidently drawn from experience, in her "Country By-Ways." Bradford Torrey and Olive Thorne Miller have sought and found nature at home; and the books of Charles C. Abbott, who has been quite industrious of late years, show close observation, a mature judgment, and an innate love of out-doors. Herbert Miller Sylvester has contributed two volumes of interesting essays, in which an optimistic philosophy is deftly blended with facts; and Horace Lunt, Clifton Johnson, and others are doing excellent work. Hamilton Wright Mabie's essays, "Under the Trees and Elsewhere," show sympathetic and intimate association with nature, and are written in a style as crystalline and refreshing as a mountain brook. "The Forest of Arden" is especially charming in its delicate sentiment. Nor can we forget Dr. Henry Van Dyke's clear and sweet note, sounded in his enjoyable books. And while these purely literary creations appeal to the adult mind, the young people of this generation are not forgotten. I could mention a goodly number of books, written for the



use of schools, which are intended to inculcate in the pupils a love of nature, and to train the eye, ear, and heart to appreciate the beauties of all out-doors. There would be, therefore, no lack of literary food for those whose hearts beat in unison with nature, even if the present list of writers were not increased. We look forward, however, to an indefinite extension of that list.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

# The Forum

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AUGUST, 1900.

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## THE PRESENT STATUS OF AFGHANISTAN.

AFGHANISTAN, standing, as she does, between Russian territory, on the one side, and the British Empire of India, on the other, enjoys a unique political significance in these days. Articles appear almost daily in newspapers and magazines, and bulky volumes are written, telling either at first- or at second-hand all that can be gleaned of this so-called "Buffer State." Much of this information is somewhat contradictory and misleading, for the reason that writers unacquainted with the language, and having made perhaps a hurried journey only through the country or a small part of it, are liable to form erroneous impressions.

If this be the case as regards the country of Afghanistan and its people, travellers and writers, unless they enjoy special privileges, are still more likely to make mistakes in summing up the remarkable man who rules over all. It is difficult even for officials who are constantly in his presence to comprehend all the Amir's plans, and fathom the motives that underlie his actions. A man who can succeed in baffling the most eminent statesmen of Russia and England is not an easy subject for the journalistic pen. It is, therefore, with considerable diffidence that I undertake the task of giving, in a language foreign to me, a brief summary of some of the most important changes brought about by Amir Abdur Rahman—changes which have made Afghanistan what she is to-day.

Though, for about a century, Afghanistan has been considered by

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statesmen a country of very great political importance, her political condition is of far greater interest to-day than it was in the past. We see that from the year 1816, when Shah Shujah, at that time king of Afghanistan, fell a prisoner into the hands of the East India Company, the British Government has had a difficult task in considering the policy to follow in regard to Afghanistan; and there is still a division of opinion. Full details of past conditions and of the relations between England, Russia, and Afghanistan may be found in historical works. I shall here speak chiefly of Afghanistan as we find it to-day.

Up to the time of the present Amir, Afghanistan had no definitely marked boundaries; hence, Russia kept on approaching toward her, day by day, on the one side, while England did the same on the other. Persia also, in the days of her prosperity, tried to take a share out of this "land without a fence." The first matter, therefore, that Amir Abdur Rahman took into consideration was these everlasting encroachments on the "unclaimed" lands of Afghanistan (Yaghistan, or Land of the Unruly) by her neighbors. I remember the wise words of the Amir when I wrote some years ago a small pamphlet advocating the introduction of certain reforms in commerce, education, etc. In commenting upon it he said it was necessary for a house to have walls before putting in the furniture and the curtains; otherwise burglars would take the things away. For Afghanistan, therefore, the defining of boundaries was needed before minute details of internal affairs could be taken in hand. In the course of several years, the Amir, conjointly with the other Powers, marked out the boundary lines between his dominions and those of other Powers, any advance over which by his neighbors would now be a violation of definite treaties. Hence, Afghanistan to-day is a country with well-defined boundaries. This is a very different state of affairs from that which existed before the Amir's reign, when Afghanistan was the vague name of a state, and when it was doubtful as to which provinces really belonged to the ruler of Afghanistan and which of them were the rightful property of the "first occupier" among neighboring Powers.

Afghanistan was not only an open field for the land-grabbing propensities of her foreign neighbors, but every Afghan chief looked upon himself as an independent ruler. For instance, the country of the Hazarahs had not been under a ruler of Kabul for the past four centuries; the country of Kafiristan had never been under

a ruler of Afghanistan from time immemorial. The only trace that we find of a ruler trying to conquer Kafiristan is a marble stone, discovered in 1895, at a place called Kulohum, at the entrance to one of the Kafiristan valleys, on which these words are engraved: "The great Emperor Tamerlane tried to invade Kafiristan, but could not proceed any further than this spot." Captain Mohammed Ali, an official of the Amir, engraved on the same stone words to the effect that in the reign of Amir Abdur Rahman the whole country of Kafiristan was conquered and subdued, a project which the great Emperor Tamerlane had failed to carry to a successful issue.

In like manner, out of a state of anarchy and tribal chieftaincy somewhat resembling that of Scotland in the early ages, the Amir has lifted the country into a strong, consolidated kingdom, in which, from one end to the other, his word is law; and his are the only commands which must be obeyed. The Amir has trebled the size and importance of the kingdom into which he entered in July, 1880, by the successive annexation of Herat, which was under Ayub, son of the late Amir Shere Ali; Kandahar, which was placed under Sirdar Shere Ali, Wali of Kandahar, by the British; Hazarah Jat and Kafiristan, as mentioned above, and other provinces which for many years had held aloof from the rulers of Kabul. These extensive dominions the Amir has succeeded in reducing to a condition of peaceful order previously unknown in the history of Afghanistan; and he has established throughout the land a uniform administration of government marked by the introduction of many reforms.

Afghanistan is acknowledged by her foreign neighbors to be an independent government; and no other nation has any right to interfere in the administration of justice, in legislation, or in any other internal policy of the Amir. The government of Afghanistan owes no national debt or war indemnity to any nation in the world; hence no one can say to the ruler of Afghanistan that he must pay his debts or war indemnities before being allowed to buy or make war materials, or to undertake any military preparations whatsoever.

The Amir of Afghanistan, unlike some Islamic rulers, is not under the domination of the Concert of Europe; he is not hampered by any entanglements with foreign Powers; he has no foreign Ambassadors to threaten him or to intrigue between him and his subjects; and no Power on earth has any right, either by international law or treaties, to force the Amir to make concessions for the formation of railways, etc. The relations between Afghanistan and the British Empire in



India, as fixed by treaties to-day, can be briefly summarized as follows: The British Government acknowledges Afghanistan to be an independent kingdom; she herself having no right to interfere with the internal policy of the latter. Great Britain undertakes the safety, integrity, and independence of Afghanistan against unprovoked aggression on the part of any foreign Power, so long as the Amir does not act against the advice of the British Government in matters affecting diplomatic relations with other Powers. Great Britain pays the Amir 18 lakhs of rupees as an annual subsidy, by virtue of Sir Mortimer Durand's treaty of 1893 with the Amir; and in addition she helps Afghanistan by presenting her with war materials, from time to time. She allows the Amir to have his political agent and representative at the court of the Viceroy of India; and the Amir is entitled to import all kinds of goods, including war materials, into the country.

In return for these pledges given by the British Empire in India, the Amir's obligations are the following: He is bound by his word and by treaties to be a true friend and ally to the Indian Empire; he pledges himself not to communicate with any foreign Power without first consulting with the Indian Government; he must also have a British agent at Kabul. This British agent, however, must always be a Mohammedan, a subject of the Indian Government; and no member of his staff is to be an European. Besides his political agent, who represents him at the Court of the Viceroy, the Amir has several private commercial agents in India and in England. There is no extradition treaty between Afghanistan and other nations. Hence, an offender is never given up to his own country against his will.

There is much controversy on the point of British help being afforded to the Amir against unprovoked foreign aggression. Some British politicians say: "We are the sole judges as to what extent, and the manner in which, we should give such assistance to the ruler of Afghanistan in the case of Russian or any other aggression." Others say: "We are bound by our word and pledges to give the Amir every assistance necessary to prevent an unprovoked foreign invader from entering his territories."

There is another point on which some of the greatest statesmen are puzzled; namely, the Amir's objection to the introduction of railways. They say: "If the Amir does not take our advice and construct a railway from Kandahar to Herat, it will be well-nigh impossible to send an army from the Indian frontier to Herat—a dis-

tance of nearly 400 miles—to meet a Russian advancing force having a distance of about 60 miles only to traverse to Herat.”

I may here mention that the Amir's idea of such assistance is based on the belief that “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.” He wishes to get as much money and war material from England as possible before the time of a Russian attack on his dominions. In the first place, he is a little doubtful as to the amount of help he would get at such a time! In the second place, he says that he does not require an army to help him. He rules over a large population of his own subjects, who are born warriors; and all that is required to turn them into a strong and powerful army, able to face any foreign aggressor, is to supply them with modern weapons, and to lay up money, stores, and provisions, for the time of emergency, whenever it should arise. Any weakness or neglect of precautionary measures, therefore, would most surely reflect upon Great Britain's Indian possessions. I assert, in the words of the Amir himself, that he wishes his own troops only to defend his country; and he would no more like an English army to enter Afghanistan under any pretence of assistance than he would welcome one from Russia.

The Amir once said to an Englishman, who was discussing the subject of Russian aggression with him, that in 1885, when Russia took Penjdeh, the British Government did not force Russia to evacuate that town, which belonged to him. The English gentleman replied:

“That was because the Liberal Party of Mr. Gladstone was in power at that time.”

To this the Amir answered, humorously:

“How am I to know, when the next trouble arises between Russia and Afghanistan, whether there will be a Liberal Party in power again? Moreover, if a Conservative Party were in power, the policy it would follow is yet to be seen.”

Of course, it is possible that a time will come when the Amir will request the army of one of the neighboring Powers to enter his dominions for the purpose of expelling the other; but this would be at such a moment when, after having put every available fighting man into the field, he would find his country wrested from his grasp and his own forces decisively defeated. In such an event, the Amir would preferably invite that one of his neighboring Powers against whom he had no particular grudge, and give up the country to that Power with his own hands rather than, as he says, to the one who had fought and defeated him in the field.



The Amir is quite alive to the fact that England does not want to go any farther north; while, on the other hand, Russia is bound to be aggressive, and finds Afghanistan rather in her way. He often says that the policy of all Oriental governments, as well as that of India, is to keep out of the way of Russia; the policy of Russia being to take only that piece of a country where she finds the people are keeping out of the way. Furthermore, when Russia occupies the new province she at once declares peace; but these promises of peace last only till the newly occupied place is strongly fortified and ready to send reinforcements to the next place Russia wishes to annex, with or without treaties. The Amir thinks that his is the only government in the East which rather prefers the policy of keeping *in* the way than out of it; holding on strongly to every inch of land, even to the point of death, rather than trying to evade Russia. In other words, his government stoutly refuses to retreat, or give way to Russian advance. The Amir believes that Russia keeps on massing her large forces near his borders with the idea that he, like the late Amir Shere Ali Khan, fearing the near neighborhood of vast bodies of Russian troops on his borders, would give way to Russian designs. But the Amir thinks that he knows better.

The success or failure of Britain's Indian policy concerning her northwestern borders depends a great deal upon her relations with Afghanistan. It is to a certain extent believed by all those who are authorities on Indian affairs that, so long as the Amir is alive and adheres to his present policy of keeping upon friendly terms with Great Britain, while ruling his own country strongly and wisely, there is no danger of any great trouble in Afghanistan. But the time at which danger is apprehended by statesmen interested in Afghanistan is when this "grand old man" walks into Paradise, taking his ideas into the grave with him.

In my opinion, the greatest disadvantage of personal rule, *i. e.*, of a sovereignty without a constitution, is that while a despotic ruler can make a kingdom very strong and prosperous, if he be a strong, wise man, the moment he dies everything he did in his lifetime is undone. But with Afghan rulers in the past there was a disadvantage beyond the carrying of their plans into their graves with them. Each succeeding Amir killed, imprisoned, dismissed, or expelled nearly all the ministers and officials of his predecessor; thereby leaving no person with any experience to advise the new ruler about the administration of his kingdom.

Another danger which is apprehended is the doubt that is surrounding the Amir's successor. Many European writers seem to imagine that the Amir's death will be the signal for a general rising all over the country. On no other point in regard to Afghanistan is there so much controversy and difference of opinion as in reference to the title to the crown of Kabul. Nearly all European historians assert that the only right of succession in Mohammedan countries generally, and particularly in Afghanistan, is that of the sword and strength; that there is no law to decide the claim to the throne except the sharp point of a sword. I have no space here to deal with the history of Afghanistan; but I shall mention that there are three points that tell in the favor of a claimant to the throne, according to Mohammedan law: (1) the title to the crown by election, or, in other words, by the approval and support of the nation, which naturally gives sufficient force to the claim, since the military force of the country is concentrated in the people, who have already given their electoral support; (2) the nomination by the King of the man he wishes to succeed him; and (3) the rule of hereditary succession by primogeniture.

In illustration of these points it may help to make the matter clearer if I give the following historical facts: Mohammed founded his government on republican and democratic principles, and his four successors were elected by the Arabs. In the year 60 of the Hejira, corresponding to 679 A. D., Yazeid succeeded to the throne of the Khalifas merely by hereditary right and on nomination by his father; thus abolishing the system of an elected king. This, however, is going rather far back for an example. To come a little closer to present-day history, Dost Mohammed, the first king of the present dynasty, grandfather of Abdur Rahman, was placed on the throne of Kabul by the chiefs of the country; and though the British Government tried to place Shah Shujah, who had an hereditary claim, on the throne, it failed in its project, because the voice of the people was against him, and in favor of Dost Mohammed. After Dost Mohammed's death, in 1863, his son, Shere Ali, who was not the eldest son, succeeded to the throne, because it was believed that Dost Mohammed had nominated him. Whether he had done so or not, I am not prepared to say. The present Amir succeeded to the throne neither by being heir to Shere Ali Khan nor by being nominated by any one, but simply owing to his own sagacity and the support of the people.

From this instance it is quite clear that if any one of the three named qualifications is generally supposed to be sufficient to place a



candidate upon the throne, a candidate in whose favor all these three points are united will certainly not find any difficulty in making his title good. It is a wrong presumption that there is no law to decide the title to the crown in Islamic communities. There is ample law laid down by the actions and writings of Islamic leaders. It is the ignorance or wilful disobedience of that law which leads to sanguinary family feuds. The Amir, in an autograph letter received by me in Cambridge, says that if his sons and family will follow his laws and walk in his footsteps and be united among themselves, there will be no difficulty about his son succeeding to the throne; but if they do not do so they will have no one to blame but themselves for any troubles that may arise.

The Amir has very wisely tried to secure the succession in favor of his eldest son, Prince Habibullah Khan, by placing him in possession of the three qualifications I have mentioned. In the first place, since 1891, the Amir has refrained from holding the public *durbars* and royal audiences himself. He has left this duty entirely to his eldest son, so that the latter should not need a nomination to establish his authority after his father's death; such authority being established already in the Amir's lifetime. Secondly, the Amir has authorized Prince Habibullah to give instructions to all the civil and military authorities, to show them that the latter is the man who must be looked upon as their ruler. This places Prince Habibullah in direct communication and friendly relations with all such chiefs and responsible heads of the country whose approval of a new ruler is of the greatest importance. Thirdly, the rule of primogeniture is in the Prince's favor, as he is the eldest son of the Amir.

Those who possess really authoritative knowledge of the political position of Afghanistan of to-day have not the slightest doubt that there is no man in the whole kingdom of Afghanistan sufficiently powerful to dream of disputing Habibullah's claim to the throne of Kabul. But there is no denying the fact that there are claimants to the Kabul throne outside of Afghanistan, namely in India and in Russia. Let us examine in a few words the prospects in favor of or against such candidates. The present Amir has taken very active steps to remove all such men as were a source of danger and inquietude to himself, or might so prove to his son after his death; and so far he has succeeded in carrying out his plans in this respect. Not only has he cleared Afghanistan from the danger of all internal candidates, but he has also succeeded in putting an end to the power of

those of his rivals who were *out* of Afghanistan, by cutting their companions, supporters, and partisans away from them. These have either returned to Afghanistan, or are in the Amir's pay, publicly or privately.

The only possible chance of such a candidate succeeding to the Kabul throne is in the circumstance of his being supported by the British or the Russian Government. England, I am inclined to think, will never take such a course so long as the Amir and his son preserve a friendly disposition towards her. She suffered when she tried to place Shah Shujah on the throne, and she would not care to go through the same experience again. Moreover, it is not the policy of England to interfere in the private quarrels of the royal family of Kabul; and it is to her own interest to support the Amir and his son so long as they prove to be strong enough to hold their own and to be true toward England.

On the other hand, the Russian candidate is a personage whose claims cannot be ignored. It is curious that, on those occasions when the Amir was supposed to be at the point of death, among the names of the claimants of the Kabul throne mentioned in some of the newspapers, including even some who died before such articles were written, the name of the most dangerous candidate has been very little noticed, though the authorities know it, or ought to know it.

Russia has no obligations toward the Amir and his sons; and it is somewhat against her interests that Afghanistan should be a strong kingdom, united in bonds of friendship with Great Britain. She has, therefore, always been working and intriguing to place her own candidate on the Kabul throne, failing the possession of Kabul herself. The Russians had quite thought that the present Amir, who was sent by them in 1880, would look upon himself as a friend of Russia in preference to England. The Amir, however, is more friendly to his own interests than to those of anybody else; and he is shrewd enough to play his own cards well and to know from which of his two powerful neighbors he can expect the best terms.

Russia is now keeping another cat to let out of the bag, whenever an opportunity arises, in the person, namely, of Ishak Khan, the late governor and viceroy of Turkestan. He is the Amir's first cousin, son of the late Amir Azam Khan, whose father also ruled Afghanistan, though for a short time only. He rebelled against the Amir in 1888, and ever since his defeat has resided in Russia. The Amir has not certainly succeeded in cutting off and separating Ishak's follow-



ers from him, though he is working toward that end. The Russians give these followers a handsome allowance and all sorts of hopes and promises.

To the ordinary observer of the circumstances, three things are in favor of Ishak Khan; (1) his father, Azam, was Amir; (2) he was governor and viceroy over nearly one-third of Afghanistan; and (3) he showed considerable strength in opposing the Amir's armies in 1888. But I must say that these are three points which go against him. Ishak's father is known throughout the whole of Afghanistan as a drunkard, a mischief-maker, an intriguer, and a coward. Mohammed Ishak, on the contrary, was considered a brave and religious man, up to 1888, when he proved to be the opposite. At the battle of Aybak, Ishak's generals had fought bravely and defeated one column of the armies of the Amir. Seeing this action, from the top of a distant hill, on which he was stationed to witness the fight, and suspecting that it was his own column that was defeated, he fled to Russia like a coward, leaving all his army and supporters to suffer punishment for supporting him. It is a well-known fact that there is nothing more hated by a brave nation than cowardly actions, and as long as Ishak lives the brave warriors of Afghanistan will hate him. But his son, Ismail Khan, has the reputation of being a brave fighting man, and will be a more useful candidate than his father, Ishak, in the hands of Russia, whenever that Power has the opportunity of putting him forward.

What steps Great Britain has taken to obtain a guarantee from Russia to keep these men strongly and carefully watched, and to be responsible for their conduct if they are allowed to make trouble on the borders of Afghanistan, I do not know. I hope, however, that in such a contingency England would take the same precautions to stop Russia from taking every favorable opportunity of interfering as she did at the time of Shere Ali, when she sent the present Amir in 1880, though luckily he made his terms with Great Britain, thanks to the wisdom of Sir Lepel Griffin, Sir Donald Stewart, and the Marquis of Ripon.

In addition to the all important political reforms I have mentioned, Afghanistan has made many vital changes in the social life and conditions of the people, which cannot be fully sketched in one article—perhaps not in half a dozen. I shall enumerate only a few of the most striking features to throw some light on these changes.

Afghanistan has many kinds of manufactories, in which all sorts

of modern arms and commercial goods are made, equal to those made in other civilized countries. At the present time English, German, and French gentlemen, and English ladies, go about the land in safety without any escort or body-guard, in the same country where one Englishman, Sir Louis Cavagnari, could not be saved, notwithstanding the fact that he was in the fort of Bala Hissar, protected by a considerable body-guard. Roads have been cut throughout the country to bear the transit of heavy guns from one part of the kingdom to the other, some of them even over mountains where people could not go on foot.

One of the most important changes in the social life of the people, made in the Amir's reign, is that every person in the land has some occupation by which he may earn his living; in fact, labor is more expensive at present in Afghanistan than it is in India. There is a saying that Satan finds mischief for idle hands; and it was owing to their lack of occupation that in past times the Afghan people fell into the habit of taking each other's property by force.

The opening of so many enterprises and departments, unknown in Afghanistan till the Amir's reign, has given employment to hundreds of thousands of people previously idle. For instance, the industries worked by water-power or by hand required so many men that every source from which laborers were drawn became exhausted. The Amir, therefore, made a law that all prisoners of war, prisoners for debt, as well as those imprisoned for some other offences, who were anxious to be released from prison, might learn some kind of work, with the understanding that when they became competent their sentences would be remitted, and they would be employed in the Government service.

The Public Works Department and the Forest and Irrigation Departments give occupation not only to those who are employed in cutting the canals, planting trees, in making roads, bridges, etc., but they also give occupation to the much larger number of people who have become cultivators of lands which were barren before canals were cut, and who irrigate them, as well as to the merchants and the drivers of camels and ponies who make use of the roads. Sugar planting, the trade in astrakhan skins, the working of all kinds of mines, the growing of nearly all sorts of vegetables usually imported from other countries, are other great sources of profitable occupation for the people. By these means men who were in the habit of cutting one another's throats for a sheep, a cow, a few shillings, a suit of



clothes, or even a loaf of bread, have more employment than they can compass. It is true that in commerce and trade the country cannot compete against such neighboring countries as possess railways and telegraphs or other elements for the encouragement of business. But the Amir is not ignorant of the advantages of the two most useful inventions of modern times. The reasons that deter him from the introduction of railways and telegraphs into his country are: first, the political reason obvious to statesmen, namely, that the peaks of mountains are the forts given by nature to the Afghans, who will not destroy these with their own hands so long as they do not feel themselves quite strong enough to be a match for their neighbors; secondly, that he prefers to wait till the advantages and disadvantages of such a change would convince him that he would gain more than he would lose by making the innovation.

The Amir has also established courts of justice, police stations, and other departments, in every town, for the better security of the lives and property of his people. The Amir is the only man of whom the whole nation is afraid, instead of each person being afraid of his neighbor and every petty chief.

One of the most significant changes that the Amir has made during his reign, and one opening out great promise for coming generations, is the raising of the status of woman. Before he came to the throne women were in some measure considered as property. The husband had the power of practising all kinds of cruel treatment. On his death it was thought incumbent on the brother of the deceased, or, in the absence of his brother, on his nearest male relation, as a point of honor, to marry the widow, whether or not he or she was willing to enter into such a marriage. By this disgraceful custom, which had become law among the Afghans, and was enforced by the Government, the moment a woman was married she was considered as part of the purchasable property, not only of her husband, but of his brothers; and in default of his brothers, of his nearest male relations; and in default of these she even became the property of his clan.

It frequently happened that after the death of the husband the widow did not wish to marry his relatives; and as they wished to force her to do so, the result was the taking up of arms and a war between the family of the widow and that of her late husband. The quarrel was furthermore taken up by the widow's whole tribe and that of her deceased husband's relatives. Several cases of this kind

were brought before the Amir; and he finally, in 1883, passed a law declaring all such claims to be illegal, and that no widow was to be forced to marry any one against her will. This clause made also a remarkable change in the law of inheritance. Previously all the property of the husband, together with the widow herself and her children, became the property of the person who married the widow by force.

There were many other abuses of the same kind, as, for instance, the marrying of girls under age without their consent, in the absence or death of their parents, by bribing their guardians, and by various other fraudulent means. The Amir's law enacts, in accordance with Islamic law, that such girls on attaining the age of maturity, or even before, shall be quite at liberty to repudiate such marriages, and that the people who force them into these unions shall be liable to criminal punishment.

There grew up another system which also was based upon no law at all. The dower, or *mihr*, given on the part of the bridegroom to the wife, is a necessary part of marriage in Islam. But as no fixed maximum sum is mentioned in Islamic law for the *mihr*, it had been left open to be decided by the parties at the time of their marriage. Hence, if the parents of a girl were unreasonable people, or if they saw that the boy was madly in love with the girl, they used to fix an imaginary marriage portion or dower. This imaginary dower was sometimes a hundred times more than the property of the husband, and, of course, it was impossible for him to pay it. A great many quarrels arose out of this illogical practice, making the social life of many a very unpleasant one. The Amir, therefore, enacted a law fixing the dower, as follows: For members of the royal family it was not to exceed 12,000 rupees, or to be under 3,000; for the nobility and chiefs, and other great officials, it was to be between 1,000 and 3,000 rupees; and for the ordinary people, it was to be between 300 and 900 rupees. The Amir added a provision that if the husband wished to give his wife more, gratuitously, and had the means for doing so, he was quite at liberty to do it, but it was not to be mentioned in the marriage contract, and the law would not enforce any such accessory gift.

Again, disputes frequently arose because marriages were usually not registered. Except very rarely they were not even put into writing. The Amir has made a law enacting that all people who wish to be married must buy a printed, stamped form from the Government Office, stating for what purpose it is bought, that they may have their marriage registered in one of the ecclesiastical courts. For



this service they pay a registration fee of ten rupees into the Government Treasury.

Another important point in which the Amir has made laudable reform, adding greatly to the happiness of his subjects, is the abolition of the disgraceful system of slavery. Though there are still slaves in the houses of some of the chiefs and of the nobility, yet the slave-trade, which was practised in Afghanistan before the Amir's reign, is entirely forbidden. The system of slavery in Afghanistan had grown to such an extent that any clan or tribe or royal family that was stronger than another was in the habit of capturing prisoners from its antagonist, and making slaves of them. There was no privilege for any special class or religion, but every one was liable to be made a slave. The first law that the Amir passed in this respect was to the effect that there should be no more selling of free persons into slavery, and that only captives taken in war, or the offspring of those who were already slaves, were to be considered as such.

The Amir went a step farther even than this; for, after conquering the country of the Kafirs, which was the only storehouse left for keeping up the slave-trade, he ordered that prisoners taken in war, although they were Kafirs or infidels, should not be made slaves. He paid to the warriors the value of the Kafirs whom they had captured in the war of 1895, and released them all, giving them a province of land where they might make their habitation. He also gave some of them Government employment in the army and other departments. At the present time, therefore, the buying or selling of any description of human beings in the open market is forbidden by the Amir's law. Moreover, though the nobility still retain as slaves those who are born as such in their houses, they are not allowed to treat them harshly. In Afghanistan, in the old times, people were allowed to kill their slaves, just as in ancient Rome, in America before the Rebellion, and in other countries; but by the Amir's law a person who kills his slave is liable to the same punishment as one who kills any free-born person. The same restriction has been placed on the rights of parents, who formerly had the power to kill and sell their children, as in the case of early Roman law. In fact, the offspring of slaves are looked upon as members of the family, and are treated as such. They are called in Kabul *khanah zad* (born in the family).

I know of many cases where the slaves who had been given manumission by rich masters would not leave the comforts they enjoyed. Some of the highest officials in the Amir's service are his slaves. For

instance, Nazir Safar Khan, the Lord of the Seal, the most confidential courtier of the Amir, is a slave; and the late Parwhana Khan, head of the Amir's military forces at Kabul, and Jan Mohammed Khan, Lord of the Treasury, were till their death the Amir's slaves. Faramurz Khan, under whose care the Amir has left the city of Herat (which is of greater importance, standing as it does in the face of Russian advance, than Kabul itself), is also a slave.

Apropos of the Amir's abolition of slavery, an English writer's evidence is worth quoting here :

"In justice to the Amir Abdur Rahman, it should be mentioned that the extension of his authority over Shignan was in one way a blessing to the people, since his officials put a stop to the exportation of slaves, which, under the native Mirs, had been carried on in so ruthless a fashion. The rumor that a new order of things had been established began to spread far and wide. Miserable creatures who had lived years in cruel bondage escaped from their masters and made their way back to their homes in Shignan, where now, thanks to Abdur Rahman, they may abide in peace."

Another great change made by the Amir concerns the land of the people, which had never been properly surveyed or measured, and upon which the revenue was charged only approximately before his reign. The system for fixing the Government revenue on land was like the system which existed in the Punjab and some other parts of India before British rule; namely, the assessors simply looked at the fields, and said, for instance: "There will be about one thousand tons of corn, so the landowners must pay one-third of that amount into the Government Treasury." This system of fixing the revenue approximately was called in Afghanistan *sikkot* (dividing into three shares). Now the revenue in those parts of Afghanistan which have been surveyed is fixed per acre, according to the quality of the land, as it is in India. The same kind of changes have been made in the irrigation of the land. Before the Amir's time, many of the villages where an official or a favorite of some king resided enjoyed more water from the canals and paid less revenue therefor than villages where no favorite lived. An elaborate code of law has now been enacted, which places all people on the same level in regard to this matter; the water privileges being apportioned in accordance with the quantity and quality of the land possessed, and the revenue paid.

The Amir has also made a law, unknown before in Afghanistan, with regard to life imprisonment, sending people who deserve this punishment into such remote parts of his dominions as are sparsely populated, giving them land to cultivate. This is, I think, an idea



which coincides with the practice in India ; Indian life-prisoners being sent to the islands situated in the Indian Ocean.

The Amir's code of law for the safety of travellers enacts that the *Kafila Bashi* (head of the caravans) must see that the owners of ponies do not rob or abuse the travellers who hire these animals ; and he is required to take from them a receipt or a letter, stating that they arrived safely at their destination. The inhabitants of villages and towns through which the roads pass are responsible for a traveller's lost goods, and must give them back to him, if the robbers who stole the goods live in these towns or villages. If the goods cannot be recovered, the value thereof must be returned in money. If it is not known by whom the goods were stolen, the local officials are still obliged to aid in the search for the robbers.

It has been impossible, of course, within the limits of a magazine article to give more than a few of the important political and social changes brought about during the Amir's reign. There are many others of great interest which have been necessarily omitted.

SULTAN MOHAMMAD KHAN.

## SOME ITALIAN PROBLEMS.

THE recent warnings of Prof. Villari, in the “*Nuova Antologia*,” have directed attention to the real causes of the growing unrest and discontent manifest to all who interest themselves, even from afar, in the affairs of the Italian Kingdom.

Prof. Villari, who is a Senator of the Kingdom of Italy, is neither a pessimist nor an alarmist; nor would any of his countrymen presume to style him a visionary or a doctrinaire. In the language of far-sighted and practical statesmanship, instinct with simple patriotism, and free from “*fanfaronade*” or narrow partisanship, he has exposed to his fellow citizens some of the more flagrant existing evils, and the dangers that attend them. The unquestionable authority of the exponent, and his universally acknowledged moderation in historical and political criticism, preclude any thought of exaggeration.

To these qualities in Prof. Villari may now be added the prestige of successful prophecy in the recent municipal elections in Milan, which have given rise to a feeling of intense uneasiness throughout the Peninsula, resulting, as they have, in a signal victory for the anti-dynastic, socialist, and republican elements. Although unquestionably the direct result of the lamentable disorders of May, 1898, and the consequent defection of the Milanese Catholics, who had been accustomed to vote with the moderate liberals, it would be unwise to associate too closely this local defeat with the evils Signor Villari has exposed. Nevertheless, the incontrovertible fact remains that, for one reason or another, the richest and most influential city of Italy—“the Moral Capital,” as it is frequently styled—has succumbed to anti-dynastic influence.

The pessimists would have us see in this a prophetic analogy with the coalitions between legitimists and republicans against Napoleon III, during the latter period of the French Empire. As yet, however, there does not exist any formidable political cohesion between the socialist, republican, radical, and clerical parties, directed against the monarchical-unitarian régime.



Garibaldi's dictum, "The Monarchy unites us; the Republic would divide us," is as true to-day as when first uttered; and all parties recognize in the House of Savoy the *sine qua non* condition of unity. Some few extremists may go to the length of asserting that economic salvation lies in federation; but the mass of the Italian people would hardly be prepared to follow them, and to jeopardize the fruits—meagre and unsatisfactory as they seem—of that glorious struggle for national existence and national dignity. And yet Prof. Villari declares that all Italians, to whatever class of society they may belong, or to whatever political party, are as one in speaking ill of their Government! "This," he continues, "was easily accounted for in the days when patriots groaned beneath the tyranny of the Austrians, the Bourbons, the Pope, or the rulers of the Duchies"; but even then each particular oppressor, each individual system, had its fervent partisans, ready and willing to uphold and defend their political faith against all comers. Of the present Government, however, the very men who founded it, as well as others who belong to it, and who derive benefits from it, speak ill of it. "The worst of this," concludes Prof. Villari, "is that nobody imposed this Government upon us. We ourselves selected it and constituted it; consequently, the evil we speak of it ends by causing us to lose all confidence in ourselves. And this is even more dangerous than the unlimited faith we formerly entertained."

The budget is the mirror which reflects not only the financial, but also the social and political, conditions of a country. Therefore, for a clear appreciation of the existing evils we must cast a glance at this important register of the public weal. After a series of unpardonable errors (to use Signor Villari's words) the deficit in 1888-89 was computed at 470 million lire. By a long-applied series of economies, and by dint of prodigious feats of financial gymnastics, successive Governments have contrived an equilibrium. "And yet we are more discontented than ever!" exclaims Signor Villari. Consequently, the realization of this acme of administrative bliss has not proved the panacea for the social and political maladies undermining the State. Nor has it perceptibly ameliorated the general economic conditions, except in certain local and special instances, which, although individually important, are of small significance in the mass.

The reasons for this are obvious. Economies alone, however sweeping, could not accomplish this much-heralded equilibrium; it was necessary to devise fresh taxes or to increase the burden of those

in force. Italians now enjoy the unenviable distinction of being the most heavily taxed nation in Europe. The interest on the perpetual debts alone amounts to 490 million lire. Signor Fortimato, the deputy, estimates the budget at 1,600 million lire, out of which 800 millions are devoured by the interest on the public debt in its various forms, including pensions. Deduct another 160 millions reserved for the payment of redemptions, and but 600 millions remain for the expenses of the Government, including the army, navy, public works, prisons, public security, etc. This is not only meagre, but absolutely insufficient. While declining to discuss the bearings of the greatly hampered financial resources upon the general efficiency of the army and navy, Prof. Villari asserts that the medical clinics and laboratories, as well as the schools, all stand in more or less need of essentials, while there is not a public library in the kingdom which can afford to keep abreast of the times. Even the State Archives are in many instances allowed to mould and decay in damp vaults for want of funds to provide suitable storage.

But there is worse to come. With its barren extravagance, its incongruity of construction, this delusive budget, at once so meagre and so onerous, is strangely unjust in the partition of its crushing burden on the various occupations and classes. Statisticians affirm that the poorer classes of Italy are burdened with 50 per cent of the national tribute. How near the truth this estimate may be it is difficult to say, but it is certain that in the majority of instances luxuries escape, or are but lightly touched, while the very essentials of life, such as corn, salt, petroleum, etc., are exorbitantly taxed. The "lotto" (Government lotteries) net about 27 million lire to the State; depleting the public pocket to the extent of nearly 70 million lire, coming principally from the small wage-earners and the laboring classes. The duties on salt benefit the Treasury from 54 to 59 millions. A quintal (220 lbs.) of salt, which costs the State about 32 cents (lire 1.62) to produce, is sold to the people for \$8 (lire 40). Petroleum, which costs the Government lire 17 the quintal, is sold at about lire 65. The tax on grain, which has climbed as high as lire 7.50 the quintal, causes about 45 millions to flow annually into the public coffers. In consequence, a good harvest at home means a falling off of imports; thus jeopardizing the financial equilibrium.

Signor Giolitti, in a speech delivered in April of this year, drew the attention of the Chamber to the manifest injustice of certain items in this distribution of taxes, and sounded a note of warning,



which found a ready echo in the minds of the more enlightened of his compatriots. The income tax, he states, is a heavy one; but on a net income of lire 533 (about \$106) derived from industrial or commercial sources no charge is levied, while up to lire 1,060 the tax is an attenuated one. On professional incomes, or those produced by the arts and crafts, the exemption reaches to lire 640, and the reduced tax to lire 1,280.

This is equitable enough. But, on the other hand, landed property must always pay, and enjoys no exemption. The man who with a capital of say lire 3,000 (\$600) opens a wine-shop which brings him in less than lire 533 pays no tax, while one who invests his savings in a small property and tills it with his own hands, even should it produce less than 533 lire, must pay. And he pays moreover (indirectly) all those taxes which are imposed for the purpose of protecting the manufactures which furnish him with the necessary agricultural implements, and those which furnish him with clothing, increasing the price by 30 per cent, according to Signor Giolitti. The direct consequence of all this is that every year large numbers of small holdings are brought under the hammer for arrears of taxes amounting to 2, 3, and 5 lire (40, 60, and 100 cents!). "And thus these small holdings, which contribute so largely to the healthy, normal, and prosperous condition of a country, and which should be created when they do not exist, are in Italy strangled and destroyed!"

The political and commercial jealousies and dissensions between the North and the South are patent to any intelligent observer of public affairs in the Peninsula; and, wherever the fault may lie, the existing industrial and financial conditions are unfortunately not of a nature to diminish them. If we accept Prof. Pantaleoni's estimate, made in 1891, Northern Italy possesses 48 per cent of the national wealth, while it pays a little less than 40 per cent of the taxes; Central Italy, with 25 per cent, pays 28 per cent; Southern Italy, holding not more than 27 per cent, contributes 32 per cent. As Signor Villari very cogently reasons, the exemption accorded to industrial incomes and denied to those derived from agriculture must inevitably result favorably to the northern provinces—which are considerably richer, more advanced, and largely given over to manufacturing interests—and correspondingly to the material and moral detriment of the southern provinces, which are poorer, less prosperous, and exclusively agricultural.

Under the fostering protective duties the manufacturing industries have prospered marvellously. Sending their products to the South, they not only benefit by the home markets, but attract to their industrial focus the unemployed capital of the less progressive provinces; which renders still more difficult any amelioration of agricultural conditions. The conclusion is evident: despite individual effort, this displacement of local financial resources, and the exigencies which demand an equilibrium of the budget, force an ever-increasing burden on those who are poorest.

When the Kingdom of Naples was incorporated with United Italy, the Southerners, in the first flush of patriotic enthusiasm, consented without a murmur to the unification of the public debt, although their own funds were quoted above par, and their debt was comparatively small, while the debt of the rest of Italy was already enormous, and the funds had considerably depreciated. The new customs regulations, which were shortly afterwards introduced, rapidly swept out the few and not very flourishing manufacturing industries, while the Communes found themselves saddled with institutions the value of which they were not yet in a position to appreciate, and the expenses of which were far beyond their power to bear. Even the rupture of the commercial treaty with France, advantageous to the North, overwhelmed the South in serious financial embarrassment.

The protective duties, as has been said, fostered to an unexpected extent the manufactures of Piedmont and Lombardy, especially those of Milan, which has become a commercial centre of the first rank. Railway rolling stock, which was formerly imported from England, France, and Germany, is now manufactured in Upper Italy, and not only supplies the home market, but is beginning to be exported, while the ship-yards of Leghorn, Genoa, and Spezzia are building war vessels for foreign nations. But to the essentially agricultural South, no compensation came for the loss of the great French market.

The operative forces of the Italian struggle for national independence and constitutional liberty were essentially democratic, and the national sentiment and institutions are nominally so to-day. Yet we find not only successive governments, but even the local administrations of communes and provinces, following in practice a diametrically opposite course. For instance, in the South the saddle-horse and the four-in-hand of the rich pay no tax, because, it is argued, such luxuries cost money, but bring in no pecuniary return. On the other hand, the donkey or the mule of the peasant, which carries his produce



to market, or draws his plough, being considered an implement of labor, and consequently a source of gain, must pay the tax!

Signor Villari cites a curious example of this perverse reasoning, which is peculiar to no political creed in Italy. Not long since, the Socialists gained control of the direction of affairs of the Commune of Imola—an important town not far from Bologna. The *octroi* duties were at once increased; a projected grant of a few thousand lire for meals for public school children was thrown out; and a larger sum was voted for subsidies for pupils of the classical schools. Their administration was entirely for the benefit of the upper middle classes.

It will be remembered that some years ago the Right, then in power, in order to patch up a budget threatened with an enormous deficit, established a tax on the grinding of grain, “*macinato*.” The iniquity of the measure, which fell so heavily on the poor, to whom bread is literally the staff of life in Italy, caused the Left to rise in virtuous indignation and institute a popular and successful crusade against the obnoxious decree. But although the Left, when again in power, abolished the “mill tax,” the duty on grain, which was lire 1.60 (35 cents), gradually rose to lire 7.50. The Government tax on flour was abolished in those communes which exacted an *octroi* and the frontier duties were raised to lire 12 on foreign flour.

Signor Fortimato, whose arguments have been quoted above, discerns the salvation of his country in a solution of the agricultural problem; for to him Italy is essentially an agricultural country. But for this solution, capital is necessary; and capital is at present unprocurable, because all savings are immediately invested in the public funds, which yield a certain 4 per cent, and relieve the investor of all concern and bother. Here is Signor Fortimato’s remedy:

“If we had the courage not to incur further expenses, and to maintain the stability of the budget for a short period, credit and confidence would revive; the tax-payer would have peace; and the balance would not be perpetually destroyed. Public funds would finally be quoted above par; and it would be possible to make a legal conversion at 3 per cent, which would effect a saving of 120 millions, with which two-tenths of the ground tax could be abolished, small holdings exempted from taxation, and a portion of the *octroi* rescinded. Capital would then forsake the public funds and flow to the fields, thus finally placing us on a normal footing, and on a basis of real prosperity.”

Senator Negri, while warmly praising Signor Fortimato’s theories, believes that it is not only the economical side of the problem which must be considered, but that the moral should claim equal attention. Says the Senator:

"If the unhappy economical conditions are a potent factor in the demoralization of a country, the latter is also the greatest obstacle to an economical recovery. Italy is politically immoral. If we do not succeed in curing her of this malady we shall never accomplish anything. Northern Italy is impregnated with ferocious, and at the same time petty, passions which corrupt all rectitude in sentiment or justice. Southern Italy is suffering from another malady—administrative corruption. There the conviction that liberty imposes duties which honest citizens may not shirk is lacking. And thus public life, in its various forms, falls into the hands of those who only perceive in it an opportunity for the furtherance of private interests. It is imperative that Italy should brace herself morally, otherwise we can hope for nothing."

That the south of Italy is morally and politically less advanced than the northern part is unfortunately a fact. This lamentable state of affairs Prof. Villari attributes in great part to the mistaken policy of the Government after the annexation in 1860-61. That the professor is correct in his assertion no one who is at all conversant with the parliamentary and political history of Italy for the last forty years will venture to deny. According to Prof. Villari, the belief that the southern provinces had been corrupted by the Government of the Bourbons, instead of inspiring the rest of Italy with the conviction that the highest political duty consisted in correcting this either by persuasion or by force, suggested, on the contrary, that this very corruption might furnish an easy means of governing according to the caprices of the Ministry. This was resorted to on a large scale, with consequences always harmful, and sometimes disastrous. The Prefects became little more than electoral agents. They were not asked to govern well, but were merely required to see that "faithful deputies" (*deputati sicuri*) were elected.

This fatal policy has borne its inevitable fruit. If we are to believe Mr. Stillman, for many years the Roman correspondent of the London "Times," "the animosities of the factions and the corruptness of the agencies which have by this time pervaded all branches of the Italian Government have developed a discontent with, and even a contempt for, parliamentary institutions, which is at this moment the greatest danger in the condition of the nation."

That a very real and widespread dissatisfaction with parliamentary methods, as practised, now exists, the more patriotic and honest among Italian statesmen are the first to admit. Cruel mistakes have been made, and are continually being made. The financial burden imposed upon the poorer classes is, as we have seen, well-nigh intolerable. The remedy lies in the hands of the Italian people, who are a free people, living under liberal and enlightened institutions. A change of the political régime deliberately chosen as best adapted



to their needs would do no good; it would, in fact, only plunge the country into worse and inextricable embarrassment. What is imperatively demanded is Reform—social, financial, economical, and administrative.

But here, also, lies a very great difficulty. Where is the statesman to be found who could undertake the task with any hope of success? Italian statesmen in office are abnormally timid; while their colleagues in opposition, eager to step into their official shoes, hesitate equally to alienate possible political support by a too radical sacrifice of local prejudices, or by the application of pressure when advocating administrative reforms suspiciously regarded by the majority of even trustworthy officials as mere political innovations. And these difficulties are increased a hundred-fold when dealing with the South, where the situation is even more complicated.

The application of the remedy for the economical, financial, and administrative reforms lies, as has been said, in the hands of the people, which in the Italy of to-day means the intelligent professional and middle classes. The great majority of the population, the peasant class, is now, as it was in the past, entirely outside the political life of the country. And this must needs be so with a nation of whose people 50 per cent are illiterate. The tiller of the fields, who in Switzerland, Germany, England, and other northern countries plays so important a part in public affairs, although constituting in Italy the most numerous class, and the source of the principal riches of the land, lives in a world apart. The principal burden of taxation falls with crushing weight upon his shoulders. Accustomed through long ages of oppression to a patient, unreasoning obedience, amounting to servitude, he struggles on till his individual burden overpowers his strength, and then he emigrates. "The state of degradation and oppression in which we hold him," says Signor Villari, "demonstrates that our social life is founded on an injustice—a condition of affairs which diffuses an unfortunate moral atmosphere, and which poisons the whole of our social existence."

In his admirable scheme for agrarian reform entitled "*La Voce dei Campi*" (The Voice from the Fields), Signor M. Ferraris, also a deputy, has devised a system of relief, material as well as moral, for the millions of his fellow-citizens thus held in bondage, which, should it receive the political support it deserves, would undoubtedly pave the way for at least a partial solution of the grave problems which have been outlined in this paper.

When men like Senator Villari and Maggiorino Ferraris put their shoulders to the wheel there is promise of better things. Italian patriotism, in its broadest and most earnest interpretation, is not dead. The glorious traditions and the noble heritage left by those unsurpassed heroes and martyrs of the long struggle for national autonomy still live ; and although the work yet to be done is more prosaic in its nature than the work accomplished in those times, the necessity for self-sacrifice on the altar of patriotism still exists.

H. REMSEN WHITEHOUSE.



## CANADA AND IMPERIALISM.

THE presence of Colonial contingents in South Africa fighting shoulder to shoulder with the veteran regiments of the British army in the cause of the empire marks an epoch in British history. In the case of Canada, as well as of Australia and New Zealand, this aid has been given voluntarily. Legal obligation did not exist, and the British Government was clothed with no power to compel colonial assistance. The controlling force has been a bond of sympathy and of loyalty to the motherland. Little doubt need be entertained that if a combination of foes should force upon Great Britain a struggle for national existence, Canada at least would put her last available man in the field, and would spend her last dollar in the defence of the mighty empire of which her territory forms no inconsiderable portion.

The devotion of Canada to the interests of the British empire is not entirely one of sentiment. Material interests also play a prominent part; for Great Britain is almost the exclusive market for Canada's food products, and furnishes a market for two-thirds of the total exports from the Dominion. Self-interest forbids that Canada should suffer this market to be destroyed or seriously curtailed.

As a result of their action in the present crisis in British affairs, Australia and Canada have suddenly challenged the attention of the world. Each country in itself possesses the area and resources of an empire. An intelligent comprehension of the vast extent and the potentialities of the Dominion is possessed by comparatively few men outside the boundaries of that country. It has an area of 3,618,000 square miles, five per cent less than that of the continent of Europe. The area of the United States, including Alaska, is 3,580,000. As exploration proceeds, and the character of the soil and climate of the Dominion, and the extent of its resources, are better known, the estimate of its importance rises. In 1888 the Canadian Senate appointed a committee to examine into the extent of the resources of the Mackenzie Basin and the country eastward to Hudson's Bay. The testimony of missionaries, Hudson Bay contractors, explorers, and others,

was taken. The conclusion arrived at was that 300,000 square miles of this district were suitable for the cultivation of wheat, 400,000 square miles for the cultivation of barley, 650,000 square miles for the cultivation of potatoes, and that the pastoral area would cover 860,000 square miles. Outside of this region drained by the great river of the North, and to the south of it, are the territories of Saskatchewan, Assiniboia, Alberta, and the province of Manitoba, with a total area of 370,000 square miles. The area of the maritime provinces—Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia—is 700,000 square miles.

The total arable area of the Dominion is probably 1,475,000 square miles, less mountains and water. The actual arable area fit for cultivation and capable of producing crops of wheat and other cereals is in excess of 1,000,000 square miles; and the country is capable of sustaining, from the productions of its own soil, a population of from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000. The climatic conditions are not governed by lines of latitude. The Japan current, on the Pacific coast, and the Chinook winds, sweeping down the great continental incline from the highlands of New Mexico and the region east of the Rocky Mountains toward the Arctic Ocean, unimpeded by mountain ranges, have a remarkable influence upon the climate of the Canadian Northwest. The isothermal line, marking the mean temperature of St. Paul and Winnipeg, extends in a northwesterly direction from St. Paul to the northern margin of Peace River Valley and the south shore of the Great Slave Lake, in latitude 60°. Embraced within this immense region, of which this line is the easterly and the Rocky Mountains the westerly boundary, is one of the most extensive and fertile wheat-growing regions in the world, mostly in a state of nature at the present time.

The Dominion possesses great mineral wealth. An auriferous region extends from the American boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains northerly for 1,400 miles, with an average width of nearly 300 miles, having the rich mining region of the Klondike within its northern limits. Forests of great commercial value cover a large portion of the territory of the Dominion; and its fisheries, both sea and inland, are of enormous value. Hudson's Bay, 1,000 miles in length, 600 miles wide, and covering 500,000 square miles, is a *mare clausum* within Canadian boundaries. This great expanse of water is three times the size of the North Sea. It has cod banks; salmon rivers, as yet untouched, enter from the Labrador side; and there are valu-



able whale and walrus fisheries. Through the straits connecting Hudson's Bay with the Atlantic is likely to pour at no distant day a great commerce from the wheat fields yet to be brought under cultivation, from the forests, and from the mines to the west of this inland sea. The great Northern lakes, Great Slave Lake, Great Bear Lake, Athabaska Lake, and scores of others teem with fish of the finest quality; and the country is a wilderness of lakes and streams almost throughout the entire limit of the Dominion, and especially within the Laurentian portion of it. It is a pleasant, picturesque land, with vast capabilities, admirably adapted to be the home of a virile and liberty-loving people.

The institutions of the country are modelled after those of Great Britain. Canada has the same features in regard to responsible government. It has the same parliamentary rules and usages, and a ministry directly responsible to the representatives of the people, having control of the Government and holding office only upon the condition of commanding a majority in the House of Commons. The experiment of the growth of institutions, distinctly British in form and spirit, alongside of the institutions of the Great Republic, will afford a study of deep interest to students of the science of government in the future; and it may be believed that each will exercise modifying and salutary influences upon the other.

The loyalty of Canada to the British Empire, and the devotion of almost its entire population to British institutions, are possibly surprising to the people of the United States. American proximity and the interblending of interests had naturally led to the expectation that the two countries might gravitate toward each other. Immediately after the repeal of the corn laws in England an annexation sentiment of very pronounced character was manifested in Canada; and the celebrated annexation manifesto of 1849 was signed by a great number of leading public men, who afterward repudiated their action in that respect. During the continuance of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 to 1866, the volume of commercial transactions between the two countries increased rapidly; leading naturally to intimate social relations and to a feeling of friendliness and sympathy on the part of a considerable portion of the Canadian population toward the United States. A remarkable proof of this sentiment is the fact that over forty thousand Canadians served in the American army during the war of the rebellion.

Immediately following the abrogation by the United States of the

Reciprocity Treaty in 1866 came a period of high duties in the United States and of repression of the natural tendency of the two countries to trade with each other. Since that date the American tariff has been repressive in its tendency toward Canada as regards commercial intercourse. Several efforts were made by Canadian statesmen to secure a mitigation of these conditions, which hampered trade between contiguous peoples, and a return to a policy calculated to promote intercourse and trade between the British North American colonies and the United States. Two abortive attempts were made under the Conservative party between the abrogation of the treaty in 1866 and the year 1872. The failure of the first of these attempts, made soon after the abrogation of the treaty, served most effectively to promote the success of the scheme for confederating the British North American provinces, which was accomplished in 1867.

In 1874, after the Liberal party came into power, negotiations were opened by Hon. George Brown, as representative of Canada, and Lord Thornton, the British minister, on the one hand, and the American Executive on the other hand.

These negotiations resulted in the framing of a treaty known in Canada as the Brown Draft Treaty, which was broad and liberal in its character. It proposed to admit a long list of American manufactures into Canada free of duty, to give free admission for Canada's natural products into the United States, and to make other provisions calculated to promote good feeling and the growth of intimate relations between the two countries. This treaty unfortunately failed to receive ratification by the United States Senate; and the policy of trade repression between the two countries continued in vogue until the adoption of the Wilson Bill in 1895. Even this bill but slightly mitigated the almost prohibitive duties put upon Canadian farm products entering the market of the United States.

If the object of this line of policy was to convince Canada that the great advantage of securing access to the American markets could only be attained by entering into the American union, and of forcing a movement in that direction, its effect was the direct reverse of the intention of those who put the policy into operation. The result was that a feeling of animosity was engendered. Notwithstanding this state of feeling, the Canadian policy toward the United States was comparatively liberal. The duties were low, and the increase of importations from the United States into Canada grew apace. During the period from 1866 to the present year, the exports of Canada to the



United States have remained nearly stationary, and were in point of fact about the same amount in 1899 as in 1866. As I have shown in a previous article,<sup>1</sup> the result of the fiscal policies pursued by the two countries was that Canada in 1899 imported from the United States \$101,642,000, of which \$93,700,000 was for consumption, and exported to the United States of her own products, including short returns, \$39,225,000. This does not include coin and bullion. The balance of trade against Canada between total imports and total exports was \$56,509,000. She bought of the United States of farm products \$24,448,000, and sold to that country, of farm products the produce of Canada, \$5,778,000. She imported from the United States of free goods \$48,535,000, which was 75 per cent of her import of free goods from the world; and she received the advantage of free entrance into the markets of the United States for her own products to an extent not exceeding \$5,000,000. She charged duties upon total imports from the United States amounting to 11½ per cent, and duties upon dutiable imports from the United States to the amount of 24.13 per cent, while American duties upon dutiable imports were 49 per cent.

With a free list to the United States nine times as great as that furnished by the United States to Canada; with duties levied by the United States double in amount of percentage the duties imposed by Canada; and with practically prohibitory duties against the Dominion's farm products, there is little reason for surprise that Canada has been gradually drifting away in sympathy and in sentiment from her great neighbor, a result which the neighbor has taken every pains to render inevitable by an unfriendly fiscal policy. Being practically debarred from the American market, Canada, of course, has been obliged to find markets elsewhere, and has been enabled to do so beyond her most sanguine expectations. England last year took 62 per cent of her total exports, and her exports of farm products to that country was ten times greater than to the United States.

Δ The effect of this immense development of English trade has been naturally to bind Canada more closely to Great Britain in sentiment and sympathy. This natural tendency has been strengthened by the lenient and generous course pursued by Great Britain toward her colonies. While her government has the power of veto upon Canadian legislation, the power remains a dead letter, not having been made use of even when Canadian legislation was detrimental to British inter-

<sup>1</sup>See THE FORUM for June, 1900, pp. 471 *et seq.*

ests, as in the case of the adoption of the protective system in 1878. Canada's freedom of action has never been in the slightest degree interfered with; and she has always enjoyed the protection of Britain's army and navy and the services of her diplomatic and consular system free of cost. The result naturally has been the rapid growth of the Imperialistic sentiment; and to-day it is reasonable to believe that not 10 per cent of the Canadian population outside the province of Quebec are other than thoroughly loyal to British institutions. One evidence of the existence of this feeling, and of the determination to promote British interests as far as possible, is the adoption of the preferential trade policy, under which, two years ago, British imports were granted a preferential duty of 12 per cent, and one year ago of 25 per cent. By the action of Parliament the present session this differential rate has been increased to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.

When the British power was assailed in South Africa by Boer intrigue and hostility, the colonies realized at a glance the importance of the crisis. An empire of 1,500,000 square miles, with a future of indefinite expansion, was at stake; British prestige was at stake; the diamond mines of Kimberley; the fabulously rich gold mines of the Witwatersrand; the great region north of the Transvaal—which embraces unquestionably the ancient Ophir of the days of Hiram and Solomon; and the breezy, salubrious uplands north and south of the great river Zambezi and adjacent to the inland seas of Nyassa and Tanganika, with their vast possibilities—all these were the prizes for which the contestants entered the lists. Instinct and loyal impulse led the colonies to range themselves almost instantly on the side of the motherland, with a determination that the great British empire in Africa should remain intact, and that British influence and development in Africa should proceed unimpeded.

Imperial federation—involving a federal union, a central Parliament, representation in that Parliament by the Colonies, and a central jurisdiction exercised by that Parliament over all the empire—probably will never be realized. It is not essential to imperial unity that it should be. Neither is it at all likely that Britain will impose discriminating duties upon food products from various countries in the interests of Canada and other food-producing colonies, unless as an accompaniment of an Imperial *Zollverein* and absolute free trade throughout the empire. There has grown up, however, a bond of sympathy and mutual good will which amounts to an unwritten law, and which will secure every possible preference, both in England and



the Colonies, each for the other, in trade transactions. This spirit is likely to continue, and may lead in the near future to the consummation of that Imperial *Zollverein* which now seems a dream of the advocates of a United Empire.

England's military power looms up before the world in vaster proportions than ever before. Her basis of military strength is not only the forty millions of population of the British Isles, but the large and rapidly increasing population of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; and India affords a recruiting ground among its warlike tribes for millions of men, if necessary, to be mustered into the British service.

The meaning to the world of this growth of the Imperialistic spirit is not one of menace. It proffers a benediction of good will and of hope for the future. Great Britain's course in the past has been one calculated to promote the best interests of humanity. Such will be her course in the future; and vast, unreclaimed regions of the earth, such as the dark, unappropriated portions of Africa, will yet fall under her sway. The faster this destiny is fulfilled, the better for the inhabitants, and for the interests of humanity generally. Her colonial rule is a just and beneficent one. She holds the scales of justice with even hand, and sedulously seeks to promote the interests of the people who come under her sway, and to develop the resources and increase the wealth of the lands over which her flag floats.

It is needless to say that the English-speaking people of Great Britain and of all her colonies are anxious to promote friendly relations with the United States, and to act in concert with that country—which means that the earth shall be civilized and reclaimed, largely through the influence of the Anglo-Saxon race. A feeling of jealousy toward the United States does not exist in England. No appeal to passion, based upon popular prejudice against the American people, can be made there, for the simple reason that there is no such prejudice to appeal to. England will look with equanimity, and with approval, upon the extension of American territory and the increase of American power, hoping to be able to act in concert with the United States in the march of that destiny which God seems to have marked out as the path of English-speaking peoples in the twentieth century.

JOHN CHARLTON.

## THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER.

### II.

#### HER ADVANTAGES IN THE COMPETITION FOR COMMERCIAL EMPIRE.

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HAVING defined the nature of the economic problem which confronts the nations in the struggle for commercial empire, it remains to consider the means for winning supremacy in this struggle, and the advantages and disadvantages under which the United States enters the contest. The fact that the shutting up of markets, diplomatic intrigue, and even the sword are factors in the contest takes it beyond the purely economic field, and sets it on a stage where the play of the great forces of passion, patriotism, and race conflict give surpassing interest to the drama of world history.

We have seen that intensity of competition in a world-wide market is the dominating note of modern industrial life. We have seen that the highest efficiency of every factor in production is the only means of winning in the economic field, but that states which fear to trust their forces in this field may throw the sword into the balance, as Brennus tossed his blade upon the scales which weighed the gold to ransom Rome. It therefore behooves the nation which would succeed in the economic contest to be prepared also for the final test of force, which has not ceased to be a factor in the world's affairs. In dealing with the position of the United States in this contest, it will appear that she enjoys many advantages inherent in the character of the race and the development of republican institutions, but that the very breadth of these advantages involves some impairment of the unity and force which belong to absolutism.

The question of the relative efficiency of the United States and her industrial rivals involves the factors of political organization, natural resources, economic power, and social development. Among the elements which reach into both the political and the economic field is the modern tendency toward concentration. The old maxim, "In union there is strength," is receiving a new meaning by the movement toward great empires in the political field and business consolidations



in the economic field. The secret of Russia's present power is not the wealth of any single part of her domain, but the vast extent of the territory she rules; inspiring something of the feeling which Mr. Bryce says prevailed in the ancient world, that "as the dominion of Rome was universal, so it must be eternal." In any contest in diplomacy or in the field a consolidated empire is likely to prevail over a loose alliance of smaller rivals, because of its ability to strike heavily and quickly by consulting only a single controlling head. In the field of industry, also, the people which can draw upon a wide field at home for raw materials, and distribute them over a wide domestic market, without encountering the barriers of customs tariffs and differences in the organization of industry, will prevail over competitors whose narrower limits deprive them of the economies which are found in concentration.

The United States enters upon the conflict for world empire with a great advantage over the democracies of antiquity and over the smaller nations of Western Europe. The movement toward concentration of political power and the elimination of small governments has been advancing with rapid strides during the last two centuries. In Europe the partition of Poland, the union of Austria and Hungary, the realization of Italian unity, and the creation of the German Empire under the headship of Prussia are symptoms of the centrifugal movement which has extended from politics to industry. Later this principle was extended by the British occupation of Egypt, the absorption of Madagascar and Tunis by France, and the financial control of the Powers over Greece. And even within a year hints of German dominance in Holland, continued encroachments on the local rights of Finland, and the growth of the financial influence of Great Britain in Portugal have afforded new illustrations of this world tendency.

The United States is following in the Orient the same process of absorbing new territory which began with the organization of the Northwest Territory, the purchase of Louisiana, and the acquisition of Florida from its Spanish masters, and was continued by the absorption of the republic of Texas, the conquest of California, and, finally, the expulsion of Spain from Cuba and Porto Rico. While Russia advances with giant strides in Central Asia, the great Republic of the West is pursuing a similar destiny, and is tending to put herself upon an equal plane for the contest which Prof. Williams of Yale University so strikingly anticipates in the following passage:

"The machinery of the new centralization is certain to be more elastic as it

will be more complex, the control will be less obvious and direct; but coördination of hitherto heterogeneous elements under some predominant power is apparently as inevitable and necessary now as it was then. In comparison with the vast extent of the new system the domain of ancient Rome shrinks to almost insignificant dimensions. The command of the habitable globe is for the first time in history possible to that power in whose hands are placed the resources that insure obedience, whose capital is the centre of exchanges. The area of its activities will embrace not Europe and the Mediterranean basin alone, but the six continents and their outlying islands; its mastership must be exercised alike in all countries."

The costs of preparation for the coming conflict are likely to be too heavy for any but the greater nations to bear. Italy and Spain are already sinking under the load of a military equipment out of proportion to their resources; and France, in spite of her steadily growing wealth, is assuming heavy burdens. The French ministry, in submitting the annual estimates in January last, proposed a scale of expenditure for new naval vessels amounting to 900,000,000 francs for the period of seven years ending with 1907.

Prof. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in discussing the subject in "*L'Économiste Français*" of February 3, attributes this costly project to the aggressive imperialism of Great Britain in the Fashoda incident of a year ago, and declares for the benefit of the French people that the only consolation, if it is one, is that England will have to expend, if the South African war continues a little longer, three or four thousand millions of francs to subjugate or leave unsubjugated two tiny republics, and that it will be necessary to increase by three or four hundred million francs at least her permanent war budget. The German ministry has been struggling with a hesitating parliament to secure an almost equal expenditure; and the Russian Council of Ministers adopted not long ago a definite programme of naval increase extending over a period of years. The United States has lightly assumed additional taxes of \$100,000,000 a year; and her people, except in isolated cases of ill-adjustment, scarcely feel the burden.

Concentration of power, in order to permit prompt and efficient action, will be an almost essential factor in the struggle for world empire, so far as the struggle is conducted in the political field. The people of the United States may have something to learn in this respect. A greater harmony of policy between the legislative and executive departments of the Government, and broad powers for the executive in dealing with foreign relations, need not be inconsistent with industrial liberty and the freedom of political discussion at home. In this field an absolute government, like that of Russia, enjoys some advantages in its ability to make quick decisions, and execute them without waiting for



the slow ripening of public opinion. What is determined upon by the Czar and the Council of Ministers can be executed without consulting the slow and tedious processes of parliamentary legislation.

An illustration of the power which absolutism gives is afforded by the recent loan to Persia, made by the Russian Government in return for the control of the Persian customs, at the very moment when the difficulties of Great Britain in South Africa were most acute. It is well suggested by the "*Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels*," the Belgian financial journal, that neither Great Britain, in spite of her imperial policy, nor republican France would think of following such an example, and that even the German Empire drew back before the project of effective intervention on a recent occasion—the creation of railways in the Chinese province of Shantung. But the Russian Government, drawing from the limitless resources of international finance, through the medium of a new bank established in Persia, has been able, almost by the stroke of a pen and with only a trifling cost to the Imperial Treasury, even if the whole principal of the loan were lost, to acquire a dominant influence at the court of Teheran, which will make Persia a Russian camp in case of conflict with Great Britain over British India. Already, within a few weeks after the completion of the loan, it has been announced by a leading Russian journal that Russia will "rent" a Persian harbor (as she rented Port Arthur from China), in order to obtain an outlet to the Indian Ocean.

In a conflict between two opposing systems, such as organized absolutism and competitive democracy, it is the usual rule that each borrows what is best from the methods of the other. The autocracy which governs the Russian Empire appreciates the benefits of intellectual freedom sufficiently to gather around the Czar in the Council of Ministers some of the best educated, keenest, and most far-sighted minds in the world. Freedom of debate prevails in those gatherings as to the merits of proposed policies; and the Russian financial journals discuss with acuteness the economic maxims which should govern a progressive state. Thus, the highest intelligence is placed at the service of absolute power; and measures are perfected and blows are struck, in the field of economics or of diplomacy, which rarely have to be retraced. For a progressive democracy, like that of the United States, the lesson to be learned from absolutism is consolidation of kindred interests, unity of purpose, and promptness and energy in action. A democratic state, where education is widely diffused, ought at least to be as intelligent as a despotism in following the suggestions

of its most enlightened statesmen, and, within the limits of national policy, in giving them free scope in counsel and action.

In the field of natural resources both the United States and Russia enjoy an important advantage over the older countries in their comparatively unexhausted coal supplies. A coal famine has prevailed on the European continent throughout the winter and spring; and it is having a serious effect upon the industries of Germany, and even of Great Britain. Coal is as vital a factor in the warfare of industries as in modern warfare on the ocean. It is not surprising, therefore, that the London "Economist" admits that "Europe's extremity is America's opportunity, and she is seizing it." The export of American coal to European markets has become a recognized business; and in its issue of February 24 the English journal just quoted declares that "America is now permanently established as a supplier of the foreign coaling stations."

Another vital point at which the equipment of the United States in respect to natural resources gives her a controlling advantage is in the food supply. The cultivation of great wheat areas has not been neglected in the development of manufacturing. The United States is not only self-sufficing in this respect, but, by means of scientific farming upon a large scale, she has been able to produce the staple agricultural products as cheaply as any other nation. Thus, in entering upon the domain of manufacturing for world competition, she starts with unexhausted fields of coal and adequate supplies of food at her elbow. She is hampered neither by the lack of proper distribution of her laboring force between manufactures and agriculture—like some of her European rivals—nor by high prices of land, which tend, by increasing the cost of food, to raise the labor cost of production, while diminishing at the same time in other directions the consuming power of the laborer.

Turning to the field of economic and social forces, it will be seen that, in the structure of her industrial system, the United States has little to fear from her foreign rivals. The elements of successful industrial competition, as already pointed out, are found in the use of capital at the lowest rental price, the division of labor to that extent which secures the highest efficiency in the individual and in the aggregate of individuals, the cheapest means of transportation, and the concentration of industry to just the point which secures the largest output at the smallest cost.

This list of the elements necessary for competitive production de-



pend upon another factor of surpassing importance, which dominates all the rest. This is the efficiency of the directing mind—what the French call the *entrepreneur*. It is not proposed here to discuss the question whether the *entrepreneur*, under the existing organization of society, obtains a disproportionate share of the earnings of labor. What is vital to a competing nation is that the rewards of his position, whether large or small, should be sufficient to attract the minds of the most intense application and the highest creative order. The results might perhaps be obtained while greatly diminishing the present scale of rewards and imposing heavier burdens of taxation upon accumulated wealth. But the necessity of an *entrepreneur* of the highest capacity will be more vital to industrial success in the future than it has ever been in the past, when competition was confined within limited markets protected by local legislation.

It is in this field of ability for intense application, combination of ideas, and organization upon a large scale, that the traditions of centuries of political freedom and comparative economic freedom have given supremacy to the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and especially to the Americans. With them has been realized most fully that process of social development which Mr. Kidd declares tends to raise the rivalry between individuals to the very highest degree of efficiency as a condition of progress, by allowing the freest possible play of forces within the community and the widest possible opportunities for the development of every individual's faculties and personality. It is the result of this process which makes the American people easily masters in those fields which they seriously enter.

Among the elements which have enabled the American manufacturer to get a footing in these fields has been the same economy and efficiency resulting from concentration which make the larger states more potent than the smaller in the domain of world politics. It is not concentration alone which has produced the results, but the skill with which such combinations have been handled. This is the justification of the trust, so far as it can find justification. In so far as a trust or great business enterprise has succeeded, without the control of some natural monopoly or the abuse of legislation, it has usually been the result of the superior organizing ability and foresight in its directing mind. Success has been the test of efficiency. The incompetent trust manager is driven to the wall, where competition, at home or abroad, is within the range of possibility, more quickly than the inefficient manager of a small trade.

The triumph of the industrial leader over his fellows by the natural processes of competition is, therefore, a direct contribution to the competing power of the nation. More and more, with the widening of the world market, the fluctuations of demand and supply, and the necessity of managing great financial operations, the captain of industry needs to possess all the genius for combination, foresight, and promptness of action which characterize those generals who are successful in the field.

That this ability for organization is a serious factor in modern competition is coming to be generally recognized by producers and economists. Baron Mourre, in his suggestive book, "*D'où vient la Décadence économique de la France ?*" cites the many proofs that French exports and French wealth are falling behind those of Germany and Great Britain in relative growth. He inquires, "What are the causes of this inferiority?" and makes this answer:

"It is probably not that our laborers are much more incapable or more indolent than German or English workmen, but that our manufacturers direct them less efficiently and employ antiquated processes, which permit only an inadequate production."

In this respect the United States stands admittedly at the head. The organization of her great industries constitutes, as Prof. Sherwood declares in the "*Yale Review*," for February, "the American solution" of the problem of meeting the demands of the world market by a high type of organization. The operation of the competitive system in forcing the ablest minds to the highest degree of exertion, in order to obtain the greatest quantum of desirable results by the smallest relative expenditure of energy, is its distinguishing advantage over the socialistic system in any of its forms. State direction of industry, useful sometimes in the infancy of technical education, and the creation of monopolies by legislation will always give way, other conditions being equal, to the results of private industry and enterprise. No means can be found for giving to the members of a bureaucracy the motive of competitive self-interest which strains to its utmost tension the mind of the industrial chief.

The limits of state socialism are clearly marked at the point where greater efficiency ceases to be obtained on the whole by the methods of government control and ownership. Such ownership may perhaps be extended in the future to railways and the telegraph, because the advantages of uniformity of system and charges and the certainty of impartiality between competitors outweigh the expensive methods of



bureaucracy. But the moment that state socialism undertakes to supersede the individual initiative in enterprises which are not of a quasi-public character, the society adopting them will sentence itself to economic decline. It will no longer offer a premium to its best minds to achieve the utmost that can be achieved in improving methods of production. While at first its products may appear to compete upon equal terms with those of other nations, the gradual hardening of routine, the retention of inefficient machinery, and the absence of the spur of prizes to inventors and to the captains of industry will impair its competitive machinery, increase the cost of its product, and drive it from international markets.

If a wall is erected by fiscal policy high enough to exclude competition from abroad, such a socialistic state would gradually drop astern in the race for industrial prizes. With growing impoverishment, the flight of foreign capital, the increasing burden of taxation, the steady decline in the surplus available for the employment of the professional classes, for the encouragement of art, and for the development of the comfort of the masses it would descend lower and lower in the scale of civilization—at first relatively to its advancing rivals, and finally in relation to its own past.

In so far as the combination of capital or labor tends to stifle reasonable competition and create monopoly, it tends to threaten the efficiency of a nation's competing power. Only upon the ground of paramount advantages in other respects can such monopoly be justified. If it be true, as declared by a critic of the Building Trades Council of Chicago, in speaking of trades unions in Great Britain and the United States, that "the essence of trades unionism to-day there and here is the destruction of freedom of contract and the establishment of state socialism and special privilege," this fact in itself is a serious menace to the competing power of American production. Trade unions and combinations of labor have done much to raise the standard of living among the laboring men, to secure to labor an equality of rights with capital, and thereby to increase the consuming power and the efficiency of the masses in the community. The benefits of such combinations cease when their policy and methods tend to restrict producing power, to put the incompetent and slothful upon a level with the competent and energetic, and to stifle individual initiative.

While the limits of state socialism and industrial combination are thus clearly marked, and cannot be crossed without economic disas-

ter, the principle of the division of labor will justify the intervention of the state in many matters where intervention has heretofore been condemned upon the strict principle of *laissez aller*. The governing principle of such a policy should be the demonstrated benefits of state action. These benefits may be found in many works which would never be undertaken upon individual initiative, or would be inadequately performed, because the returns to any single individual would not be a sufficient compensation for the expenditure. Where the mere gathering of information is concerned, like the work of statistical bureaus and the creation of trade commissions, the real question involved is the relative importance of the return to the community obtained from a given expenditure. If the appointment of a commission of inquiry, the support of a technical school, or the public endowment of professional scholarships promises compensating results upon the quality and quantity of industrial product and competing power, the benefits are likely to be felt by the whole community, including the professional classes, whose earnings are increased by the surplus of the savings of the capitalistic and laboring classes.

If it is desirable that the supreme productive power of the best minds should be applied to industry, it is of great importance that the rewards of industry should be as great and as honorable as those of any other calling. These rewards should be ranked by public opinion as high as those achieved in government, literature, or art. There is little danger of a conflict between commercialism and the higher ideals under such conditions, so long as the life-blood of productive energy and moral purpose flows freely from the heart to the extremities of society. There will always be a group of men whose members will forswear the pecuniary rewards of industrial activity for the gratifications of intellectual and artistic labor, if the surplus earnings of the community will afford them a dignified and comfortable maintenance. The process of natural selection can be trusted to divert in this direction the minds best fitted for such pursuits, while leaving to the organizing executive minds the pursuit of industrial rewards.

The greatest periods in literature and art among civilized peoples have almost always been those when they were winning victories on the field and in the workshop. It was thus with Athens in the age of Pericles, and with Rome in the age of Augustus. Their intellectual life attained its highest development at the same moment as their industrial life, so far as the latter obtained a footing in ancient



slave-holding societies. It was the same in the France of Louis XIV and in the England of Elizabeth. The outburst of industrial energy and the contest for world empire were accompanied by the highest intellectual achievements, among which were the masterpieces of the French and British drama. To the same great age which witnessed the colonization of America and the opening of India belong the names of Turenne and Marlborough in the field, of Colbert and Bacon in constructive statesmanship, of Molière and Shakespeare in literature.

The United States enters upon the field of world competition with peculiar advantages in respect to the motives which determine the direction of her intellectual development. The very complaint of many reformers, that the ablest minds neglect those official spheres once considered most honorable in order to assume the management of factories, insurance companies, banks, and railways is one of the results of the dignity of labor in America. It is not desirable in a modern state that there should be a waste of forces upon the machinery of government. It has been by the natural evolution of events that the majority in state legislatures and in Congress have ceased to be the leaders of public opinion.

Public opinion is no longer formed by debates in Congress, but by the expression of expert opinion through the press. When public opinion reaches the state of decision on an important subject, it is registered more effectively by an obedient majority than would be the case if scores of experts and economists split hairs over abstractions before putting a law upon the statute book. The abstract discussion which leads to the ripening of opinion takes place outside of legislatures. If more of the highest constructive and executive ability could be devoted to the service of the state, legislatures might realize a more impressive and dignified ideal than at present; but the diversion of too many of the best minds to such a service might involve an economic waste which would react disastrously upon the real interests of the country in its competition with foreign rivals.

The people of the United States, by devoting their best talent to industry and commerce, and minimizing to some degree the honors of public service, escape another danger which impairs the competing power of their European rivals. This is the entombment of some of the highest capacity of the country in the barren service of arms. It is absolutely essential that every nation should be able to protect its independence and its national interests in the struggle for commercial

empire, which may cause many appeals to arms in the future. But that nation which is able to maintain its military efficiency with the smallest possible subtraction from its resources for industrial development will be the strongest competitor.

It is not, perhaps, the most serious fetter upon the competitive power of the European countries that their people give up a large part of their earnings for the military establishment. This can be afforded without suffering by the richer nations, in view of the greatly increased productive power of the race under modern conditions. As Prof. Edmond Théry points out in "*L'Economiste Européen*," of January 19, an increase of 97 per cent in the taxes collected from the people of France between 1869 and 1898, while the population remained nearly stationary, has been accompanied by great improvements in public education, in asylums, in institutions of philanthropy and coöperation, and the wages of labor have risen from 50 to 60 per cent above their average a generation ago. The fatal effect of the policy of militarism, which is draining the vitality of the continental states of Europe, is not the direct cost in money, but the persistence of the mediæval idea that the display of gold lace or the bearing of civil titles is more honorable than distinction in the fields of industry. It is this idea which shuts up the keenest and most ambitious minds in the narrow treadmill of official routine or military ostentation, and withdraws them from their truest service to humanity.

Of transcendent importance also in the struggle for industrial supremacy is the keeping open to all classes of the paths which lead to the highest industrial rewards. It was one of the misfortunes of the Roman state that trade and industry were treated as unfit for free-men, just as they are disparaged to-day in the military courts of Europe. But a deeper evil than this was the stratification of society. Among the genuine Romans, especially under the empire, social classes hardened into castes; and the ablest and most ambitious minds could find no escape from the class into which they were born. Mr. Dill, in his interesting work on "*Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*," sets forth in striking language the manner in which the various city traders and the carriers of grain from Sicily, Spain, and Egypt to Rome were shut within their class, and how completely the food service of the city broke down when it was no longer in the power of the state to maintain this forced and unnatural stratification of society.

It is no new discovery on the part of Mr. Dill that this binding of



classes by iron barriers was the ruin of the Roman state. It is the testimony of Mommsen, the great German historian of Rome, and of Léon, in his "*Histoire des Corporations de Métiers*." According to Léon, "The craftsman was riveted to his trade like the convict to his chain. Nothing in theory could withdraw him from this yoke. The Emperor himself was forbidden to grant him release." Every industry was organized into guilds; and in some cases a man could not marry the daughter of a craftsman without being compelled to adopt his father-in-law's trade. It is not surprising that under such a system merchants should have fled from the great centres of commerce with the object of escaping the special taxes on their calling; nor is it surprising that, under such conditions of embryo state socialism, the Roman state, decaying at the top, lost its vitality, and that when the barriers of caste were finally broken down by the rude swords of Goths and Vandals, there were, as Gibbon so tersely says, "no longer any proper Romans left to defend her."

A similar experience was that of Athens, where her robust democracy, gradually stratified into rigid classes, died at the top, and fell before the vigorous march of the soldiers of Macedon. In France, it was the great mistake of Colbert that he strove to organize the people into classes, and to give a fictitious splendor to French industry by conferring the privileges of monopoly on a few showy manufactures. The guilds or corporations came to impose unbearable fetters upon the life of French industry, and contributed their share to the impoverishment which was sinking interior France to the level of barbarism while wealth and wit shone resplendent at the courts of Louis XIV and Louis XV. As Taine interprets the observation of Arthur Young, who traversed the country just before the Revolution, never was there a society with "a heart so vigorous and extremities so benumbed." Such a society could not live to-day in competition with a democratic industrial commonwealth, where equality of burdens and equality of opportunity afford the strongest stimulus to the activity of the race by offering the highest prize to the greatest achievement.

Turgot only anticipated the effect of the relentless competition of modern times when he tried to abolish the corporations and to open to every Frenchman the pathway for seeking his own future in his own way, before the blood of the Revolution swept away social and political distinctions in France, and enabled her to stand forth, in spite of the frightful drain of Napoleon's campaigns, as a competitor of

modern industrial nations. If England was already the leader in this competition, and France lagged behind, it was largely as Mr. Hobson declares, in "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," because she, more than any other European nation, had broken down the old industrial order, with its guilds, its elaborate restrictions, and its conservative methods. Personal freedom, security of property, liberty to work and live where and how one liked, existed in England to an extent unknown on the Continent.

It is a well settled rule of social development that any society which has ceased to feel the spur of need and ambition has begun to decay. The man who has become rich ceases to devote the same relentless energy and minute care to his business as he did when he was poor. Even if hardened habits keep him at the treadmill, his children are bred in a different school, and are only rarely his efficient successors in the fields of finance and industry. Even if every one of them should be, the statistics of births and deaths show that the upper classes in any fixed society steadily decline in number in ratio to the lower classes and finally die out. Only when new blood is constantly poured into the so-called "upper" grades of society from beneath does its vitality remain unimpaired. The attempt to stratify society, whether it comes from above or beneath—whether it is in the interest of a blooded or moneyed aristocracy, or of organized labor or socialism—is to put the bar sinister upon national life, and to sentence a state to fall gradually behind in the race for commercial and political empire, until it sinks a helpless prey to its more democratic and vigorous rivals. Painful as it may be to patrician prejudices, it is the constant change in social classification—the success of the new comers, the decay of old families—which keeps the life-blood of a nation flowing freely from the heart to the extremities. In the words quoted by Prof. Leroy-Beaulieu, in his "Traité d'Économie Politique," "One hears constantly the sound of polished boots descending, of wooden shoes mounting upward."

To the Anglo-Saxons, by the historical evolution of events, has been committed this cause of modern social progress. Imperfectly as they may have conceived it, clumsily and with much travail as they may perform it, it is a task which they cannot escape unless the world is to sink backward into another long night like that of the Dark Ages. It is a mission of the highest altruism, in which commercial and economic forces play a part only because economic efficiency is the fruit of freedom, and the people of the highest moral



ideals are those capable of doing the most in the world. The function of the highly developed peoples, as Prof. Walter F. Willcox pointed out, at the March meeting of the Washington Economic Society, is to teach labor-saving devices and efficient methods of production to the less advanced peoples, to the end that every part of the world may yield its increase in the largest measure for humanity. In pursuance of this work, it is not the duty of the Anglo-Saxons to force their policies by the sword upon reluctant rivals; but it is their duty to accept, without regret or turning back, the responsibilities which come to them, and to insist that the policies of absolutism and exclusion shall not usurp fields where free competition and equality of opportunity now prevail or may be reasonably established.

The position of the United States as a factor in international politics makes it more important now than in her earlier history that she should pursue a continuous and resolute diplomatic policy. A resolute policy does not by any means imply the sort of hysterical bullying which has sometimes marked our attitude towards weaker nations, but simply a firm insistence upon respect for American rights, and the readiness to sustain these rights, if necessary, by force. The struggle for the maintenance of free markets and equality of opportunity in the undeveloped countries will involve tactful diplomacy, firmness tempered by extreme discretion, and readiness to act promptly and efficiently in case of need. The United States can no longer afford to have an amateur consular and diplomatic service, or to have it suspected that her policy will change with the change of parties at home. That party will most commend itself to the business community for its sincerity as the advocate of extending our national influence and competing power which does the most to increase the efficiency of the consular and diplomatic service, by lifting it out of politics. In this direction, as in all others, the highest efficiency will turn the scale between nations; and this efficiency is usually won in diplomacy, as in the technical arts, by training and knowledge. At the most critical moments, the political party which represents a well-formulated and resolute policy will command the support of those who believe in the maintenance of the position of the United States as a world power. This will not preclude changes of political control; and there will no doubt be moments when temporary discontent with the party of a constructive policy will place its opponents in office.

These intervals of the success of the parliamentary opposition

should be limited, as far as possible, to periods of arrested progress rather than absolute retrogression. Great Britain encountered such periods under the timid policy of Mr. Gladstone; but even he was forced by events to assume a protectorate for Great Britain over Egypt, and to do other things, as a responsible minister, which would have invited his philippics, if he had enjoyed the freedom of an opposition leader. But England is coming to understand how vital is the maintenance of her position before the world, and how completely settled are some of the old issues which once divided parties. In the United States, also, the old issues are shrivelling up. They have either been settled and sent to the lumber-room of the political theatre, or have been tinged with strange, new light by the flash of Dewey's guns in the Bay of Manila. Events are opening the way for a new alignment of parties, in which the party of a continuous national policy, pledged to keep open the world markets upon conditions of equal opportunity, will command the support not alone of the business community, but of all far-seeing men who desire the perpetuation of the ideals of Anglo-Saxon civilization.      CHARLES A. CONANT.



## CHILD-STUDY AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION.

CHILD-STUDY or paidology, often confused with psychogenesis, of which it constitutes a large part, is a new movement which has been well under way hardly a decade. It is already represented by a bibliography of some two thousand titles, including only the books and articles well worth reading, and not comprising the yet larger mass of chaff; by two journals in this country devoted exclusively to it, and by several more which make it a department; by three journals in Germany, two in France, one each in England, Italy, Japan, Russia, and Spain.

Paidology either forms a department, or appears on the programme of most of the leading psychological, philosophical, and educational societies. Its work is supported from the treasury of several of the largest States. Sometimes, as, for example, in New York city, it is a topic in the annual school reports; and expert investigations are paid for out of the municipal treasury. There are several academic chairs devoted mainly or exclusively to it; and I opine that it enters somewhat into the instruction of nearly every course of study that deals with the human mind. There are organizations with which I have been in correspondence in India, South America, Russia, Spain, and Australia; and circles or groups exist in almost every civilized or colonized land.

Studies of child life among the North American Indians, Australian tribes, the Zulus, Chinese, clay-eaters, Kaffirs, Maoris, Arabs, Samoyads, ancient Greeks and Romans, etc., are found in periodicals or publishers' announcements. Child-study forms a section or a part of the work of nearly all the leading women's clubs, summer schools, and organizations of Sunday-school teachers. It is a movement that has been extensively felt in literature, as witness the many books on childhood noticed during the last few years in the journals I edit; and it is even a frequent topic in the daily, weekly, and, especially, the Sunday newspaper press. Teachers of all grades, mothers of all degrees of culture, pupils in colleges and normal schools fill out ques-

tionnaires, and perhaps meet to compare results and to report the latest magazine literature upon the subject. I have received some two thousand letters—either unacknowledged or inadequately answered—from all parts of the world, asking how to organize local work, requesting suggestions for reading, or very often seeking advice concerning children. A private secretary devoted solely to this work could do beneficent service; and perhaps a new profession might arise, which might be indicated by some such term as psychic orthopedics or pediatrics.

The teachers foremost in the work are usually the best among the younger men and women, and the academic representation is naturally strongest among those who have not developed the conservatism of age. This, of course, is auspicious, because the ideals of young men and women are proverbially the best material for prophecy. It is obvious that there is often enthusiasm without knowledge, and also that there are a great many camp followers and faddists in the child-study movement, such as are to be found in the wake of all movements when they assume certain proportions. On the other hand, while the work has had plenty of attacks, often bitter and virulent, it has so far had no competent criticism. Like a new planet, it has disturbed the circles of the systematizers, who live and move in the sphere of definitions, and lay down the law for sciences new and old, like surveyors plotting imaginary streets, or policemen enforcing city rules in the country. But critics such as these have so far uniformly violated Coleridge's sensible adage, that we should see to it that we are not ignorant of an author's understanding before we attempt to understand his ignorance. The defenders of things as they are and the leaders of the rear guard of conservatism, who a few years ago poured out their vials of wrath and contempt, are already in various stages of compromise and adjustment.

It is a nondescript and, in some sense, an unparalleled movement—partly psychology, partly anthropology, partly medico-hygiene. It is closely related at every step to the study of instinct in animals, and to the rites and beliefs of primitive people; and it has a distinct ethico-philosophical aspect—partly what a recent writer classed as the higher biology—with a spice of folk-lore and of religious evolution, sometimes with an alloy of gossip and nursery tradition, but possessing a broad, practical side in the pedagogy of all stages. It has all the advantages and the less grave disadvantages of its many-sidedness.

The *point of view* of the pedagogue, and also of the psychologist, is



like that of the one-ninth of an iceberg visible above water, and each often marvels, especially if hostile, that it goes nearly as well straight in the teeth of his disfavor and indifferently with or against the wind of his approval, because he does not see the submerged eight-ninths of it controlled by the currents of a denser medium. An able classifier and over-systematizer deplors that pedagogy "wants to marry psychology." He is belated; they were made one years ago. The physician, who weighs and measures, tests eyes, ears, etc., is hardly in sight of the philologist, who studies the development of language in the child's speech; and neither knows nor cares much for the unfoldment of the child's sense of self, fear, anger, superstition, nascent periods of interest, capacity, etc.

The uniqueness of the situation consists thus in the new direction and focalization of many scientific departments and methods upon one object, some of which have never before had even this bond of union. Again, the coöperation of the eminent professorial expert with the utterly untrained parent or primary teacher—so that each has an interest in the same matter, and the former awaits the latter's publication with both a filial and a proprietary interest—is a novelty shocking to the esoteric instincts traditional in academic life. It is not strange, therefore, if excessive hopes and fears have been aroused.

One of the oldest objections against child-study, now very rarely heard, is that it is liable to interfere in some way with the *naïveté* of children, and to make them self-conscious. A few years ago I heard a prominent professor declare, with great emphasis, before an audience of applauding Boston school-masters, that, as for his own children, they should never be mentally vivisected; that they should be loved, not studied, etc. "All that I have to say out of my deepest heart is, simply, I do not believe in it." A prominent New York daily about that time, with most sensational headlines, accused a leading professor of Columbia of subjecting his own children to research, as if it were a new and diabolical species of torture. I lately saw in a yellow journal of Chicago an illustrated account of a Normal School girl who wanted to fill out a questionnaire on crying, and who, after waiting in vain for a fortnight, until her composition was due, actually pinched her baby brother's ear to get material.

I am ready to take this in all seriousness, and say candidly that if such studies injure ever so little the very few observed for the benefit of the very many we have no adequate warrant for this work. However precious the scientific results, they would be bought at too dear a

price. Better a millstone about our necks, and we in the sea, than that we offend the little ones in this way. But the truth is the exact opposite. The best data are gathered as one of the offices of love, with a view to making the tender influences of parents or of school, or of both, more effective; and I cannot think that instincts generally so true are here perverted.

Love and study in this field, as in that of natural science, instead of interfering with, strengthen each other. Not only are we better parents and teachers for both knowing and doing this work, but those who fail to utilize it are neglecting some of the most urgent new duties of a new age. I have received hundreds of letters from parents, who, for the most part, express gratitude that they have learned from it things of vital importance for the welfare of their children; and I could spend much of my time in testing psychical qualities and applying results for parents who write to me or call on me for help about their children. I cannot believe that all these people have perverted instincts in wanting their children investigated, or that those who express gratitude do so because the mind is enlightened, or seeks to become so, at the expense of the heart.

I have selected fifty topics which seem to me as valuable and representative as any; and in only one of these can there be any question concerning injury or inconvenience in the work of collecting data. There have been studies of very delicate questions; but I know of no case where, even in such instances, precautions were not taken that would satisfy a critic, even if he were constitutionally sentimental or disposed to be sensational.

In the majority of my fifty topics the children never suspect, from first to last, that they are being observed at all, as, *e. g.*, in plays and games, signs of fatigue, automatic movements, positions of the hand, cases of imitation, infant's creeping. In other cases they tap, press a dynamometer, count lines, put a needle through a small hole, read different types a few minutes, name their favorite story, are tested for defects of the eye, ear, power of speech, are weighed, measured, etc. In other topics, like fear, the very calling of attention to these psychoses, which have often secretly haunted adolescence for years, has, in itself, helped toward their dissipation and control, and aided pitiable cases toward what Aristotle said is the definition of education itself—"Learning to fear aright."

What more pathetic object in the world can there be than a misunderstood child? As the elective system is working its way down



toward high, and even grammar, school grades, it becomes more important to fit it to the nature and needs of individual children, in order that the school may become a life-and-career-saving institution. Very strange to say, only those whose philosophy is ultra-introspective fear self-consciousness or interference with the naturalness of children. Self-knowledge is a very different thing from self-consciousness; and it is only from the former standpoint that the highest study of mankind is man, and that next to the highest is childhood. There is here a new duty, which is neglected by parents who do not love their children intelligently enough to study them.

Again, some critics have objected to this part of the work—that matter collected by untrained observers can have no value. They ignore, however, the obvious difference between the gathering of raw material and the manufacture of it into forms of value, processes as distinct as the work of the quarryman and the sculptor. Almost any intelligent mother can tell me whether her child has a passion for collecting buttons, bottles, or postage stamps; whether it is attended by imaginary companions; what kind of dolls it plays with; when it cut its first teeth; what mistakes it makes most frequently in addition; what diseases it has had; what are its favorite toys and games. The more skilful can collect data on intense and chronic fears, on manifestations of anger, imitations, automatisms, excessive blushing, number forms; can measure or weigh; can answer a few questions on laughing and crying, creeping, the senses, motor power, only children, the development of language, and many other topics.

The four largest anthropological societies—those of England, France, Germany, and Italy—have each issued little hand-books directing untrained observers who may happen to be among savage races how to collect more complicated data than these, including even vocabularies, religious rites and ideas, and social institutions; and the savants make large use of returns from such sources. A little practice with such material, aided by some experience in collecting data upon the subject, enables the expert frequently to master the sometimes rather difficult problem of the sources of error, to weed it out, boil data down, and in some cases transform it as much as the watch-spring maker metamorphoses the crude ore of the miner into products of a very high value.

It may be somewhat as the physician consults the mother about his patient, or the judge questions an unlettered witness. In general, however, the critics do those who make returns great injustice and

dispraise. Among some scores of thousands of returns which I have dealt with, directly or indirectly, many are from leading college professors, more from college graduates, and very many from students. From considerable practice others have developed very rare skill in getting valuable data from their students. No one can begin to appreciate the difficulties in this field or the methods by which they are successfully overcome who has not himself had considerable experience with the work. It is an expert problem, in which the opinions of experts only have value.

Mixed in with the best, there is, indeed, material that is more chaffy than any antagonist I know of has sampled. Perhaps I go too far in holding that, where the quality of work in a great and new field, like this, ranges all the way from utter worthlessness to the very highest value, a critic with real magnanimity would select the best; but I maintain that not only the animus, but also the ability, of a critic is indicated by the grade of work he attacks. Here any one can vanquish to absurdity the weaklings, but no one can impugn the best. I sympathize somewhat with the abler critics in such success as they achieve in the modest task of showing up sub-average work. Like the reformation, or evolution itself, although as yet not comparable in depth and breadth with these great culture movements, genetic psychology has taken a strong hold upon the popular mind, and has enlisted a crowd of camp-followers—some for profit and repute, as the movement gathers breadth and momentum, and others, utterly untrained, whose enthusiasm prompts them to attempt things beyond their power. On the whole I have felt hitherto that perhaps the wheat and tares might best grow together a while longer, lest modest merit be discouraged; and I even fail to see why it is more absurd to show a baby to a class in psychology than to one of medical students, if the conditions chance to favor.

The foregoing objections will never influence those who have come into personal contact with the work itself. Not so perhaps another criticism of late strenuously urged; viz., that child-study should be a tool, a vehicle for the study of the human mind in general, or at best a new path of entrance into the old field of general human adult psychology. The distinction is plain, and the matter of little practical or scientific importance; but the position taken is mistaken.

First, we have a large group of psychic facts, that vanish long before maturity is attained, and leave no sign. The swimming and climbing movements of infants, child fetiches, many of the phenomena



of crying and weeping, dolls, shudders, and fears, as of too big teeth, eyes, and fur, imaginary companions, speech forms, some expressions of anger, toys, creeping, some of the number forms—these and many others can be studied only in childhood; for, like some rudimentary organs, they vanish before maturity. They involve profound questions unknown to the psychologist who concerns himself with adult life only. The development and subsequent decadence of these phenomena seem to constitute a stimulus for the growth of the next higher powers that supersede them. Here we have many unique problems. The genetic standpoint is radically different in that it cross-sections all the results of introspective adult psychology, and is, moreover, to my mind, larger than the logical or any other.

Indeed, after years of reflection, I have grown to the exact opposite view, and am maintaining elsewhere at length that the current adult psychology must be subordinate to the genetic somewhat as the species so carefully established by pre-Darwinian biologists were mobilized and unified by larger evolutionary conceptions. Higher than the logical I rank the developmental explanations of things. Our introspective methods are provincial, and give scanty glimpses of the vastly larger whence and whither. The establishment of true evolutionary sequences which trace familiar psychic facts and processes back to their earlier and lower forms, and thereby show us direction, suggests what may be called the idealism of true prophecy, and a method which even in ethics seems destined to supplant the idolatry of the mystic, underived, Kantian imperative, and gives even to our duties something of the momentum of the same central forces that have evolved man from the amoeba.

Sometimes it is said that it makes no difference in a system of ideas like psychology as to how many persons hold any particular idea. This is obvious. Truth is not affected by majorities; and it is utterly indifferent to a science like chemistry or biology how many people know the various items of it. This, however, is a view that is both irrelevant and exiguous here. Just as the distributions of animals and plants form legitimate chapters in zoölogy and botany, or as the universality of categories and the catholicity of religious ideas have their place in philosophy and theology respectively, just so the frequency of myopia, morbid fears, words and vocabularies, and all the rest have their acknowledged place.

The distribution of any content of consciousness is just as properly a part of psychology as the topography or numerical extent of

species is for biology. The genesis of thought in childhood is, in this aspect, a radically different, and even far more important, problem than the frequency of occurrence of chance scraps and isolated items of knowledge in the adult mind. Indeed, the order of genesis is as important a problem, generally, as the logical order, and for some purposes more so. It makes a difference of great psychological significance, I ween, whether theories made up of an unique *mélange* of Fichte and Schopenhauer and Wundt remain absolutely unique, and peculiar to their authors, or commend themselves to other minds. Nay more, though it may perturb an epistemologist, I insist that even ignorance is an interesting and important topic, and that the growing literature upon it has much psychological value.

Some of the most interesting studies of children are those which show their characteristic defects, errors, or ignorance. As Professors Tracy, Lukens, and Grant have shown, the mispronunciations of children shed unique and valuable light upon vowel changes, phonic laws, dialects, etc. Their typical errors in reasoning help us not only to understand, and therefore to overcome, some of the obstacles that lie athwart their pathway to learning, but explain the origin of not a few current fallacies and superstitions. Their capacities and incapacities have suggested the best of the newer ways of work with number and geometric form. Their drawings, superstitions, early color work, perception, and tastes, even such as might be studies from examination papers, are documents of value for both psychology and education; and the best warrant for any new method, whether of the three R's or of a modern or an ancient language, is based upon a correct knowledge and interpretation of the content and method of the child mind.

In the hesitation we sometimes see in the philosophic mind to welcome child-study, we have to recognize clearly a repetition of the same kind of reluctance which the old systematizers and classifiers in the study of natural history felt toward the acceptance of the Darwinian movement. It sadly disturbed their circles; and the work of placing like to like, and of analysis and synthesis, was so different from the work required in the new field that they could hardly be expected to enter the promised land.

Too many of our philosophers and psychologists have been book-ridden—content to distinguish and divide and evolve an arm-chair theory of knowledge. It is due to their lack of earnestness, their easy-going conservatism, their *a-priori* and scholastic ways, that we



still have no philosophy of education, save only the rags and tatters of systems, and that the whole field has so long been a cave of the winds. They have looked askance at, or down upon, education, or have carved out tunnels in the air, instead of going to work with the hard and hot facts of life and mind, and helping, if not to carry evolution into the higher plane of the soul by the same tedious modes of accumulation that Darwin's genius suggested, at least to find or forge master keys to unlock new secrets of the soul.

These medicine men of the higher order assume that youth must be more or less completely flayed of all the creed of childhood, and of native common sense, which they especially abhor; and that, instead of molting naturally of themselves when ripe, children must be given a veneering made by some special recipe against the great epistemological spook called doubt. If not assuming with Descartes that infancy is useless and that animals are mere machines, they whip up a phase of adolescent metamorphosis into an over-elaborated cult certain to rank beside scholasticism and sophism when seen in historic perspective. These men and this philosophy are as void of use and help for teachers as for all the other purposes of life. It is essentially an exotic and un-American thing which prates of "this country's greatest enemy, vulgarity," and derides our national muse, common sense, as dear to us as is *Gemüth* to the German or *esprit* to the Frenchman. To disinfect the minds and work of teachers of all traces of this kind of philosophizing and psychologizing is a beneficent service. It is very true and very fortunate that psychology, as these men understand and define it, has no bearing upon the teacher's work.

Much is written about the methods as if they were rivals. This can never be, for all methods are good. Some, like Preyer, Shinn, Moore, and Baldwin, prefer to focus their work upon one or two children, and to bring to this focus the best they can from the anthropometric, physiological, philological, psychological, and, perhaps, other fields. This is as legitimate as it is to study plants or animals from the standpoint of chemistry, biology, physics, etc.; but experts excel in only one or two lines, and the monographs under this class have their weak as well as their strong points. Moreover, one must adhere very closely to a plain and painstaking record of facts here; hoping that, through the accumulation of a vast body of data, inferences of value may some time be drawn.

One of the above-mentioned authors may perhaps come to stand as a striking illustration of the danger of drawing general conclusions

and building speculative conclusions upon a monopaidic basis. We have several interesting memoirs devoted to the very detailed and monographic study of a single case of some typical form of insanity; and the very elaborate application of the method of many sciences to the study of Zola's personality, which lately appeared, suggests a new factor in biographic work. The work done on Casper Hauser, Laura Bridgeman, and the Juke family, illustrates the method.

Another method is to select a single topic or question, and gather data upon it from many children. This, obviously, affords the expert—whether he be a student of language, of the eye or ear, of psychology or pedagogy—a chance to focus more sharply upon one special subject, of scores of which every child is a collection. Some, like Barnes, Boaz, Bowditch, do their best work here by gathering data from very large numbers; others limit themselves to one or a few dozen for more careful work, like Ament, Starbuck, etc. Some, like Miss Williams, Wiltse, Small, etc., do best by gathering material for the express purpose of one topic; while others, led by Principal Russell, collect salient facts of all sorts and let them naturally group themselves about topics later.

Here, perhaps, I might instance my own studies of fears, anger, dolls, laughing and crying, a sense of self, children's collections, contents of their minds on entering school, etc. The object here is to make what Bacon would call a *silva silvarum*, or a large collection of actual facts, and later to group them according to sex, age, etc., so as to present something a little like a composite photograph of the subject. Each individual life is in most respects so limited in its experience that the enlargement of these themes by the comparative method brings out many new and unsuspected features, and is remotely analogous to the use of the microscope.

The simple reading of a copious anthology of well-made and sifted records is for me not only most interesting, but among the most instructive of all forms of psychological literature. It brings one in contact with life on a larger scale; brings out in strong colors what was latent in individual experience; and enriches and amplifies one's knowledge of human nature. I do not wonder that in some normal schools and colleges these bare data, properly grouped and ordered, take the place of text-book instruction. They resemble the physician's personal acquaintance with a rich casuistic material in a hospital of general cases.

Upon the value of the genetic movement for psychology I shall not



dwell here, but shall pass to the much-discussed question of its utility for teachers. If psychology be conceived epistemologically as dealing with inner facts primarily non-spacial—that can never be communicated, described, or measured, that have meaning and value only when transformed according to logical ideals which seek an expression of reality sharply demarcated with water-tight compartments from art, history, physiology, and life itself, so that it might almost be called a psychology devitalized, or versus life—then every teacher in the land may well breathe a sigh of relief to be told that his work is strictly anti-psychological, and that he has not the slightest use for this science.

This utter divorce is, if possible, still further justified if teaching be conceived solely as instruction, or the lodgment of knowledge in mental receptacles, with no reference to methods, or to the predispositions, interests, capacities, etc., of the pupil. However much this may violate the oldest and perhaps most cherished American tradition, that the mental and moral sciences must define the goal and carefully work out the methods of both text-books and class work, we must submit as victims of these new and jejune definitions that triangulate so many vast mental spaces.

From such conceptions, however valuable in their abstract sphere, I believe all healthful psychological thinking revolts. For one, my conception of psychology is as different from all this as science is from epistemology or metaphysics. I propound here no definitions, but urge that we must, in justice to the human soul, conceive it far more broadly and vitally. From one view-point it is the natural history of the human and prehuman mind in all its aspects, from the ant, bee and wasp up. I would not exclude it from any phenomena of life to which we can apply the term selection.

The psychologist should be in love with life, especially human life, in every aspect of it, as broadly as the author of the *Comédie Humaine* conceived his theme. He passionately loves the acquaintance and friendship of animals, would know their ways, and divine, if he could, how the world looks beneath the skull of the beaver, the dog, or the chimpanzee. He frequents institutions for defectives—the blind, deaf, idiots, insane—where nature has made her great, but cruel, experiments. He loves and is at home with children; is on as familiar terms as is practicable with savages and criminals; frequents the psychological laboratory; and is versed in the history of the great systems. He is penetrated with the faith that even the latter may, and sometime will, be explained in the larger evolutionary way as we

explain migrations, nest-building, and the social organization of animals. This is plain, naturalistic thinking, with a standpoint as objective as that of the sciences, but including every addition that self-observation and introspection can make, recognizing, of course, the peculiar conditions that must prevail here.

From this standpoint it is plain that the teacher must know two things: (1) the subject matter to be taught; and (2) the nature and capacity of the minds in which it is to be rooted. The farmer must know soils as well as seeds; the architect, the nature of material as well as ground-plans and elevations; the physician, his patient's history, and perhaps that of his family, and he must know drugs as well—all partial, but helpful, analogies. If logic and the old philosophy of mind have ever helped the teacher, the new genetic conceptions are incalculably more labor-saving in his work.

Let us consider a single representative point. Every one recognizes the importance of interest, how it quickens attention, short-circuits slower processes, and eases the strain of acquisition, and how the teacher who is well informed on the favorite out-of-school amusements and occupations of his pupils, and on the life led by them, and who knows his classes individually and collectively, can shorten the road of learning. To determine and group these interests more fully than ever occurred to Herbart is one of the quests of child-study. One of its goals now near at hand, and which will involve considerable change both in regard to the methods of teaching every subject in the curriculum and the age at which the different subjects can be most profitably taught, is the determination of nascent periods for both mental and muscular work. We shall very soon have curves of the years when many of the chief culture-interests begin to culminate and decline. This will enable us to say definitely which are the premature and which are the belated subjects; *i. e.*, when the matter of school training can be taught without forcing, and without sinning away the sacred hour of maximal receptivity and capacity.

Among the more incidental advantages of the study of children is the new bond which it often establishes between the home and the school. The teacher who no longer regards his pupils as marionettes, to be treated as groups or classes, but as free units, with a bond of sympathy between each of their hearts and his own, desires to know at least something of the home life of each child, and to come to an understanding with parents. Hence, many very different organizations have arisen, from Superintendent Dutton's educational club in



Brookline, Massachusetts, to the circles of mothers who meet the teachers weekly after school at Detroit, Michigan. Again, women teachers are increasing, and the method by which they do their best work is to consider individuals and adapt themselves to personal differences. Child study gives sanction to this method, reinforces it, and tends to make the teacher's service of even greater pecuniary value.

Another advantage of interest in child-study is that it helps to break down to some extent the partitions between grades of work, so that the kindergartner and university professor can coöperate in the same task. Best of all, perhaps, it tends to make family life with plenty of children in it more interesting and desirable. Indeed, it is a part of a great culture-movement marked by a new love of the naïve, the spontaneous, and the unsophisticated, by a desire to get at what is primitive and original in human nature as it comes fresh from its primal sources. A prevalent theory of art insists that the greatest defect of all art-products is a sign of conscious design, and that the acme of æsthetic enjoyment is reached when it is realized that the poem or picture is a product of unconscious creative force more or less irresistible, and, as with the greatest geniuses, with no thought of effect. Just so in childhood we are coming again to realize that in its fresh thoughts, feelings, and impulses, we have an oracle which declares that the world and human nature are sound to the core.

More yet. There is really no clue by which we can thread our way through all the mazes of culture and the distractions of modern life save by knowing the true nature and needs of childhood and of adolescence. I urge, then, that civilizations, religions, all human institutions, and the schools, are judged truly, or from the standpoint of the philosophy of history, by this one criterion: namely, whether they have offended against these little ones or have helped to bring childhood and adolescence to an ever higher and completer maturity as generations pass by. Childhood is thus our pillar of cloud by day and fire by night. Other oracles may grow dim, but this one will never fail.

Just as at various times in the history of culture man has turned with renewed zest to the old and ultimate humanistic question of what he really is, his place and meaning in the universe, his whence and whither, so now we are asking with unique interest what a child really is. We are slowly awaking to a recognition that children are not little adults, with all the faculties of maturity on a reduced scale, but unique and very different creatures. Their proportions are so differ-

ent that if head, body, and limbs were each to grow in its original proportion until they reached adult stature, they would be monsters. Adaptable as children are, their ways and thoughts are not as ours; and the adult can no more get back into the child's soul by introspection than he can pass the flaming sword and reclaim his lost Eden. The recollections of our own childhood are the mere flotsam and jetsam of a wrecked stage of development; and the lost points in psychogenesis must be slowly wrought out with toil and patience.

The child's senses, instincts, views of truth, credulity, emotions, and feelings toward objects have very little in common with ours, and indeed are sometimes almost incommensurate; so that we have to explore our way back slowly and tediously, with many an indirect method, if we would solve the great problem that looms before us. The study of a few hundred biographies of great men reveals a large floating body of storiology that is liable to attach itself to the early years of any one who afterwards attains eminence. This has shown that most of the material constituting the records of childhood and even adolescence is nearly as mythic as Niebuhr found the stories of early Roman history to be. This, although perhaps the very least of all the motivations to it, suggests the advisability of a life and health book as one of the inalienable rights of childhood, which children would be the first to claim if they knew enough to make a declaration of their rights.

In some European towns such books are now opened by municipal order, and are kept through required school life. Here all the monthly examinations through all the years are a standing witness of the child's progress and fitness for advancement. The school doctor here records his fears and advice, the parents perhaps add their comments, and, in rare cases, the anthropologist or special student supplements all this; so that on the whole there could hardly be a more useful document for giving each child a serviceable kind of self-knowledge of his own strong and weak points as an aid in the choice of a vocation.

One of the most important themes, both practically and scientifically, is adolescence, the springtime of life, when the emotional nature undergoes nothing less than a regeneration, when the child normally passes from egoism to altruism, and the great subordination of the individual to the race slowly makes itself manifest. This is the most critical period of life, because civilization depends on whether these uncertain final stages, which most differentiate man from ani-



mals, shall be completed or arrested. When the nature of this period is understood, and its needs are met, the most radical of all educational changes will be found necessary in the high school and early collegiate years in ways I have elsewhere indicated. Every race, savage and enlightened, has recognized this stage. Indeed, in a sense, education begins here, and widens upward to the university and downward toward the kindergarten, somewhat in proportion as civilization advances.

Regarded from the standpoint of the highest biologic law this adolescent stage is the golden period of life. The faculties of both body and soul here reach their acme. Just as the ape reaches at adolescence that point in his development which is nearest to man, and becomes farther from him as he matures, so the human race grows younger and more adolescent, because at this stage only the bud of the super-man that is to be appears.

G. STANLEY HALL.

## THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

A JOURNEY to the Philippine Islands, from which I have just returned, has refreshed my memories of previous visits, renewed my interest in the present condition of the Islands, and enabled me to form some estimate as to their future. I shall not discuss the controversies as to the events which ultimately placed the destinies of these islands in the hands of the Government of the United States, but shall limit my remarks to the conditions as we find them to-day, and to what we ought to do in the immediate future to improve them.

Of the various topics that present themselves for consideration, the military situation is naturally the first. In this respect, the last few months have witnessed a great improvement. The Filipino revolutionary government and army no longer exist; in fact, there is not a single regimental organization now to be found. It is true that armed bands of guerillas, more or less numerous, are harassing our troops, and preventing the return of their own people to peaceful avocations. Only a small proportion of the whole number of the natives have been in arms against us. Indeed, I believe that most of them are friendly to us, and anxious for peace. While they have suffered terribly, it has not been at our hands. In fact, the head men of many of the towns captured by our forces have voluntarily borne testimony to the good conduct of our soldiers. Our soldiers of all ranks are doing excellent service; and, while war is not a good school for teaching the amenities of life, they are not conducting it with undue cruelty, or practising oppression or extortion. If General Otis has erred in his treatment of the insurgents, it has been in the direction of leniency.

Even such armed resistance as remains, although it may be troublesome during the present rainy season, will doubtless disappear on the advent of the next dry season. After the coming presidential election, the Filipino junta in Hong Kong will no longer receive and distribute among the insurgents the anti-administration speeches, which are received by the natives, who are strangers to the election tactics in America, as evidences of a coming reversal of all that has



been done by our Government in relation to the Philippines within the last two years. The distribution of such material has led the natives to believe that if Mr. Bryan should be elected, the American troops would be withdrawn, and that they would be left to govern themselves in any way that they might see fit.

This, however, is a totally impossible condition. In the first place, only a portion of the Tagalos, who number not over a million and a half, have been fighting or working for independence. The remainder of them, as well as a majority of the other seven or eight millions of the population, are favorable to us; and the same is true of the foreign residents. The Filipinos as a whole are certainly not at present capable of establishing and maintaining an independent government. We have assumed obligations that must be fulfilled. We have destroyed the governing power of Spain, which afforded protection to foreign property, foreign capital, and foreign inhabitants, and, in some measure at least, had given the natives a semblance of civil and municipal self-government. We are bound in honor to substitute for it a government which will give to foreigners a larger measure of freedom and protection, and to the Filipinos, not only more liberty, but a more comprehensive and generous scheme of self-government as well. We hold the islands, and there is no possibility of our abandoning them. The vital question now is, how successfully shall we meet the responsibilities we have incurred, and by what means can we inspire with confidence not only those who are friendly toward us, but the conquered people whose hearts are naturally filled with the bitterness engendered by armed strife.

Judge Taft, the President of the Philippine Commission, on his arrival at Manila, made a statement to the representative of the Associated Press which tersely sets forth the policy of the United States. He said in part:

“Representing the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines, which it is the purpose of our Government to maintain, we are here to do justice to the Filipinos, to secure for them the best government in our power, and such a measure of popular control as is consistent with the stability and security of law, order, and property. We are civil officers, men of peace. The field of our work is necessarily confined to regions where the armed enemy has ceased his operations. We cannot deal with armed men. Gen. MacArthur and the army will do that. When those now in arms shall have laid them down, relying, as they certainly can, upon the justice, generosity, and clemency of the United States, we shall give them all a full hearing upon the policy to be pursued and the reforms to be initiated.”

To deal with the “armed men” to whom Judge Taft refers, and to maintain order until the disturbing influence of war shall

have passed away, a considerable army must be maintained; and it will be some time before the present force can be safely decreased. There are at present twenty-five regiments of volunteers in the Philippines whose term of service will expire in June, 1901. Instead of replacing these regiments by sending more regular troops from the United States, native regiments should be enlisted, with a full complement of American officers. That the natives would make good soldiers is proved by the excellent work that has been done by the battalion of Macabebes now in the service, who have won the good opinion of every officer who has served with them. No European nation has succeeded in holding or controlling tropical possessions without the aid of native troops. Moreover, these can be maintained at a much smaller cost than white soldiers, not to speak of the great expense of transportation. Two-thirds of the Dutch army in Java is composed of native troops; Spain, before the insurrection, had over 13,000 natives doing military service in the Philippines; and England's success in converting the Egyptian *fellahs* into good soldiers is another example of how apparently poor material can be utilized. Even the superabundant Chinese in the Philippines could furnish a serviceable contingent, as is proved by the success of the English in transforming the Chinese at Wei-Hai-Wei into a modern fighting machine.<sup>1</sup>

Next in importance to the military condition is the situation in regard to religion. The Roman Catholic faith is the predominant one; and although the great mass of the people are devout members of that Church, they are bitterly hostile to the Friars, of whom, before the insurrection, there were about three thousand in the islands. These made themselves so obnoxious to the people that, for many years, the main political idea was the question of the expulsion of the monks. This question was, in fact, the principal cause of the rebellion against the Spanish Government. However, very many of the Catholic priests are earnest and worthy men, who are doing good and conscientious work. The Jesuits are also worthy of praise for their enlightened efforts in the cause of education, and in the missionary work they are doing among the uncivilized tribes. The best interests of the country, and also of the Catholic Church, demand that the people be provided with religious teachers whom they will trust and respect. I do not believe they will ever be peaceable or

<sup>1</sup> As to the success of Germany in a similar experiment, see "Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment," in *THE FORUM* for July, 1900.—ED.



contented until, in the discharge of parochial functions, the clergy are substituted for the Friars.

How the property, which may be justly proved to belong to the monastic orders, can be transferred in favor of the Church is a question which, in my opinion, can be safely left to the ecclesiastical authorities. The public interest demands that an examination be made as speedily as possible, not only into the title of the monastic orders concerning the vast tracts of land claimed by them, but also in regard to the claims of all individuals and corporations, lay or ecclesiastical, who base their ownership on grants from the Spanish Government, as well as the claims of that more numerous class who can show a title by actual possession only. This examination should be made fairly and impartially, as a part of the necessary work of classifying and recording the public lands which became the property of the United States by the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.

After the adjustment of the land titles, the next important matter will be the improvement of means of communication and transportation. Already, since the battle of Manila Bay, 2,500 miles of telegraph and cable lines have been built, or reconstructed, in the Philippines, by the United States Signal Corps. It is true that, in consequence of the exigencies of official and military business, these lines have not been available for commercial or private purposes; but it is hoped that within a few months they can be thrown open to the public. The provision of these lines has been a step in the right direction; but before the resources of Luzon or any of the other islands can be developed, good roads must be constructed in place of the present highways, which are, for the most part, as bad as can be found anywhere in the world. During the dry season they are aggregations of ruts, stones, and dust; and, during the rains, they are, according to their elevation, either water courses or morasses of mud.

The lack of adequate means of land transportation has been the main obstacle to the proper development, not only of the agricultural and mining resources, but also of the manufactures, of Luzon. During the Spanish *régimé* the municipalities of Luzon were permitted by law to levy a tax on real estate for public improvements, particularly for the construction of roads; but in very few cases did they avail themselves of it. Luzon, as the largest, most civilized, and most populous of the islands, the site of the capital, and the commercial metropolis, will, of course, claim the first efforts in this direction. Its numerous good harbors and interior waterways offer excellent facilities for com-

merce; but these must be supplemented by better highways and, above all, by railways.

There is at present only one line of railroad. It is 120 miles in length, and extends from Manila to Dagupan, a port on the Gulf of Lingayen, and the outlet for produce from the province of Pangasinan and the Tarlac district. The country through which this road passes is flat; and considerable expense has been incurred in the building of bridges over rivers and water courses, and in the repair of damages caused by inundations during rainy seasons. In spite of this, however, the line was prosperous until its operation was impeded by the insurrection; the territory it serves possessing immense natural resources, which have been largely developed since its construction.

A vital question of material improvement is necessarily that of public education. Under Spanish rule education, in its proper sense, was largely confined to the upper classes. Merchants, planters, and other people who could afford it, sent their children to the colleges, and to the high schools maintained by the Jesuits, and some sent their sons to be educated in Hong Kong or in Europe; but the great mass of the people, particularly in the country districts, knowing no language but their own, have been left in ignorance.

To the credit of Americans the school-house follows the flag. As the army advances, and fresh territory becomes safe and peaceful, schools are at once started; and every effort is being made to extend to the towns and hamlets of the entire archipelago the same broad plans for American education which have been in vogue in Manila for more than a year. Recent as is our occupation of the island of Mindanao, official reports received within the last two months indicate that one hundred and eighty schools will soon be in operation in that island alone. The public school system of Manila embraces forty-one schools, with a regular attendance of about five thousand pupils. Two of these schools are conducted by twenty-eight Spanish Jesuit Fathers, and one for girls by a Spanish sisterhood, of whom twelve act as teachers. These three schools include a high school, with considerable academic work for boys, and some high school work for girls; a commercial school for boys; a normal school for males; two primary schools for boys and one for girls—one of those for the boys being a training school for teachers, in connection with the normal school. The instruction in these schools is conducted in Spanish, but great interest is shown in the study of English. The remaining thirty-eight schools are conducted under the auspices of the American Gov-



ernment, and include nineteen for each sex, scattered throughout the various districts and sub-districts of the city and suburbs. The schools for the boys are located close to those for the girls, and sometimes in the same building. English is taught in all these schools; nearly all the teachers of English being Americans, and mostly women. The eighty-six teachers who use Spanish are Tagalos, Mestizos, and a few Spaniards. The large majority of these teachers are graduates of the normal school of Manila, conducted by the Jesuits.

The greater part of these thirty-eight schools are in rented buildings, for the most part unfit for the purpose, and entirely inadequate to accommodate the number of pupils attending them. There is a most urgent need for larger school buildings, and for properly constructed ones, with play-grounds attached—a luxury entirely unknown in Manila. Accommodations should be provided for at least thirty or forty thousand, who, having no occupation, are roaming the streets and acquiring bad habits. These children are worthy of immediate attention.

In a recent communication, Mr. G. P. Anderson, the American Superintendent of Education in Manila, says:

“I have great faith in the Filipino children of Manila. They are bright, capable, polite, earnest, and persevering, at least those that have lived in Manila for a few years, and are not ‘raw material.’ The Manila native is not a savage; he appreciates civilization and highly prizes good education. He wants his children to know English and to obtain a good common-school training. The native teachers are bright, faithful, patient, and good, steady workers. All these people need is to be led aright; they will follow. Give them schools, and plenty of them. Wake them up to a higher sense of duty and proper living. They are good material. They have already acquired great confidence in the American as the representative of true liberty of conscience and the standard-bearer of a better and nobler civilization.”

Such testimony as this from a trained educator, and one whose position enables him to form an accurate estimate of the character of those under his charge, makes the outlook for the future of these people very hopeful, although it may be difficult to mould the present generation of adults into good and useful citizens.

During my recent visit to Manila, I was present at the exercises held in several of the public schools when they closed for the summer vacation, and I was surprised at the proficiency displayed by the pupils, particularly in English, considering the short time they had been under instruction. The buildings were crowded by the parents and relatives of the children, who evinced the most enthu-

siastic interest in the proceedings, which were closed by the singing of the patriotic song "America," in the English language.

In December last a nautical school was opened in the Tondo district of Manila, under the management of an American naval officer. Its purpose is to train graduates qualified as mariners to become officers and captains of merchant vessels. The institute promises to become a very useful one.

Next, the problem of labor is an important one, and has a close bearing upon the future prosperity of the Philippines. It has been customary with superficial observers to accuse the natives of laziness. Of course, among them, as with other nationalities, there are some who are idle and improvident; but, when the excitement of war has disappeared, I feel confident that all the labor requirements can be met by the Filipinos, without the necessity of encouraging Chinese immigration.

The natives of the interior have always worked well as agriculturists, while those on the coast are expert fishermen, and make good sailors. In the ports they do all the hard work of boatmen and 'longshoremen. The Manila-Dagupan railroad was built entirely by native labor, and all the subordinate positions in operating the road have been filled by natives. Although they may not, perhaps, in the future, be inclined to work for such small wages as would satisfy the Chinese, having higher aspirations in the direction of family life and in regard to better living, yet, by reason of these aspirations, they are much more desirable citizens than the lower class of Chinese coolies. Moreover, our efforts to elevate and educate the Filipinos will be thwarted if the islands are to be overwhelmed by the threatened flood of Chinese. In the interest of the Filipinos, as well as of ourselves, the United States should firmly prohibit the incoming of more of these people. The weakest feature in the character of the Filipinos is their love of gambling and their addiction to cock-fighting; but these traits will undoubtedly be modified by the spread of education, which will serve to substitute intellectual, in place of mere sensual, amusements, if not in this generation, certainly in the next.

Manila, as the metropolis of the great archipelago, has the promise of a very great future. It has the possibilities of becoming not only a great commercial *entrepôt*, but also an attractive and a beautiful city. The old walled city on the left, or south, bank of the River Pasig is the most perfect specimen in existence of a mediæval Spanish fortified city. It is surrounded by a moat, and by a massive bastioned



wall of stone, two miles and a quarter in length, built about the year 1590. The city, as a whole, presents a picturesque vista of palaces and forts, churches and convents. Its narrow streets and massive houses of antique Spanish architecture give it a unique and attractive, but somewhat monastic, appearance. Outside the walls, on the south, on the shore of the bay, are the pleasant residential suburbs of Ermita and Malate. The river is crossed by three bridges, which lead to the modern business section of the city, called Binondo, which is the true, cosmopolitan, bustling, commercial Manila, as heterogeneous in its architecture as in its population.

The increasing volume of commerce since the American occupation has demonstrated that the Pasig River cannot afford the necessary accommodation for even the smaller vessels that are able to enter it. Manila Bay is not only shallow near the shore, compelling large ships to anchor at a distance of from one to three miles from the mouth of the river, but it is too large and exposed to afford a safe anchorage at all seasons of the year. Even the unprogressive Spaniards perceived the necessity of constructing an artificial harbor and a system of docks. To defray the cost, a decree was issued, in 1880, levying a special duty of 1 per cent on exports, 2 per cent on imports, 10 cents per ton on ships, and a tax on fishing-craft. Between that year and the termination of the Spanish rule, several millions of dollars were collected from these sources. Where this money went is best known to the recipients; the only visible results of the tax being two sections of sea wall on the bay shore of the old city, of no use to any one in their present condition. The prosecution of this work to completion is a pressing necessity.

Among the city's needs are good, well-managed American hotels. A strong American bank is also wanted. It is strange that American bankers should allow the English banks to reap a golden harvest without competition. It is rather humiliating to an American citizen to find that an English banking corporation is not only the repository of the funds of the United States, but that he has to conduct all his financial operations through the same institution. Even the manager of an English bank expressed his surprise to me that he was allowed to enjoy his very comfortable monopoly of American business.

More libraries and reading rooms, and fewer saloons, would be desirable. Several patriotic women have made an excellent beginning in the establishment of a public library in connection with the reading rooms of the Y. M. C. A. This affords admirable occupation

for soldiers during leisure hours, and supplies reading matter to the hospital patients. Although the saloons are still much too numerous, a reduction in their number has already been made by the adoption of a more stringent license system, a policy which, it is hoped, will be steadily pursued.

In the business portion of the city, the present wretched cobblestone pavements, a terror to owners of private carriages, should be replaced by a smooth and hard surface of some kind, to encourage the advent of something more desirable than the present public vehicles, which are simply abominable. The dirty street-cars, drawn by wretched ponies, mere apologies for horses, should be supplanted by an electric system, with comfortable cars. In the cars at present in use none but the lowest of natives and Chinese cares to ride. In 1892, a joint stock company, with a capital of \$500,000, was established, to supply the city with electric lights. Since 1884 the city and suburbs have enjoyed an ample supply of good drinking water, thanks to a Spanish philanthropist, named Carriedo, who, in the last century, bequeathed a sum of money in order that the capital and accumulated interest might some day defray the cost. The water is obtained from the San Mateo River; the pumping station being located in a valley of the same name, about eight miles from the city.

Manila, lying practically but a few feet above sea-level, has no system of sewers. Consequently, the American authorities have a great problem before them in the introduction of an effective method of drainage. As the city has been inhabited by careless Oriental people for centuries, under the rule of Spaniards, who are notably remiss as regards sanitation, much is required in the way of cleansing. Even in the short time that it has been subject to American authority a great change for the better in cleanliness has been effected. Within the last fifty years the English have reduced the death-rate of Calcutta at least one-half by improved drainage and sanitary measures. The Dutch have also worked a great and beneficial change in the same direction at Batavia. If this could be effected in those cities, it can still more certainly be done in Manila, where the climate is much more conducive to health.

When peace has been thoroughly restored, and rail and carriage roads have been built into the interior, the inhabitants of Manila will be able to reach, by a short ride, ideal sites for summer resorts and sanitariums, with any temperature that may be desired, depending upon the choice of elevation. At present, the only opportunity



for enjoying the refreshing, cool evening air is to take a drive on the Luneta, a beautiful roadway on the shore of the bay, where a military band frequently plays at sunset.

Manila has many handsome private residences; but very few of them have more than one story above the ground floor. The ground floor itself is either uninhabited or is used as a lodging place for native servants, or for a coach house, as the upper floor is considered to be less damp and freer from malarial influences. Instead of glass, opaque plates of shell are used in the window sashes. These temper the rays of the hot tropical sun, while admitting the light. Many of these residences are surrounded by beautiful gardens, some of which have been recently more or less neglected. However, with the return of peace and prosperity, they will no doubt again be made to blossom with their usual tropical luxuriance and beauty.

From its favorable geographical position, which will render it the natural emporium and distributing point for American commerce in the Orient, and with the development by American enterprise of the marvelous resources of the islands of which it is the commercial and financial metropolis, Manila is bound, under a free and strong government, to grow in wealth, population, and importance, until it will rival the greatest and most prosperous of the great Asiatic commercial cities.

F. F. HILDER.

## HOW PEACE WAS MADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

THE geographical position of Korea in relation to China is about the same as that of Florida to the United States. It is a promontory lying between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. For centuries China was the suzerain of Korea. The bond between the two countries was rather shadowy, but until the Japanese war it was thoroughly recognized by both countries. A Korean delegation went every year to Peking to bear tribute, taking with it vast quantities of ginseng for sale, which, as a special privilege, paid no duty.

Nothing better illustrates the curious incapacity of the Chinese officials than their treatment of Korea. If Korea were a vassal of China, of course she did not have the right to make independent treaties. If she were not a vassal, then China had no manner of right to control her actions. In practice, while always claiming to be the suzerain of Korea, China adopted a line of treatment which was uncertain and vacillating. When an insurrection broke out in Korea, China invariably sent troops to aid the King to put it down. She insisted that her envoy to Korea should occupy the position of a British resident at an Indian court; that he should rank other foreign ministers at Seoul, and should have the sole right to ride in his chair into the royal presence. Yet she allowed Korea to make treaties with other powers.

Whenever the question arose of liability for the acts of Korea, China had nothing to say. On these occasions she left Korea to get out of the difficulty the best she could; but when the war with Japan commenced, she did not fail to complain that that country had sought to weaken and destroy her hold on Korea. It was the veteran Li Hung Chang, who, prior to the recent war, managed Korean affairs. When he was asked why, if Korea were a vassal of China, he permitted her to make independent treaties with foreign nations, his answer was peculiarly Chinese. He said he did so because he thought that the Powers who made the treaties with Korea would respect her autonomy.



When, in 1882, Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, on behalf of our Government, made a treaty with Korea, the question came up as to the power of the latter to enter into treaty relations with other nations. The King thereupon wrote a letter to the President to explain the situation. This letter will be found in the Commodore's despatch of May 29, 1882. It contains the following clauses :

"The Chao-hsien country (Korea) is a dependency of China, but the management of her governmental affairs has always been vested in the Sovereign.  
\* \* \* \* \* In the matter of Korea being a dependency of China, any questions that may arise between them in consequence of such dependency, the United States is in no way to interfere."

When the Korean envoy went to Washington, the Chinese minister insisted that the envoy should be introduced by him to the President, and should walk behind him. This, however, was disregarded, and the Korean minister was received as the representative of a sovereign State. No other solution of the question was possible, for we could not receive as ministers the representatives of tributary provinces. China still clung to her suzerainty, though it did not at all involve sovereignty.

When Japan determined to make war on China, this question confronted her. If Korea were an independent country, Japan could interfere with her internal affairs, as she was doing, without being accountable to China; but if Korea were under the lawful control of China, Japan must apply to her for the privilege of undertaking to make reforms in Korea. In July, 1894, Mr. Otori, the Japanese representative in Korea, put the direct question to the King as to whether or not Korea was a tributary of China. The question caused great consternation, because a negative answer would incur the wrath of China, while an affirmative one would anger Japan. The King did not answer positively, but he cited a clause from the treaty with Japan, of 1876, wherein it was stated that Korea was an independent State, and one from the letter to the President to the effect that in "both internal administration and foreign intercourse, Korea enjoyed complete independence." The King reasoned that China could not complain of his citing treaties which he had made with her consent.

Naturally, Japan was perfectly satisfied, and she proceeded with her reforms as if Korea were independent, while China, diplomatically, was in a fix. Thus it happened that Japan could justify herself to the world, claiming, as nations do under like circumstances, that she intended, not to conquer Korea, but to elevate and civilize her

people. Japan had caught the inspiration from us. We had forced modern civilization upon her, and she intended to do the same good office for Korea. Accordingly, Japan sent troops to Korea. China did the same under the thin veil that she wanted to assist her vassal in putting down an insurrection.

On June 8, 1894, the rebellion against the King was officially announced to be suppressed. Nevertheless, on June 10, 1894, the Chinese landed 2,000 troops near A-san, forty miles south of Chemulpo, to aid in suppressing the rebellion. This was done at Korea's request. Five hundred Japanese troops entered Seoul, as a legation guard, on June 10, and 800 more Japanese soldiers came on June 13, while others were at Chemulpo, and on the road to Seoul. Three thousand Japanese troops entered Seoul on June 16, and on July 26 the Japanese sank the Kowshing, carrying 1,500 Chinese troops—the foreign drilled troops of Li Hung Chang. On July 28 and 29 the battle of A-san was fought, in which the Japanese lost 70 men, while the Chinese lost 800 men, and all their stores and artillery. On August 1, 1894, both countries declared war. Then followed, on September 15, the great battle of Ping-yang, in which the Chinese were routed; and the battle of Yalu, September 17, in which four Chinese men-of-war were destroyed, while the Japanese lost none. Port Arthur fell on November 22, but before that date diplomacy—blessed diplomacy—intervened.

On November 20, 1894, I received at Peking the following despatch:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, November 19, 1894.

Our Minister at Tokyo is advised that any direct overtures for peace made by China to Japan through the American Minister at Peking will be considered.

GRESHAM.

Prior to that date the Tsung-li-Yamen had requested the ministers of England, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, Italy, and the United States to attend an interview with them, of which the object was to procure our respective governments to intervene in favor of peace. The proceedings of this interview were communicated to the governments above mentioned by their representatives. The President declined any joint intervention, although he stated that he would mediate alone if requested to do so by China and Japan. The European Powers all declined any interference at that time.

The coast, therefore, was left free for direct proposals to be made by China to Japan for peace. In an interview with the Yamen, on



November 22, 1894, it was stated to the ministers that I was willing to forward to Tokyo, through Mr. Dun, our minister, a proposal to negotiate for peace. The members of the Yamen were delighted at the prospect of obtaining peace, and urgently begged me to proceed immediately. Accordingly, I wired to Japan that China desired to open negotiations for peace on the basis of the independence of Korea and the payment of a reasonable war indemnity. Japan answered that she was willing to negotiate, but that she would dictate the terms of peace.

It would be needless to recount here the substance of the numerous despatches which passed between the two governments through Mr. Dun and myself as intermediaries. There was a vast amount of labor expended by China in an endeavor to find out what Japan meant to demand as the conditions of peace, and besides there always remained in the minds of the Chinese statesmen the idea that ultimately Russia and France would intervene. For these reasons the departure of the Chinese envoys was delayed until late in January, 1895. February 1 the plenipotentiaries, composed of Count Ito and Viscount Mutsu for Japan, and Chang In Hoon and Shao Yu Lien for China, met at Hiroshima, Japan, to make a treaty.

When plenipotentiaries meet the first thing they do is to exchange credentials. When the Chinese envoys were asked for their credentials they produced a very curious paper. This unique document reads as follows:

By decree we do appoint Chang In Hoon, holding the rank of President of a Board, Minister of the Tsung-li-Yamen, and Junior Vice-President of the Board of Revenue, and Shao Yu Lien, an officer of the button of the first rank, and acting Governor of Hunan, as our plenipotentiaries to meet and negotiate the matter with the plenipotentiaries appointed by Japan.

You will, however, telegraph to the Tsung-li-Yamen for the purpose of obtaining our commands, by which you will abide. The members of your mission are placed under your control. You will carry out your mission in a faithful and diligent manner, and will fulfil the trust we have reposed in you. Respect this!

(The date.) Seal of Imperial Command.

It will be seen that it does not contain the indispensable words giving full powers to conclude, sign, and seal a treaty. The Japanese had heard that the Chinese Government had repudiated the acts of its envoys on several occasions, and they were not to be caught in this trap. They concluded that China was trifling with them, and simply wanted delay, and, if possible, a truce, which was denied by Japan. The suspicions were probably well founded.

I make this assertion, which under the circumstances to be re-

lated is entitled to some weight, because my own reputation was somewhat involved. My kind colleagues said that I had undertaken to manage the business, and that I was responsible for the want of "full powers." The facts were, however, susceptible of easy proof. I knew that the Chinese statesmen had had little or no experience in drawing papers of this kind, and before the envoys left Peking I suggested that I would draw the "full powers" for the Emperor to sign. I was requested to do so. I procured from my French colleague a form which had been used by Louis Philippe, translated it into English, then into Chinese, and sent it to the Yamen. The next day I visited the Yamen and inquired whether the paper I had presented had been signed by the Emperor. The ministers of the Yamen told me that they had changed the wording a little to suit the Chinese idiom, but that they had not materially altered the paper; and they added that the Emperor had signed it. The paper actually sent bore no resemblance to the complete document which I had prepared.

The Chinese envoys were ordered to leave Japan immediately. When they arrived at Nagasaki, I wired to Chang directing him to present my "full powers" to the Japanese. He answered that the Emperor had refused to sign them. I then wired to Japan, asking that the envoys might be allowed to remain in Japan and complete their work. I offered to wire full powers, and to send them by a messenger as soon as navigation opened. But Japan was then engaged in taking Wei-hai-wei, and refused all delay.

It is curious how circumstances alter cases. When Li Hung Chang was shot a few months later at Shimonoseki, and it seemed likely that the peace negotiations would fail, Japan wired me asking that Li's adopted son, commonly called Lord Li, should be appointed an associate envoy with his father. On that occasion there was no red tape. Japan stated that all the authority needed was that I should wire that the appointment had been made. This was done, and Lord Li assisted his father until the end of the negotiations. Japan had begun to fear foreign intervention, and so the full power business was disregarded.

After this experience of the tergiversation of the Chinese, I required them to put all their communications to me in writing. I have one that was written, at one of our meetings, on a bone paper cutter.

The Chinese envoys, Chang and Shao, returned home. Negotiations were soon after renewed with a view to sending Li Hung Chang as



envoy, in accordance with the wish intimated by Japan. On September 17, 1894, Li had been deprived by imperial decree of the "three-eyed peacock feather" and "the yellow riding jacket." This feather is worn in the hat, at the back of which there is an opening, in which it fits. A hat so made, but without the feather, looks like a rooster without a tail. Of course Li's honors had to be restored to him before he could be sent as plenipotentiary, and this consideration alone induced him to consent to accept the position. He knew that the treaty to be made would be met with universal disapproval, and he anticipated a sentence of death on his return to China. The influence of the Empress, and the fact that he carried a bullet in his cheek, saved his life. March 15, 1895, Li sailed from Tien-Tsin for Shimonoseki. On March 24 he was shot at that place by a fanatic, who approached close to his chair and fired at his face. The ball lodged in the left cheek bone, and remains there still.

When Li went as plenipotentiary, there was no trouble about his credentials. I accomplished the rather remarkable feat of wiring them to Japan in Chinese, with the request that any objection taken might be mentioned, so that the point at issue might be corrected. Japan asked for an English text, which was sent. No material objection to the credentials was made, and Li started on his eventful journey. Little work thereafter remained for the American legation to do. The legation and the consuls represented Japan in China during the war, and our colleagues in Japan did the same thing for China. When the war was over Japan asked what there was to pay; but we answered that there was nothing to pay, except a small sum to watchmen for guarding the Japanese legation, which I had laid out.

Both of the great Oriental nations had instinctively turned to Americans to represent them at the courts. What the American representatives in both countries did for the people intrusted to their charge would fill a book. I cannot go into the matter here. After the war the nationals of both countries parted with their quondam representatives with great regret. The administration of public affairs had been pure and honest. No American official soiled his hands with an unearned dollar. There was no breath of scandal. Finally, when peace came, and Japan, deeply grateful for the services we had rendered in China, proposed to decorate the minister and consuls, the State Department replied that we had only done our duty, and that it would not ask Congress to pass a resolution allowing us to accept the decorations. And the State Department was right.

When Li reached Shimonoseki, the labors of my colleague, Mr. Edwin Dun, minister to Japan, and of myself, were practically over. I will not undertake to praise Mr. Dun. Let the records speak for him.

A distinguished American diplomatist and lawyer, Col. John W. Foster, was to enter into the arena as counsel for Li Hung Chang; and to his able hands were committed the legal interests of China. Mr. Dun and I had brought the two nations together. Only he and I and our respective staffs will ever know the difficulties which were met and overcome in the long wrangle, through us as intermediaries, between the two most astute nations of the world. If the reader imagines that in such circumstances an intermediary has nothing to do but to transmit instructions, let him attend a few midnight meetings with half a dozen Chinese officials, and I guarantee that he will change his mind.

After the treaty had been made there remained to appear in the swelling theme the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany, and, finally, the exchange of ratifications, which hung in the balance, to the worry of the "intermediaries." But space forbids my speaking of these things here.

CHARLES DENBY.



## THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

IF I for one moment believed it possible that in any contingency I could have any feelings other than those of absolute fraternity and cordial good will toward the people of the South, I would not put pen to paper upon the subject matter of this article. Indeed, I feel as much anxiety for the welfare of the Southern people—for the growth and development of their splendid possibilities in all directions—as I do for the welfare of the people of any other section of the Union. All my animosities of the war period have been long since lost sight of. So much, then, for the feeling with which I enter upon my present task.

It may be stated as an unquestionable proposition that the foundations upon which our Government rests differ widely from those of other nations. The authority of our Government is founded upon the consent of the governed; and this is not a phrase to be criticised and trifled with when the subject matter of discussion relates to the people of the organized States of this Union, nor even when it applies to the people of territory acquired by conquest or treaty, although the application differs in various cases.

It is not necessary to enter upon the field of discussion which has grown out of some of our foreign relations. Let us, then, start out by accepting the proposition that all men in the United States have an equal right to be consulted about those matters of the United States Government which, by any possibility, can affect them. To take from members of a free government their individual right to participate in that government—a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the State in which they live, and long recognized as undeniable—would be to act in opposition to the doctrine so tenaciously adhered to by a large body of men in Congress during the recent session, namely, that it is the consent of the governed alone that gives power to the governing body.

That there is a movement on foot, fully developed and already largely executed, having for its aim and object the disfranchisement

at the polls of a body of men in the South, will not be denied by any candid writer or thinker. It is not alone the hope of those who are thus moving to exclude ignorance and vice and incompetency, but it is their hope to make it impossible by law that the rights of citizenship shall any longer be exercised by the colored men of a majority of the Southern States. Already, in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, constitutional amendments have been adopted which, by their operation, will exclude from the privilege of voting a very large minority, if not indeed a majority, of the people of those States.

No intelligent, fair-minded man will deny that it is the purpose of the organizers and promoters of this movement to make it impossible for the colored man to vote in those States. Nor did any gentleman of the South, in the recent reference to the matter in Congress, deny that the manifest intention is so to shape legislation as to have it operate unequally upon the white and the black. Indeed, the gentlemen of that section justify it, and that justification will be discussed here briefly. But, to make it a little plainer and more emphatic, it is intended that offices of every kind shall be held by white men alone, and that the colored men shall have no voice in choosing who of the white men shall hold the offices. The colored men of the South are to become serfs, persons in, but not of, the Southern States. Stripped of all power of resistance by the use of the only weapon that a free man has in a republic, he would be subject at once to the will of his white masters; and it may be well argued that his condition in that case would be worse than it was in slavery. Then he had certain claims upon his master; then his master had great interest in him, at least in his physical welfare. Now the master would have no interest in the colored man whatever. He would be simply his master, and would be under no obligation to protect him under any circumstances whatever.

In order that this argument may be considered fair and equitable, there should be no misunderstanding as to what the movement in the South has for its ultimate object. Great art has been used to make it appear that the disfranchisement contemplated in the new formula of political rights is applicable alike to the white and the black; and, literally speaking, that is true. But before assuming the responsibility of this article, the writer interrogated a number of gentlemen distinguished in political and social life in several of the Southern States, as to whether or not it would be just to charge



that the movement was intended to disfranchise the black and preserve the white from the operation of the new system. Without exception they answered: "It would be perfectly fair, for such is the real purpose." It will not be forgotten that a distinguished Senator openly declared that purpose in the United States Senate recently; nor will it be forgotten that a number of the Representatives of the South in the House manfully defended their attitude upon this question, on the ground of their determined hostility to negro domination.

If anything were lacking to show that the real purpose is to disfranchise men upon the basis of color, an examination of the new provisions of the Constitution would settle the question affirmatively. To illustrate: Two men present themselves at the polls, one a black man, and the other a white man. Upon examination as to their educational qualification, they both fail in like degree. But the interrogator at once puts to the white man this question: "Was your father a voter in 1860?" The answer is in the affirmative, and he is permitted to vote. A like question to the colored man reveals the fact that his father was not a voter at that time, and he is at once turned out as a political pariah. Here we find the whole matter of the amendment disclosed.

Now, what have we here? One of the most un-American, undemocratic provisions that can be imagined—hereditary right of suffrage—a species of class legislation utterly at variance with the American spirit. The questions of fitness and of the benefits of intelligence to flow to the State are entirely discarded.

What will be the effect of this movement upon the South, and, incidentally, upon the whole country? It is the principal object of this article to point out that the danger to the people of the South is far greater than it is to the other people of the United States. The history of the world proves that men who have tasted liberty know its value and resent its removal. Not only will the negroes show their resentment, but they will cease to produce anything of value for the body politic in which they reside. They will add neither to the material welfare nor to the intellectual growth and strength of the State.

It may be argued at this point that during the Civil War the slaves of the South remained at home and cared for the families of the men at the front. That is all true, and does not argue against this proposition. They had never been free men, and they did not

know what the right to vote meant. They have tasted something of liberty, and no men enjoyed citizenship more deeply than did the enfranchised slaves of the South. It came to them as an unexpected boon, and they valued it beyond comparison.

No people ever developed the elements of good citizenship with such remarkable rapidity as did the colored people after emancipation. After two hundred years of bondage they were liberated, and civil and political rights were accorded to them. The inference that social equality had not been a part of the transition, that distinctions of race and color still existed, was at once accepted by them; and it has been a world's wonder how faithfully the colored people have observed these lines of distinction. And, more than that, take the whole country over, it has been a world's wonder that they have sought after and obtained such a degree of education as they are shown to have acquired. Figures would be tiresome in this connection; but their institutions of higher learning, their devotion to the public schools, and their deep interest in all that relates to the uplifting of their race, have marked them as a most peculiar and interesting race of people.

It will be a marvel if disfranchisement does not stop all, or practically all, progress in this direction. In such event what has the colored man to look forward to? Simply a lower stage of degradation. He knows that if this scheme is put into operation, his children and his children's children, for all time to come, are to be in practical slavery. Why should he struggle? Why should he educate himself and his children? He will retrace the steps he has taken toward good citizenship much more rapidly than he has advanced. It is the history of the world, and there is no escape from the blighting effects.

But, it is said, in answer to all this, by the men of the South, men of character, men of intelligence, "We will not live under colored government." Very well. Assume this to be a proper position to take, and who will deny it? What State in this Union is under colored domination to-day? There are in the Union a number of States having a greater voting population of colored men than of white men; and yet not one of those States is dominated by the colored race. Take the State of Mississippi: no colored man in Congress. There is no more danger of colored domination in one of those States than there is that intelligence will find itself prostrated by ignorance, enterprise by sloth. This is not a just argument. It never was.



There is no such thing as negro domination, and there is no danger that there ever will be. The colored man as he becomes intelligent grows in virtue and love of country; and he is as likely to vote for the white man as for the black man, and much more so, as has been demonstrated a thousand times.

I fear that the just historian of these hours of apparent political evolution in the South will be compelled to write that this effort toward the destruction of the franchise of the colored people was a play of partisan politics and not of sincere patriotism. I fear this; it may not be so, but that is my anxiety. For more than thirty years now, about one-third of a century, the colored man has been a voter. During that time the Southern States have flourished beyond all comparison. The property, the prosperity, the happiness, the good government, the education, and the civilization of the Southern States have increased in a ratio most gratifying; and all this has been accomplished with the political rights of the colored man unassailed. Why should this new suggestion force itself in here? Why should it be insisted upon that this race, which has suffered so much, so long, and so patiently, and made such rapid strides toward a better condition, shall now be disfranchised?

The white man of the South at the end of the war found himself living where this great colored element resided. It was one of the burdens. It could not have been expected otherwise. It could not have been imagined by the people of the South that in case of failure they would bear no burdens growing out of a war. They were compelled to bear burdens, not the lightest of which, in their estimation, was the carpet-bag government. But they have gotten rid of that, and every Southern State is now under the control and influence of its own people.

The question now presented to the people is: "Will you let well enough alone, or will you hazard the future?" Cannot the people of the South be patient while the transformation is going on? Is it because of the ignorance of the colored man alone, or is it a prejudice because of his color? If it is the first, there is an excuse for it; if the second, it is without excuse. The remedy should be patience, hope, discharge of duty, and the education of the black men of the South. If I may be permitted to say so, the remedy lies also in the education of the white men of the South, to see to it that the colored men do not get ahead in the great race of life.

It is to be hoped that the people of the South will halt at the

position now assumed, and that no other States will enter upon this unfortunate process. The forthcoming census of the United States will disclose approximately the situation in the South. We shall learn the number of voters, comparisons will at once be made, and agitation will at once become manifest in American politics. It will be regrettable. It will be a sad day for the country when there shall come a new political issue which shall take sides and be organized for political contests along geographical or sectional lines.

These are merely outlines, brought to the notice of the reader for the purpose of suggesting thought and study, and with the hope that the gravity of the situation will be met by calm judgment and patriotic action.

CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.



## LABOR AND POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BEFORE beginning to consider the present position and probable future of the Labor movement in Great Britain, it may be well, for the sake of the younger men of the American nation, to explain that it is only in comparatively recent times that the working-classes have obtained political power. In 1807 a Reform Bill was passed giving workingmen in cities the right to vote; and it was only so recently as 1884 that the same right was extended to the counties. Previous to these dates, the efforts of the working-class movement, in so far as this movement was political, were completely absorbed in seeking to win the vote.

Even now much remains to be done before it can be said that the working-classes are fully enfranchised. Owing to an absurd and antiquated custom of registration, designed to protect the interests of property-owners, a workingman leaving one constituency and going to another has two years to wait before he can again exercise the franchise. Unmarried men are required to pay fifty dollars a year for rooms before they are entitled to be considered citizens; and as workingmen obtain rooms for 60 or 75 cents per week, it will be readily seen that very few of them can go on the register. The lodger franchise, as it is termed, was chiefly intended to enable the sons of well-to-do people to vote, while excluding their working-class brethren from the same privilege. Owing to these grave defects in our electoral law one-third of our workingmen are permanently off the register.

When the working-classes aspire to direct representation in the House of Commons they are met with difficulties graver than the mere paucity of votes. There is first of all the cost of election. In general this is borne by the candidates put forward by the parties. It is seldom less than five thousand dollars, and sometimes very much more. When a trade union, therefore, contemplates sending one of its officials to the House of Commons, it has first to incur this enormous expenditure. Then, in addition, the whole cost of maintaining the member in Parliament has to be borne by the organization sending

him. Payment of members and of all election expenses is still unknown, outside of election programmes, in our political system. The result is that the House of Commons is to all intents and purposes a preserve for the rich. It contains 670 members; and out of this number less than twelve are Labor members in the sense of being financed and selected by trade unions and other working-class organizations. If, therefore, Labor representation is not so advanced with us as it is in many other European countries, such as Germany, France, and Belgium, allowance must be made for the difficulties which have to be overcome.

Despite these difficulties, however, there has been, for the past thirty-five years, a growing determination, on the part of organized labor, to have its interests directly represented in Parliament. In 1874, Mr. Thomas Burt, secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Union, was returned to the House of Commons; and since then, as already indicated, several large unions (chiefly of miners) have followed the excellent example thus set. In 1887, an attempt was made at the Trade Union Congress to form a political organization to secure the return of workingmen to Parliament. At that time the idea of independent action, apart from the coöperation of the Liberal Party, was scouted as an impossible theory; and so the Labor Electoral Association, as the organization was termed, was to all intents and purposes a left wing of the Liberal Party. In two or three instances it secured the adoption of its candidates by the Liberals; but it failed utterly to secure a grip on the working-classes, and ultimately fizzled out.

In 1893, the Independent Labor Party came into being. As its name implies, its principal object is to secure the representation of working-class opinion in Parliament and on the various elected bodies. It differs, however, from previous attempts of the same kind in these respects: First, its principles are openly and avowedly Socialistic; and, second, it has cut itself absolutely and resolutely adrift from any connection, open or implied, with orthodox politics. The result is that it has become a political Ishmael. It has taken part in elections by running candidates of its own; and the amount of support secured by these men, reaching, as it sometimes has, to as much as one-fourth of the entire electorate, is an astounding fact to orthodox politicians. It has all the traditions of class against it, the press, the pulpit and the wealth of the nation being ranged solidly in opposition. It has been accused of being financed by the Conserva-



tives, in order to injure the Liberals. But, despite all opposition and obstacles, its principles have found an ever-increasing acceptance at the hands of organized Labor. At the general election of 1895, the I. L. P. put forward thirty-four candidates and polled 44,000 votes. It has been calculated that had the party been in a position to contest every constituency, close upon one million votes would have been secured for its candidates. None of them was elected, but the contest left a deep and abiding mark on the politics of the nation.

Since then a still further development has been made in the direction of Independent Labor representation. Each year the trade unionists of Great Britain, like those of America, hold a congress where questions, chiefly political and legislative, affecting the workers are discussed. At first the Trades Congress was openly hostile to the I. L. P. ; but year by year it found its prejudices diminishing, as its knowledge of the new movement increased, until at length, and recently by overwhelming majorities, the principles of Socialism and Independent Labor representation found ready acceptance by the Congress. As a result there has been a gradual *rapprochement*. Whilst the Independent Labor Party was in its infancy, it was a common spectacle to find representative trade-unionists appearing on the platform of capitalistic candidates to oppose the nominees of the Labor Party. These men as a rule—the nominees of the I. L. P.—were good and sound trade-unionists, many of them prominent officials in the movement ; their only crime being that they preferred to represent labor independently, instead of attempting to do so through the medium of a rich man's party.

At the last gathering of the Trade Union Congress, in September, 1899, a resolution was passed instructing the executive to convene a joint conference of Trade-Unionists, Socialists, Coöperators, and other working-class organizations, to consider a basis of joint political action, and to secure the creation of an Independent Labor Party in Parliament. Unfortunately, the Coöperators were unable to accept the invitation. The movement is very strong, having over one million members. For some time the question of direct representation has been agitating it also ; and this year a ballot vote of its members was taken on whether or not the Coöperative movement should enter politics. Until the result of the ballot was known its officials did not feel justified in taking part in the conference. In Scotland, however, the movement is more advanced, and the Coöperators sent delegates.

The result of the gathering exceeded the most sanguine expecta-

tions of its promoters. It was very largely attended; half a million Trade Unionists were represented, in addition to the Independent Labor Party, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Fabian Society—three Socialist bodies; and the discussion, which lasted for two days, was of the most friendly and harmonious character. In the end a basis of agreement was arrived at which may be summarized as follows: A joint committee was appointed from the Conference to prepare a list of candidates entitled to receive the support of all working-class electors. These candidates are to be nominated by one of the organizations affiliated to the new movement; the said organizations being also responsible, financially, for their own candidates. Members returned to Parliament under this agreement are obliged to join in forming an Independent group there, to promote the interests of Labor, and to hold themselves in readiness to coöperate with any party which, for the time being, is promoting the cause of Labor, or to oppose any party acting in the opposite manner. We have thus the beginning of what may be a political agitation compared with which the Anti-Corn Law and Chartist movements will appear mere incidents, for it is a certainty that the privileged classes, who have so long ruled almost without challenge, will not willingly let go their hold; and in so far as the new combination of the forces of Labor succeeds, to that extent will the fires of political agitation burn.

One factor which will tell seriously against the chances of Labor candidates at the next general election is the prevalent war spirit. For about a year every question has been submerged by the wave of so-called patriotism which has swept over the land. A subsidized press so preyed upon the feelings of the nation, so misrepresented facts and glorified untruths, that for a time the people went mad in support of a war for the suppression of two republics, whose greatest crime lay in their determination to protect Labor against the encroachments of the speculative capitalist. In the gold-mining region of the Transvaal wages were high; an eight-hour day was secured by act of Parliament; colored people were protected; and taxes were put on the profits of gold mining instead of on the broad shoulders of the working-class. These, and other matters affecting the interests of capital, but all benefiting the workers, led the capitalistic class to the determination to overthrow Transvaal rule. They spent half a million on the abortive Jameson raid; and when that failed they set themselves to secure their end by "constitutional means," as Cecil Rhodes expressed it. The present war is the result. But the workingmen of Britain were



in ignorance of all this, for many and varied forces were at work to make white appear black, and, as was to be expected, succeeded. Thus it comes to pass that such questions as old-age pensions, the housing of the people, the eight-hour day, and others of equal importance to the workers, have dropped out of the public mind or have been drowned in the cheering for great British victories.

Were time given to allow the public mind to return to sanity before taking the national verdict on the war, there would be still some hope for Labor candidates. Forces are at work which are already beginning to tell in the right direction. For one thing, the cost of living has gone up considerably, owing to the war. In the coal trade, the mine-owners are taking advantage of the patriotic mood of the nation to play havoc with every form of industry. Coal has almost doubled in price. Corporations are paying twice as much for gas coal as they did two years ago, and the price of gas is being raised all round in consequence. Railway companies are raising their fares and rates from the same cause; and steel and iron works are being shut down to prevent loss from carrying them on. Mr. Benjamin Pickard, M.P., chairman of the Miners' Federation, stated in a speech the other day that the profits of mine-owners this year are fabulously in excess of those of last year. To complete the scandal, it is only necessary to add that the miners are not benefiting to the extent of one cent thereby, as they are under an agreement, made eighteen months ago, not to seek any advance in wages before the end of 1904.

These facts, together with the gradual spread of the truth concerning the causes of the war in South Africa, are producing a change in working-class opinion; but the party managers will see to it that the election comes before the change has had time to affect their majority seriously. It was their intention to take the election in July of this year; but the Boers, by their tenacity, courage, and splendid generalship, have upset ministerial calculations, and so the election has been postponed until October. It may even be held over until the spring of 1901. That will depend on how events work out in South Africa, as it is meant that the election shall be made to synchronize with the enthusiasm which will be generated by the home-coming of the victorious troops.

There is, of course, another side to this balancing up of forces. Hitherto, Labor candidates, especially when put forward by the Independent Labor Party, have had no more virulent antagonists than advanced Radicals. Again, it may be necessary to explain that the

Radical is a political reformer who pins his faith to the Liberal Party, which, when in office, is entirely dominated by the Whigs, between whom and the Tories there is perfect agreement in all things political. But, clinging to party traditions, the Radical has gone on blindly, hoping against hope that in some way or other he would come to the realization of his ideal by supporting the party with which political reforms in the past had come to be associated. True, he only succeeded in this by resolutely shutting his eyes to patent facts, and refusing to be taught by experience. At times his faith has been sorely tried, and now it appears as if the war had at length brought about his conversion.

The Radical is still a believer in the time-honored battle-cry—with which the late W. E. Gladstone used to thrill the masses—of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform; and, to his amazement, he finds that the present sordid war of annexation has its strongest and most enthusiastic supporters among the Liberal leaders. For the first time he has had it brought home to him in practical fashion that the Labor Party of 1900 is the only party which is faithful to his ideas on war. As a consequence, there has been a coming together of elements hitherto antagonistic; and the chances are that the feeling of friendliness thus engendered will result in a fusion of forces in the not distant future. Should this take place, our political system will be completely revolutionized.

As a matter of fact there is no longer a Liberal party. Liberalism was the embodiment of the growing commercial spirit of the early years of this century, while Toryism represented the territorial or landed interests. Between these a fierce feud was waged for fifty years. The triumph of the Free Trade movement gave the victory to the manufacturers, and since then Liberalism has been a declining force. Commerce having reached the limits of expansion, and finding itself face to face with an ever-growing competition, not only from European rivals, but also from the United States of America, and from the slowly awakening East, is under the necessity of finding new markets, which at once throws it into the arms of imperialism. Thus, there is no longer a real dividing line separating Liberalism from Toryism. As a consequence, all cohesion has departed from the ranks of the Liberal party; and instead of a united force pursuing an ideal, there is but a series of wrangling factions quarrelling and fighting among themselves.

The times, therefore, are ripe for a Labor party; and its advent



in force is but a question of time. A principle upon which all can unite will evolve, and old-time animosities will be buried. Here again we are not left in any doubt. On the Continent of Europe the same evolution has been going on. Conservatism has long been triumphant; Liberalism is on the wane; and Labor is coming to the front.

The principle of unity in the Labor Movement in all lands is Socialism; and, since there is no other possible, so will it be here. Germany has 54 Socialist members; France, United Socialist and Radical party, 120; Belgium, 37 Socialists; while Spain and Italy are also well to the fore. The coming of Socialism is already admitted in all lands. Tories and Liberals vie with each other at election times in formulating platforms which savor more and more of Socialism. Municipalities are rapidly developing the Socialist spirit. It is estimated that already £400,000,000 worth of property is owned and controlled by municipal corporations in the form of land, houses, gas and water-works, electric plants, trams, and the like. So alarming has this side of the Socialist movement become to the propertied classes that the appointment of a parliamentary committee has been secured to consider how best to check the movement. On the other hand, mine-owners and railway companies, by their exorbitant and vexatious charges, are bringing the nationalization of mines and railways well within the sphere of practical politics.

While, therefore, I am not inclined, for reasons given above, to be unduly elated over the prospects of the Labor Party at the approaching general election, I am in no doubt whatever about the not distant future. There are at present twelve Labor members in the House of Commons. These will all seek re-election. The Independent Labor party decided two years ago to nominate twenty-five candidates; but it is extremely doubtful, as things have developed, whether they will now adhere to their decision. They will, however, put forward at least a dozen. A like number will be run by the Trade-Unionists, and a smaller number by the Social Democratic Federation. In all, between forty and fifty candidates will go to the polls under the auspices of the United Labor Party; and if only a half or even a third of these are returned, they will form the nucleus of a party from which much may be reasonably expected. The Radicals in Parliament, together with the Irish Party, would probably find common ground of action with such a group; and, as a result, there would be a fighting force of, say, 120. Resolutely led, by taking advantage of every opportunity, it would steadily become a power in the land;

causing the Whigs to go over in form as well as in spirit to their natural friends, the Tories, and bringing the nation face to face with the straight issue—Socialism *versus* Capitalism.

All this, of course, verges on the prophetic, and time only will show how far the forecast is correct. For the present, it is the soundest deduction that can be drawn from the facts as they exist. What has weakened the Labor Movement, politically, has been division in its ranks. The new combine promises to end this. There are two million Trade-Unionists in Great Britain; and as the total electorate is under six millions, it is evident that the Trade-Unionists alone could upset every calculation of the political managers. This force, allied to the earnest, militant spirit of Socialism, and finding allies in the Radical and Irish movements, would prove irresistible, were it but conscious of its own strength; and it looks as if that consciousness were slowly, yet surely, developing.

J. KEIR HARDIE.



## TEXAS, PAST AND PRESENT.

OF all the States in the Union, Texas is the largest in area and the most remote from eastern influences. It has an area of 265,780 square miles, or about one-twelfth that of the United States. Its magnitude will be better appreciated when it is remembered that to the combined area of the New England States, Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, the areas of Ohio and Kentucky must be added to equal it. Its extent is about that of France. Its length and breadth are nearly the same, the former being 760 miles, and the latter, along the thirty-second parallel, about 740 miles. By rail, these distances are 900 miles, or the same as from New York to Savannah, Atlanta, Chattanooga, Chicago, or Labrador. Its length is one-half that of our country from north to south, and its width more than one-half that of the southern border of the United States between the Atlantic and the Pacific—equal to one-third the distance across the widest portion of the country.

In respect to location and natural conditions Texas does not fit exactly into any one of the ordinary classifications of States. It is southern; Florida excepted, it is the most southern of all States in geographic position. It is central, for it is one of the great tier that exactly forms the central strip of the Union. It is a Gulf State, and has one-fourth the shore line of the Gulf of Mexico. It is a western State, for large areas of both the Great Plains and the Cordilleran regions are included in it, while its far western corner is nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic, and has the climatic features of the former rather than of the latter. Hence, it may be said that Texas is southern, central, and western, in relative position and interests. And not only do its parts present the geographic features of the larger divisions of the United States already mentioned, but there are areas typical of the adjacent Republic of Mexico, such as the northern end of the Tierra Caliente, at the mouth of the Rio Grande.

No other State in the Union has had so many historical associations

or so many vicissitudes of reconstructive government. During the one hundred years since the American revolution, which brought political stability to the Eastern States, the flags of five nations have flown over Texas, to wit: Spain, Mexico, the Texas Republic, the United States, and the Southern Confederacy. It is the proud boast of the State that no shadow of repudiation or defalcation has ever marred its financial record; that lawlessness has always been suppressed, whatever the cost; and that its public men, in both State and national affairs, have been above taint of dishonest influences or corrupt practices.

In constitution and government, and in the spirit and practice of its people, Texas is the most democratic of all American commonwealths. The spirit of Texas democracy, as expressed in the inaugural address of one of her former Governors, is that of a "political faith that holds to a plain, simple government, with severe limitations upon delegated powers, honestly and frugally administered, limiting the domain of its authority in the social compact to the preservation of public order and the administration of justice, with the view of protecting every real and substantive right, leaving all else to the unfettered enterprise of the citizen."

Let us briefly review the political and economic history of Texas since 1880. During the last two decades the State has made great strides in all matters pertaining to its material welfare, and has experienced a period of popular agitation and legislative enactment, incident to the social and industrial changes, hardly second in interest to any in her varied history. At the time mentioned fifteen years had passed since the close of the Civil War, during which the State had quadrupled in population and in wealth, and had recovered from the unhappy vicissitudes of reconstruction.

But, while the State was passing from the condition of a thinly settled commonwealth to that of a populous State, many industrial and corporate problems came into being for which no adequate legislation had been provided. Until 1880 settlement was confined almost entirely to the eastern half of Texas, where individual planting and pastoral pursuits were the chief occupations. Mining and manufacturing were hardly known; the systems of transportation were entirely inadequate; and no proper provision for education had been made. For three hundred years the Comanche and other Indian tribes held back the frontier line. The conquest of these in 1874, and the completion of the Pacific roads in 1882, opened the greater west-



ern half of the State to settlement. Since the latter year, what had been a vast and unexplored wilderness has been occupied by thousands of farmers and stockmen, and every acre has been placed under fence.

In 1880 the State was still distributing its public domain with lavish hand to settlers, educational institutions, and railways, and as rewards for services. Originally this domain consisted of a tenth of the entire area of the United States; but later, upon the entrance of Texas into the Union, it was reduced to a twelfth, by the cession of New Mexico. Immigration was invited and induced by every means; and there was little expectation that the vast landed legacy of the Texas Republic would soon be disposed of, or that within two decades the valuation of the land so generously distributed would increase from two to a hundred fold.

Broadly speaking, the public domain has been entirely expended, with the exception of some 40,000,000 acres still owned by the commonwealth in trust for the public schools, the University, and other State institutions. In 1880 the railroads were in the eastern third of the State only, and aggregated hardly 500 miles. There were practically no constructed public highways, and no laws for making them. Although generally considered a prairie State, Texas possessed 64,000 square miles of woodland, the largest area of the kind in any American commonwealth. In 1880 the modern lumbering industry was unknown in Texas. There were only a few saw-mills for local supply, and mining and manufacturing were undeveloped. The school system was primitive: the scholastic year was only four months in duration, and the attendance was limited to pupils between eight and fourteen years of age. The University and other institutions of higher education had not been organized.

Since 1880 the population has increased from a million and a half to three millions and a half. Yet, in spite of this rapid growth in population, Texas is still the least densely settled of all the States east of the Rocky Mountains, with the exception of Florida and the Dakotas, and has as yet attained only slightly over a third the average density of the entire population of the Union.

There are three racial elements in Texas—the white, the negro, and the Indian. The negro race is largely confined to the eastern third; the Mexican Indian population forms a large element in the southern counties, along the Rio Grande. The white people constitute the ruling and preponderating class. The negro and Mexican, racially and numerically inferior, have at no time assumed a dominant

position in government affairs. These races have been treated justly and considerately, and their rights have been protected.

Besides the larger element of broad-spirited and well-educated citizens, there have been three peculiar provincial elements among the white people: (1) the old Texan class; (2) recent immigrants, mostly from the Southern cotton belt; and (3) many foreigners, principally of German birth. The old Texan element consisted of a sturdy and independent rural population, mostly stockmen and planters, instilled with a love of freedom from over-crowding. Although some were illiterate, they had acquired a degree of wisdom by frontier experiences, while many were men of broad culture and knowledge. They were patriotically united by a heritage of historic deeds, were strongly democratic in their ideas, and many of them looked with disfavor upon the occupation of their demesne by railroads, and the concomitant evil of the rapid influx of a miscellaneous population. The second class, although including men of culture and means, also contained many of the illiterate, low white class who, through advantages of cheap railway immigration rates, poured into the State. The foreign-born element have been industrious and acquisitive, and have been readily assimilated into the political organization.

The railway mileage has increased since 1880 from less than a thousand to nearly 10,000 miles, a mileage exceeded by only one State—Illinois. In 1880 vast trunk lines were initiated to connect the State with the north and east, and to stretch across the western half of the State to the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Ocean. Eight trunk lines of the first character and three of the second now exist. The latter are the Southern Pacific, which closely follows the Rio Grande, the Texas Pacific, which runs westward through the heart of the State, and the Fort Worth and Denver, which follows the Red River northwestward to Colorado. Meanwhile thousands of additional miles of railway were constructed in the eastern half of the State. The total mileage in 1899 was 9,702; the average indebtedness per mile, \$38,267; total earnings, \$45,334,191.74; operating expenses, 71.73 per cent, or \$32,518,118.18; net earnings, 3.48 per cent.

The growth of agricultural and pastoral production has been enormous. Prior to 1880 the lack of transportation restricted the acreage of cotton to a few eastern counties. Since then the State has become the largest cotton-producing area in the world. The quantity of its annual crop exceeds that of any three of the other cotton



States, and constitutes one-fourth of the world's visible product of that great staple. In the great export products of cotton, cattle, and horses Texas now ranks first; fourth in sheep and wool; eighth in corn. Wheat and other small grains are extensively grown. The annual value of the staple products of the soil and farm, not counting small fruits and vegetables, aggregates \$290,000,000, or as much as the entire mineral product of the United States, excepting Alaska. The lumbering industry has increased to a vast extent, greater than that of the State of Washington; and its product has been widely distributed.

Texas also has valuable mineral resources. It was not until 1889 that the State passed a law permitting mineral claims to be located upon public lands by individuals; hence the development of the metallic minerals has been backward. Coal mining has steadily increased. Lignite, beds of which formerly remained unused, is also mined in quantities. Salt, twenty years ago entirely supplied by Europe, is now exported. The vast beds of gypsum in the northwest are being operated; rich fields of cinnabar have recently been opened in the Trans Pecos Province; while structural materials, such as granite, marble, cement, and brick clay, are growing in importance. Oil fields have also been developed: seven barrels were produced in 1898 for one in 1897. The total value of the mineral products for 1899 was over \$3,100,000. Manufacturing in Texas has not yet attained material proportions, and the great opportunities of the next decade will lie along this line.

The progress in educational matters within the last twenty years has been great. Whatever criticism may be made upon the political history of Texas, the loyalty to the public-school system has been unquestioned. The public schools have been organized from chaos into a good system. State, county, and municipal superintendence have been created; the standard and pay of teachers have been raised; the public-school fund has been augmented; and vacation normal institutions have been organized. The scholastic age has been extended; and the number of teachers increased.

During Governor Ross's administration (1887-1891) provision for superintendents of county schools was first made. The twenty-first Legislature passed laws providing for the sale and lease of lands belonging to the school funds, thereby greatly increasing the revenues. The twenty-second Legislature authorized a popular vote upon amendments to the Constitution permitting the Legislature to add one per

cent annually of the permanent school fund to the available school fund. The permanent school fund consists of 30,000,000 acres of land, in addition to cash and bonds. In 1894 it was \$2,162,600; by 1899 it had increased to \$6,447,247.05. The available annual school fund in 1899—the revenues from taxes and from the sale and lease of lands—amounted to \$3,232,624.27. In 1895–96, as many as 616,568 children—or 20.70 per cent of the population—were enrolled in the public schools, a greater proportion than that shown by twenty-seven other States, including all the North Atlantic States, where the enrollment equalled 17.77 per cent only. The number of teachers employed was 13,217. In 1894, of the children instructed 472,963 were white and 157,340 were colored.

The last twenty years have witnessed the organization of many higher institutions of learning, including normal colleges for both white and colored teachers, a State Agricultural and Mechanical College, a State University, and many denominational colleges. Although provided for and endowed by the fathers of the Texas Republic, the State University was not organized until 1884. It is under the government of a board of regents nominated by the Governor. The main institution, located at Austin, is the head of the State public-school system, and admits students without entrance examination from some seventy-five approved high schools, the State Normal School, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College. Both sexes are admitted on equal terms.

The first decade of the university was a struggle against popular prejudice and dissension within the faculty, largely due to the fact that in its original organization no provision was made for a president. Within the last few years there has been a president, and the faculty has increased from ten professors and instructors to forty-eight in the main University. There are thirty-one in the Medical College.

There has been improvement in charitable and corrective institutions. The prison system has been placed entirely under State control, and its affairs are conducted upon a more humane and economic basis. During Governor Ross's administration an institution was erected for colored dependents at Austin. Provision was also made for a reformatory for youthful penal offenders, which was afterward constructed at Gatesville. The twenty-first Legislature provided for a third insane asylum, to be located west of the Colorado. It was built near San Antonio.

The final act of Governor Ross's administration (1891) recom-



mended that some provision be made for the indigent ex-Confederate veterans living in Texas. Nearly one-half the surviving Confederate soldiers of the Civil War are now living in the State. "They are rapidly passing away," said Governor Ross, "some of them in destitution, notwithstanding the splendid provision made by the United States for the care of its old soldiers; and almost all the Northern States have supplemented these charities by the establishment of State Homes in addition. Surely Texas ought to afford one home; for the old soldiers of the Confederacy can look nowhere for help save to their State." A home for dependent Confederate soldiers was established at Austin, in which about one hundred unfortunates took refuge. A legislative act passed in 1899 provides for a biennial appropriation of \$250,000 to be applied to the relief of other indigent Confederate soldiers.

The material progress of the State and the approximate value of its property are shown by figures from the assessment rolls. The true value probably exceeds the assessment value by some 40 per cent. The total valuation of the assessed property for 1886 was \$630,591,029; in 1891 it was \$856,202,283; in 1894, \$860,910,567; and in 1899, \$921,927,231.

Taxation is limited by the Constitution to thirty-five cents on the \$100, and the county and city taxes to twenty-five cents. To the credit of the State, and notwithstanding the enormous growth of wealth and population, the taxes and cost of administration have not increased. The revenues of the State in 1886 from all sources were \$2,916,488.91; in 1895, \$2,125,022.05, and in 1899, \$2,700,000. There was a cash balance of \$1,092,807 in the treasury above all expenses in 1899. Texas has a bonded debt of not quite \$4,000,000. Of this sum the State held \$2,405,610 as a fund for its various institutions, only \$756,990 being in the hands of individuals. The contract rate of interest has been reduced from a maximum of 12 per cent to 10 per cent, and the legal rate from 8 to 6 per cent. In 1899 there were 194 national banks in Texas, which, on September 20 of that year, had loans and discounts amounting to \$46,024,782. There are also numerous private banks.

The cities and towns have advanced steadily in population and development. No statistics are obtainable since 1890. The Legislature has wisely placed restrictions upon municipal extravagance. During the twenty-second Legislature there were applications from several cities and towns for the amendment of their charters. The

Governor vetoed several bills of this character. The twenty-third Legislature also passed an act to prevent an excessive issue of bonds by cities and towns, and gave to the State regulation and control of the issuance of municipal bonds.

Among the most notable elements of commercial and municipal growth has been the procurement of deep water in the harbor of Galveston. Formerly the depth over the bar was only thirteen feet, and ocean vessels could not approach the city. The national government expended \$6,000,000 upon a system of jetties, and increased the depth from thirteen to twenty-six feet. The clearances of the port have since grown to great proportions. The importance of Galveston as a seaport is shown by the fact that its imports increased from \$1,157,370 in 1885 to \$3,000,000 in 1899, and its exports from \$12,680,000 in 1885 to \$78,480,000 in 1899. Four hundred and sixty-eight steam vessels, with an aggregate of 833,497 tons, cleared from Galveston for foreign ports during the year ending June 30, 1899.

The political history of Texas since 1883 has been of great interest, inasmuch as the period since then has witnessed some remarkable and exciting contests and issues. The Governor is chosen for a term of two years, and by popular custom is usually elected for two terms. There is practically but one party in Texas—the Democratic—and all questions of policy and the nominee for office are determined by popular primaries and State conventions.

From 1883 to 1887 the Gubernatorial chair was filled by O. M. Roberts, popularly known as the "Old Alcalde," who had been elected practically without opposition. He had been a citizen since the days of the Republic, and had occupied every important position in the judiciary. He was shrewd and skilful in politics, and possessed an unusual acumen and sagacity. He was the idol of the old Texan element, and was worshipped by the agricultural classes, whom he had apotheosized by a favorite maxim that "civilization began and ended with the plow." During Governor Roberts's administration the University was founded, the State Capitol contracted for, and the present school system initiated. He saw the approaching tendency toward State and municipal extravagance, and instituted an economic policy of "pay as you go," whereby the State's finances were placed upon a permanent and solid foundation. He left a surplus of \$3,000,000 in the Treasury. Opposed to him was the so-called progressive element, which increased in later years, whose slogan was, "Turn



Texas loose," meaning thereby the encouragement of corporations and of credit.

In January, 1887, L. S. Ross was inaugurated as Governor. He was the last survivor of the "old Texans" to occupy the chair. His four years' administration was the culmination of the golden era of Texas prosperity, which paid unusual tribute to every trade and profession. Agricultural and pastoral products were enormously profitable; the people had begun industrial development; geological researches were initiated; and railways showed immense improvement in mileage profit. The main policies of the State administration were removed from the commotion of politics, and extremely liberal provisions attracted a great tide of immigration. The taxable values of the State increased over \$100,000,000 in two years and augmented the permanent school fund over \$400,000 and its annual revenues \$450,000 from the sale and lease of lands.

The fiscal affairs of the educational departments were put upon a cash paying basis, and there was a cash balance of \$275,000 in the Treasury awaiting investment for the school fund. The length of the scholastic year was increased. Public order was improved; crime being reduced over forty per cent, as shown by the reports of the county officials. Public and charitable institutions were greatly enlarged, and new ones established. The Capitol building was constructed. The penitentiary system, with an immense business, was made self-supporting. The University and its branches were benefited by loans and appropriations amounting to \$237,000. The indemnity claims against the United States were adjusted, resulting in the collection for the State of \$1,072,000. The rate of taxation became lower than had been known since the Civil War. Every claim against the public Treasury was met, and there was a cash balance of \$772,889 to the credit of the general revenue account, besides enormous funds for the State endowed institutions. So great was the financial prosperity of Texas at this time that on April 16, 1888, a special session of the Legislature was convened to provide for the proper distribution of the surplus money in the State Treasury.

In 1890, J. S. Hogg was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority to succeed Governor Ross. Governor Hogg was a young man, a strong provincial character, learned in the law, and aggressive in action. He had been the State's Attorney-General during Governor Ross's administration, and had closely studied the rights of corporations. Immediately upon his inauguration he recommended the

passage of the following measures by the Legislature: (1) To create a railway commission; (2) to prohibit corporate monopolies and perpetuities; and (3) to require railways in the State to provide separate coaches for white and colored passengers. All these measures were passed. He then began a rigid prosecution of the railway and other corporations defying the laws of the State and the rights of the people. This policy created bitter antagonism on the part of the interests affected.

The State campaign of 1892, when Governor Hogg stood for reelection, was in many respects the most bitter gubernatorial election Texas ever witnessed, and the only closely contested one. For the first time in its history the Democratic party divided into factions, and, besides, the Populist party had grown to large numbers. Governor Hogg's chief opponent was Judge George Clark, an independent Democrat, who took issue with most of the prominent measures of Governor Hogg's administration relating to railroads, alien land ownership, and restrictions upon municipal corporations. He contended that the Governor's policy would result in crippling local development, in deterring immigration, and in preventing the ingress of needed capital into the State. Popular feeling at times rose to a high pitch of partisan fury. In his manifesto, Governor Hogg reaffirmed his support of the Railroad Commission, and of the enactment of laws to restrict and prohibit the watering of stocks and bonds by railroad companies; and he reiterated his opposition to extravagant issues of bonds by cities and towns. He also favored a law to define perpetuities, to prohibit the further operation of land corporations in the State, and to require present holders of lands, by title or possession, to dispose of the same within such reasonable time as would not impair their vested rights.

A bold and important act of Governor Hogg's second term was the veto of a bill, passed by the Legislature, which empowered the Superintendent of the State penitentiaries of Texas to receive from the Treasurer of the United States, in the name of the State of Texas, the bounty on sugar raised and manufactured on the State penitentiary convict farms in Texas. He thought it did not comport with the dignity of the State to apply for a license to follow a business, and to submit to its supervision by the Federal government; and he considered it a dangerous precedent.

Governor Hogg retired from office in 1893; and in reviewing his career and the laws passed at his instigation, he said:



"No State in the Union has better laws than these, and the people in Texas will in due time appreciate them and hold their senators and representatives in grateful remembrance for their passage. We may hope for honesty in all classes of public securities, and to see corporate land monopoly pass from the dominions of our State. As a Texan I am proud of these laws."

The dissensions within the Democratic party having been harmonized, the campaign of 1894 was principally between C. A. Culberson, Democrat, and Thomas L. Nugent, Populist; and it resulted in the election of the former. Governor Culberson was a young man of discretion and ability; and his administration was largely devoted to rounding out and completing the legislation of the previous administrations, with which he had been intimately connected as Attorney General of the State. One of the first measures of his administration was to provide against certain threatened financial embarrassments. He strenuously insisted upon a reduction of expenses, and recommended an increase in the *ad valorem* and school tax, as well as a tax on insurance and express companies, proportioned to their business.

A sensational incident during Culberson's administration was the calling of a special session of the Legislature to prevent a prize-fight within the State. The laws against prize-fights were imperfect, and the judiciary decided that there was no law against prize-fighting in Texas. At the call of the Governor the Legislature met on October 1, 1895, and, to the credit of the State and its government, passed a law prohibiting such fights.

At the State election in 1898 the Democratic party again united, and Joseph D. Sayers, who had faithfully served the State for many years in Congress as chairman and member of the Committee on Appropriations, was elected Governor. He represented the conservative democracy; and his choice betokened the union of the conflicting elements and a return to the peaceful conditions of former years.

The epoch between the administrations of Governors Ross and Sayers might be appropriately known as the *Sturm-und-Drang* period of Texan politics, during which there was a strong fight between the people and the corporations. With the exhaustion of its public domain, the introduction of steam transportation, and the closer competition resulting from readjusted conditions, many large corporations began operations in Texas, for the rights and practices of which as public franchises there existed no adequate legislation. The change from individual to corporate management was rapid. Many corporations, especially some of the railway companies, had received

vast grants from the State, and all exhibited a tendency to encroach upon the established customs of the people.

The constitution and laws of the State were framed at a time when the rapid and sudden industrial development of the last decades of the nineteenth century could not have been anticipated; and they were inadequate for the regulation and control of public franchises. Certain features of the civil laws of Spain had remained a part of the Texan code. These exerted an influence over legislative and judicial decisions; and, although especially important in their bearing upon the land systems and titles, they made no provision for the modern system of trusts and corporations. Hence, there was much need of legislation, both to perfect the body of laws necessary to the proper government and protection of the rights of a continually growing population with wide diversification of interests, and to meet the change of condition from a pastoral to an industrial civilization.

This legislation, and the discussion incident thereto, created a period of violent political antagonism, and resulted in a long warfare, carried out upon the political rostrum, in the legislative halls, and in the State and Federal courts. Many laws were enacted, especially those regulating railroads, those against alien ownership of lands, and those for the regulation of trusts. Suits were instituted in the courts to recover property illegally held by corporations, and in some instances millions of dollars reverted to the State Treasury.

The first indication of industrial transition was a spirit of unrest, noticeable among the agricultural population, which grew until it ultimately monopolized the entire political attention of the State; giving rise to important legislative action, and to questions which eventually required decision by the Supreme Court of the United States. The first grave manifestation of discontent was the so-called "Free Grass" movement, which resulted from the invention and introduction of the barbed wire fence. It has been said that just when the condition of the country needed it most the barbed wire made its appearance. From its cheapness and durability this material facilitated rapid movement in all the prairie portion of the State and, next to the introduction of railroads, did most to develop the agricultural and pastoral pursuits. But the rural and pastoral population had held that all the unfenced land was public commons. With the coming of barbed wire all the lands were rapidly enclosed, and thousands of settlers found themselves without pasturage. The feeling against the fencing in of the lands was aggravated by the fact that many



companies and corporations fenced in with their large pastures some lands to which they had no vested rights. This feeling gave way to violence, and lawless mobs known as "Fence Cutters" destroyed thousands of miles of fence. Order was, however, soon restored by the Executive, and many laws were enacted to protect public rights.

The unusual interest in politics shown among the farmers and other laboring classes also resulted in the beginning of several organizations. Among these was a secret society known as the Farmers' Alliance, which originated in a meeting of a few neighbors in Pleasant Valley, Lampasas County, in February, 1878. In 1886 this organization had a membership of from 75,000 to 100,000 in Texas, and a million in the United States. During Governor Ross's administration the Farmers' Alliance was active in politics because of the general belief that the railroad charges for freight were exorbitant, and antagonism toward the railroad interests was intensified. This agitation ultimately extended to all kinds of trusts and corporations; and, being taken up by the dominant political party, under the leadership of Governor Hogg, it overwhelmed all other subjects of consideration.

The State Democratic Convention of 1886 denounced the unlawful interference with corporate or private property; declared against foreign capital acquiring and controlling railroads in the State, and demanded that railroad companies should maintain their general offices within the State. In January, 1887, Governor L. S. Ross, in his inaugural address to the legislature, stated that "no legislature was probably confronted by graver responsibilities, and that those who considered the want of homogeneity in the population of Texas, the character of its industrial pursuits, business enterprises, and social sympathies, were aware of the fact that it presented questions vastly more complicated and embarrassing than any other State." By 1890 the whole political attention of the State was concentrated upon the questions involving the rights and limitations of railways and other corporations; and a gubernatorial campaign was made in that year upon a question propounded by the successful candidate, Governor James S. Hogg; namely, Shall the people or the corporations rule the State of Texas?

The grievances of the people against the railways were in most cases just. The management of corporations chartered by the people had lost all local character and sympathy by consolidation with great systems having their management beyond the legal jurisdiction of the State. The roads were not operated for the convenience or benefit

of the people. Local charges were high and unjust, and were sustained by pools and combinations. The stocks of the railways had been watered beyond all proportion to their true value, in violation of the State Constitution. By this process the railroads of Texas acquired a tremendous and fictitious capitalization, upon which interest had to be paid out of the charges wrung from the people. Furthermore, these corporations avoided payment of their share of taxation. The corrupt practices of the railway corporations were exposed by the action of the twenty-second Legislature, which adopted a concurrent resolution to investigate the case of Jay Gould against the International and Great Northern Railroad Company. The committee appointed to examine into the case made a report that gave much information about the manipulation of railroads which had been placed in the hands of receivers, still further arousing popular indignation.

At first the railroads defied State control, claiming that their franchises were in the nature of private property, whose profits could not be materially affected by any regulation of the Legislature; and they made powerful combinations in the nature of pools to prevent the rates of tariff from being made lower by one of them in competition with the others. That the State had the power of limited control over railways had already been shown by the validity of a law passed during the administration of Governor Roberts, reducing the passenger fare from five cents to three cents per mile, and by an act passed by the twenty-first Legislature, requiring railway companies to provide separate coaches for white and colored passengers.

The twenty-first Legislature submitted to the people an amendment to the Constitution providing for a State Railroad Commission. This became a law by the election of 1890. At the head of this commission was placed the Hon. John H. Reagan, who resigned his place in the United States Senate to accept the position. The work of the commission has been of incalculable value; and those who were its most violent opponents now testify to the fact that it has saved millions of dollars to the State, and has brought the transportation system of Texas out of chaos into order, and made it profitable. The twenty-third Legislature, in 1893, passed a law giving the State supervision and control over the issue of stocks, bonds, and other securities by railroad companies, and to prevent illegal or injurious increase of their indebtedness by watering stock or bonds, so that the Railroad Commission might justly fix freight rates with reference to the value and expenses of the roads.



In addition to their regulation by the Commission, the railways were further made to comply with the laws of the State, and to make restitution for past offences through a series of suits in the Federal courts, instituted by Governor Hogg. Companies were compelled to bring back their principal offices and officials into the State from other States to which they had been removed. Other suits broke up the pooling that prevented competition in transportation. By suits against railroad companies for the recovery by the State of land which had been illegally obtained and held, 1,437,000 acres were restored to the public domain. Governor Hogg, in his address, called attention to the fact that over three millions of dollars were saved to the producers from traffic taxation alone, without diminishing the receipts of our transportation companies.

The second session of the twenty-second Legislature passed what was known as the Alien Land Law, providing that no aliens could own land in Texas, except present owners, those who might become inhabitants in good faith, and those who should acquire lands in the collection of debts. It also called for the sale of land in ten years by all persons who were not entitled to hold lands permanently, except that aliens could acquire lands by devise or inheritance, under the condition of selling them in ten years. This was a return to the policy established in the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, inherited from Mexico. This law was later held to be unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. The twenty-third Legislature, however, passed a modified Alien Land Act, providing that no private corporation, whose main purpose was ownership of land by purchase, lease, or otherwise, should thereafter be allowed to acquire land in the State; and it required that all such corporations then owning land must sell the same in fifteen years.

The twenty-first Legislature passed an act to define and punish conspiracies against trade by combinations and trusts, popularly known as the anti-trust law. Commercial corporations had become as arrogant and imposing in their extortions as the railways had been. As a result of this law Attorney-General Hogg instituted suits against illegal insurance companies, and stopped their business in the State. Suits were instituted against the Standard Oil Trust, which defied the State laws. The State laws were sustained by the United States Supreme Court in 1900; resulting in the temporary withdrawal of the Standard Oil Company from the State, and its return under legal conditions.

In addition to the agitation concerning corporations many relatively interesting events have occurred. In August, 1887, the State was convulsed with the so-called Prohibition campaign, when an amendment to the Constitution was submitted to the people prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquors in the State except for mechanical and scientific purposes. The moral question involved stirred up society, and great interest was manifested. The proposition was defeated by a vote of 220,627 against 129,270.

Parts of Texas have suffered many great natural disasters, such as drouths, storms, floods, and hurricanes. In May, 1899, the Brazos River rose unusually high; flooding the vast area of agricultural lands bordering it throughout the coastal plain. In 1900, a sudden rise of the Colorado, incidental to a cloudburst, caused the breaking of a costly and supposedly perfect dam, which the citizens of Austin had erected at a cost of more than a million dollars.

In 1888 the Legislature passed an act to provide for the settlement of the Greer County case. For a number of years Texas had claimed jurisdiction over many square miles of land lying in the southwest corner of Indian Territory, between the forks of the Red River, had issued patents to the land, had organized courts, and had constructed school houses and other public improvements. The contention hinged upon geographical and historical questions, concerning the main fork of the Red River, and whether the area was within the domain of Spanish occupation when Texas came into the Union. The Supreme Court eventually decided that Greer County belonged to the United States.

The new State Capitol building, commenced in March, 1885, and dedicated May 16, 1888, symbolized the transition from the old to the new conditions. This magnificent building of granite, modeled somewhat after the Capitol at Washington, is typically Texan in its immense proportions, in the materials of its construction, and in its commemoration of the early Texans, whose valor had acquired the 3,000,000 acres of land paid for its erection. Its conception also typifies the perpetual unity of the State for all time to come, and the intention to relinquish the right to divide it into four States, as provided by the treaty of annexation.

Although the financial, manufacturing, and educational interests of the Union are largely located in the East, other material interests and equal political power are distributed through the States of the West and South. Absorption in national and international affairs



should not prevent citizens of the republic from occasionally reviewing the condition and doings of the component States, especially those which, from their remote situation, come but little within the scope of the metropolitan press, by which public opinion is so largely formulated. In this article the writer has endeavored to present a conspectus of the activities and economic conditions of a great outlying commonwealth, which, from its environment or provincialism, is but little known. He makes no undue claims of perfection for his State, nor does he deny the existence of natural deficiencies. That there is room for improvement in many lines of human activity cannot be denied. Great as has been the material progress, the State still owes much to its charitable, corrective, and educational institutions. The University deserves tenfold its present income, in order to occupy the position it merits; and the administration of our asylums and penal institutions should be placed beyond the pale of political interference. It is a matter of congratulation that Texas has passed through its period of economic revolution, and has reached such a position of stability that development along higher lines can be considered.

ROBERT T. HILL.

## TOLSTOY'S RUSSIA.

RUSSIA and Tolstoy are magnetic names; and the unique appeal of the two lies in the way in which they are related to each other. It may be helpful, by way of introduction, to try to state some chief Russian characteristics as they appear, first, in Tolstoy's life, and, secondly, in his works; to indicate some aspects of Russian history of which Tolstoy has little to say; and, finally, to suggest what seems to me to be his chief value for the Western world.

The Count was born very near the geographic centre of European Russia, in the region where the gloomy forests begin to merge into the rich wheat lands of the South, in the year 1828—that is, seven years after the death of Napoleon, three years after the suppression of the ill-starred “Decembrist” revolt in St. Petersburg and the accession of Nicholas I., two years before the opening of the Liverpool-Manchester Railway, and four years before the first English Reform Act. Although many years have since elapsed, there has been but little change in the appearance of the poverty-stricken peasants, inhabiting, as they do, a country in which the industrial revolution has only just begun. Having lost his father, a military cypher, and his mother, a sweet creature of whom we catch glimpses in his early writings, before he was well out of the nursery, his precocious and morbid mind was from the first burdened with the inheritance of a decrepit aristocracy. Compare the environment of his childhood with that of the Southern States about the same time, and you realize how badly Russia has been injured by the success of the Tsars in repressing all independence and originality in the small noble class. Tolstoy is only one of many “repentant noblemen” in Russia—a singular phenomenon, due not simply to the strong strain of spirituality in the Slavic character, but also to the fact that under the autocratic régime aristocracy has no genuine *raison d'être* whatever. Under the military despotism of Nicholas I. public life offered no opportunity for an honest man. Criticism of the Government was crushed out unmercifully; and every sign of free intelligence brought down the heavy heel of the administration.



After the many failures of '48 there was despair throughout Europe, but it was deepest of all in Russia. In society it was said that Adam Smith had been succeeded by the French quadrille. There have been many men of genius in the Empire during the second half of the century—great poets, novelists, critics, musicians, painters, economists, scientists—and few of them have escaped martyrdom. During all this time the sort of social and political activity which is the reasonable ambition of intelligent youth in the West has been absolutely impossible. Hence, Russia is the only European state in which an avowedly revolutionary movement is maintained, and in which anarchism is a widespread school of thought. Whatever we may think of the unlettered peasants, there is not, and never has been, any question about the capacity of the Russians of the educated class; yet they are as impotent in politics as the Ottoman Turk or the Asiatic native; and in the whole field of social endeavor and enterprise they are subject to the most brutal and stupid restrictions and penalties. It is impossible thus to cripple a great community without producing, even in the minds of its most capable members, all sorts of morbid developments.

Tolstoy was by birth over-sensitive and introspective; and all the circumstances of his youth—the hollow conditions of the society in which his guardians lived, and its helplessness under the autocratic reaction that led straight to the disasters of the Crimean War—helped to deepen these morbid traits. The terrible winter in Sebastopol cured him of the last trace of the military spirit of his fathers; and a short association with the literary coteries of the capital put an end to any ideas he may have had of pursuing an orthodox career. Reckless living did not bring oblivion; two hasty visits to Western Europe did not furnish any certain specific against his own ills and those of his stricken land. From the time of his leaving the university till far on in his married life he wandered in the arid wastes of materialistic scepticism. The "conversion," which Tolstoy himself would date twenty years later, really began, as we can now see, at the time of his marriage, in 1862. Settled finally on the paternal estate, among the *mujiks* whom he had always loved, the deeper interests of life began to grow within him. In "Anna Karenina" Levine says: "I am going to enrich medicine with a new term—the Labor Cure. It is a sovereign specific against nervous troubles." In over-laborious England the idea had been familiarized twenty years before by Carlyle; but I have no reason to suppose that Tolstoy

was influenced by the stern sage of Craigenputtoch and Chelsea. Indeed, the historical anarchism which he worked out at such portentous length in "War and Peace" is the exact antithesis of the philosophy of "Heroes and Hero-Worship."

Tolstoy's "Labor Cure" sprang from the exigencies of his situation—the needs of a growing family, and of that larger peasant family which required sympathetic and skilled leadership more than ever after the Emancipation. It was, and is, directed rather to the idle rich than to the ignorant poor; and if, in his preaching, "work" has nearly always and exclusively meant agricultural labor, "bread-work," as he called it later on, we may remember that in his practice for the last forty years there has been a perfect balance of mental and manual activity. The period of his "discovery" of the "Labor Cure," which for him meant actually sharing the grinding toil of his field-hands, was the period in which he accomplished his largest and his finest imaginative productions. It was the time also when he carried out those quaint essays in anarchist schooling which are perhaps the most original contributions to practical pedagogy since Rousseau. He admitted their failure afterward in "My Confession"; the educational world has yet to learn their full value. For a short time, too, he was occupied as a district magistrate; he made studies in scientific agriculture; he was a model father and husband, and an enthusiastic sportsman. "Anna Karenina," which was completely published in 1876, won him not only a very high place among Russian literary artists, but a seat among the world's immortals.

Then came the shock of his "conversion." The artist, so far from respecting his laurels, had chosen the moment of supreme honor as the occasion of most utter self-abasement, *i. e.*, in Russian eyes. There were to be no more novels, no more plays; the master artist had "got religion." Henceforth there would be nothing for him but the Gospel. It is difficult for us to realize the effect of "My Confession" on the educated class in Russia, where praise was thus scorned and turned to naught, because it is difficult for us to realize a condition of society in which, for that class, religion has been so completely starved and persecuted out of existence by the allied powers of State and Church. In the early eighties the new nonconformist sects in Russia, like the Stundists and Dukhobortsi, were only just beginning to take the serious dimensions they have since reached. No one thought of the possibility of an effective religious revolt against the autocracy. Tolstoy himself never put such an idea into words. Yet he was very much in



earnest. But the critics everywhere took him at his word, and managed to get the episode quite out of focus with the facts of the man's history and environment.

So you would gather to this day from the average essayist that there are really two Tolstoy's—the artist, whose work was closed in 1876, and the preacher, who has since bored the world with dubious theology and an impossible moral code. If the Count had ceased his activities, say, in 1884—by which time his criticism of Greek orthodox theology, his reconstruction of the Gospels, and “My Religion,” had been produced—it is to be feared that that false idea would have gone down into history. It is easy to get a truer view to-day. “The Death of Ivan Ilyitch,” “The Kreutzer Sonata,” “Master and Man,” and the extraordinarily powerful story which is only now appearing, “Resurrection”—to name only a few of the works that have flowed from his fertile pen in the meantime—effectually dispose of the notion that art and religion are incompatible factors in the activity of genius. This does not indicate, by any means, that the “conversion” is a negligible quantity in Tolstoy's history. On the contrary, it is highly significant and characteristic. But it is not quite the “new fact” which his protestations would suggest to the superficial reader. It is new only in degree. The meeting with the peasant preacher, Sutayeff, in 1879, was just the spark which warmed his old faith in the *mujik* and in pure ethical motive forces to the burning point. It is a natural efflorescence in what has been truly called a New-Testament country. It was latent in his earliest writings; it sustained him in the disappointments of his country life; it broke forth in the person of Levine in his great novel. Now, at the meridian of fifty years, and in a fresh crisis in his country's development, a hunger fell upon him which neither art nor science nor the ordinary round of bodily toil could satisfy.

The life of a Tolstoy is not to be flattened out into the semblance of a map in which the course of every road and stream and coast-line is visible. Our knowledge of his inner development will never be more than fragmentary; at present it is very slight. But the coincidence of the acute period of his “conversion” with the acute period of the revolutionary movement, commonly but stupidly named “Nihilism,” is too suggestive to be overlooked. The large towns of Russia were in a state of civil war. Official terrorism had provoked the most desperate campaign of vengeance that any country has witnessed during the nineteenth century.

The prisons were full of political suspects and offenders; society echoed with stories of these horrible dens of filth, disease, and cruelty. The famous "Executive Committee," which decreed and carried out many of the most daring outrages of those terrible years, loomed large in the popular imagination. Though the peasantry made but little response, it was no mere vendetta of a few malcontents. A very large part of the educated class was in active revolt. Thousands of men and women, many of whom would have been honored leaders of thought and social activity in any free country, were swept away to Siberia, to die a dog's death there in the mines or among the half-savage natives of the sub-arctic zone. The very roots of moral order and progress were torn up; not a single ray of hope illuminated the future. Perturbation ruled, to the point of nightmare, in the minds of all intelligent observers, and most of all, perhaps, in the minds of those few elect who, like Tolstoy, while honestly unable to side with either party in this violent struggle, yet vainly groped about for a third line of action.

There is to be found at least one impulse toward the new departure marked by "My Confession." Some private troubles tended in the same direction; but, at any rate, till we have his own memoirs before us, I can but think that the general influence was the more important. I have ventured in another place to describe this apostle of Christian anarchism as "The Grand *Mujik*," because his qualities seem to me to be the qualities of the best Russian peasant type carried up to the point of genius. It is, if I see it aright, an untutored, irregular, persistent, volcanic genius; incapable of finished judicial self-expression; shrewd, naïve, impetuous, iridescent; immensely fertile and suggestive, incapable of trickery, sincere, and always responsive, amid its ceaseless tides of emotion, to certain fundamental moral interests and principles. Here stood Leo Tolstoy then, a hundred miles south of Moscow, between the country life he loved and the city life he hated, between the dumb millions in whom he had faith, and the handful of politicians whom he hardly knew but wholly distrusted.

Tolstoyism, as it has been elaborated during the subsequent years, is neither theology nor philosophy nor scholarship of any kind. It is a moral code as exacting as can be formulated by a sane and eminently practical man; yet it is simple enough for all to understand, and as inspiring and bracing as it is simple. Reason and Love—these are its two eternal pillars. The essence of Tolstoy's religion is



a complete faith in the efficiency of these two immeasurable forces; its most striking characteristic, as compared with the arm-chair philosophies of the day, is its insistent association of faith and works, precept and practice. It appeals not to controversial tests, not to any appearance of "sweet reasonableness," but to actual trial in the rough and tumble of daily life; and it will accept no other judgment. Its great fault is that it is a purely personal ethic, based upon the very debatable supposition that the gravest social problems can be solved by individual goodness alone. Of the four leading propositions in which it results — Non-Resistance, Chastity, Industry, and International Fraternity — the first two have been indiscriminately attacked by critics who do not know that they are very characteristic fruit of the Russian soul and the Russian soil. I am by no means a Tolstoy *devoté*; and had I been born in Russia I should doubtless be suffering at this moment the pains of exile as a revolutionary propagandist. But there are modes of revolutionary activity which have yet to be fully tried, but which, when they are put to the test by the Russian people, may yield some astonishing results. The Irish "No-Rent" campaign collapsed because the Irish people are comparatively deficient in that capacity for dogged endurance which the *mujik* possesses in a very high degree; and if for "non-resistance" we read passive or moral resistance, possibilities arise which, as between a hundred million peasants and a hundred thousand officials, give ground for hoping that the last word of popular right has not yet been said. The failure of the Dukhobortsi — if such it can be called — was no worse than the failure of the conspirators of twenty years ago; and history records as many victories for liberty won at the martyr's stake as on the battlefield.

Tolstoy has escaped martyrdom, so far, just because he is the one person in the Empire whom the Tsar himself will not touch. That fact is eloquent testimony not only of his genius, which is universally admitted, but of the effectiveness and practicality of his teaching, which by foreign critics are very generally disputed. It is, indeed, one of the most remarkable spectacles in history, this immunity of the arch sedition-monger under the completest despotism of the time. Hardly a page that he has put forth in the last twenty years but has contained some scathing indictment of the falseness, the cruelty, of the social forms maintained by imperial authority around him. His contemporaries have to content themselves with indirect comments upon the diseases of public life, with veiled satire and allegorical fic-

tion. He alone can say the plain truth without fear of the direst penalties; and surely the surgeon's knife was never used so unsparingly. What the Censor forbids is secretly copied and passed from hand to hand throughout the land; and more than one self-appointed missionary has suffered imprisonment for zeal in this direction.

He has founded no sect, no school larger than the little group of troubled peasants who gather daily for advice and assistance under the "poor people's tree" at Tasnaya Polyana. A mere handful of men have followed the extreme lengths of his example in the renunciation of wealth, power, and luxury. It is only in spirit that his own household is united. He represents heaven, as P. A. Sergyenko puts it, while his wife, the excellent woman to whom the world owes so much, represents the earth. But it is this spirit of operative love, of unflinching sincerity and faithfulness to high ideals, not the particular application and precept, that is the essential thing.

Too much may be made of the material sacrifices which Leo Tolstoy has made. Actually he lives in assured comfort, though in perfect simplicity. He rides the horse and the bicycle, plays tennis, enjoys music, romps with children, even to-day, and, in brief, is physically and mentally a sane, highly vitalized personality, far removed from the narrowness of the Eastern ascetic. It is this sanity and grip of real things that make his example so powerful, his spirit so infectious. In the records of the last decade in Europe few finer episodes will be found than the aged writer's campaigns against famine, against religious persecution, against the flogging of peasants, and against militarism. No other modern teacher has had to contend with such a desperate environment; and no other has succeeded in giving such a splendid picture of love triumphant over the world.

Tolstoy and Tolstoyism are, in the first place, of Russia and for Russia. The man and his thought tower up, it is true, into a higher universal air; but they are firmly rooted in the soil of native character and circumstance. A two-days' sail down the Volga, or a long ride over the steppes, is the best possible introduction to the study either of Russian thought or of Russian history. Looking over these vast plains of rippling grass or unbroken snow, borne softly down the course of this mighty stream, past grim forest and smiling prairie, by little villages where labor still follows the most ancient models and comfort and culture are not, by brand-new modern factories, pioneers of the new capitalism, one begins to realize the truth and the falseness of the familiar contrasts between East and



West; to realize how the Tsardom succeeded and how "Nihilism" failed; how the force which made this state may one day prove unable to sustain it; how large a field of experience our city-made prescriptions leave untouched. The immensity, and the appearance of monotony of the Russian landscape strike one in recalling the works of the great Russian artist.

War and Tolstoy's experience in it were responsible for three early novels—his largest, the immense panorama of "War and Peace," "The Cossacks," and the Sebastopol sketches. Another group is directly autobiographical. There is the series of distinctively religious volumes beginning with "My Confession." There are many booklets of popular fables, and papers on education. There are three or four dramas of personal development—especially "Anna Karenina," one of the world's great possessions, "Ivan Ilyitch," "Master and Man," and last, but certainly not least, "Resurrection." But the largest class is that of the stories, plays, and essays founded upon special social problems. He is one of the most prolific writers of this prolific century.

Tolstoy has written something like fifty full books and innumerable fragments. At first sight there is little variety of subject matter or scenery. Yet, what extraordinary variety there is, in fact, when we get below the surface, behind the scenery, to the play of character; what wonderful insight into the tragedy of the human soul! No other modern writer, Shakespeare himself only occasionally, gives me this sense of absolute knowledge of the secrets hidden away in the innermost chambers of the mind, and of absolute honesty in their exposure. This perennial interest in the depths of character and in the nice shades of conduct, this extreme honesty of speech, seem to me to be the most precious qualities of modern Russian literature. In giving us the rarest presentation of them Tolstoy reveals to us, so that he who runs may read, the genius of a people too long unknown and misrepresented, a people destined in the future to play a part in the world's history greater perhaps than any ardent Pan-slavist has dared to dream of.

For reformers in the West, Tolstoy is stimulating, not only by his marvellous power of depicting the drama of the inner life, but by his insistence upon the supreme importance of the moral factors in social evolution, the insufficiency of merely material progress. His attempt to formulate a moral dynamic is open to many criticisms; but it voices a hunger that is spreading and deepening in every

country where machine industry and plutocracy are the governing conditions of the popular life. The comparative failure of purely economic Socialism confirms the impression that the people require the inspiration of a faith that would be at once more Utopian and more actual. Tolstoy rescues us from over-specialization. He demands that always and everywhere men should have a rounded conception of the ideal life. He belongs to the older generation of humanists who never learned, and were never required, to train themselves down to the level of technical education boards, county council committees, and schools of economics. They stood—Emerson, Carlyle, Mazzini, Ruskin—for morals as a whole, and especially for the union of ethics and economics. They were nearer to the great Revolution, for one thing; and Liberty, Equality, Fraternity always presented themselves to their minds as an inseparable tri-unity.

The English and American Tolstoyists who say there is practically no difference between Russian circumstances and those of England, and that the anti-state sentiment natural in Russia is equally proper here, are talking nonsense. But while we must utterly reject Tolstoy's doctrine of no-government, we may admit him to be on unassailable ground when he points out that the conception of a good state must precede its realization. His absorbing interest in the moral potentiality of the individual, in woman, in art, in the laborer, in the abolition of ruling castes, in established hypocrisies, and in prejudices and violence between nations, gives tremendous force to his appeal to thousands of men who cannot accept his particular deductions. After all, it is not very difficult to allow for the difference of environment. Russia is in many ways in the condition of France on the eve of the Revolution, and Tolstoy is even more demonstrably the product of environment than Rousseau.

In two details, I think, Tolstoy's teaching has even more pertinence to the English than it has to the Russian people. The first is his agrarianism—his demand that every healthy person shall do some hand labor, preferably on the land—his unbounded faith in the country life and the country people. The development of public ownership may remove some evils from our social structure; but will they do away with the bulk of them? The second point is Tolstoy's eloquent Internationalism. He sees, as some Englishmen and Americans are beginning to see, that empire is just the largest and most characteristic form which the great joint-stock company of capitalists, aristocrats, bureaucrats, and soldiers has taken in the last fifteen



years, that at bottom imperialism is the same thing whether it has a Slavic or a Saxon name. He knows what war means by experience; and he exhibits militarism as the schooling of whole nations to mutual hatred, their perversion from domestic industry and reform to be the fighting serfs of small ruling classes who play with them as with pawns and chess-board. It is not a little significant that, after Tolstoy's own writings, the most effective indictment of militarism in our time has come from another Russian, the man who stands at the antipodes from Tolstoy in Russian life, the strongest monarch in the modern world, the young Tsar, Nicholas.

There is hope, in that fact alone, for Russia and for the world. And there are other grounds for hope in the dark Empire. It is true that free opinion and judgment are still punished there with Torquemadan rigor. Nicholas II., disappointing as he has been, is a great improvement over Nicholas I.; and he does not seem to be, as his father was, a despot by solemn conviction that God wills it so.

Of course, the real power lies, as ever, with the permanent officials. But the old Muscovites are dying out. The Pobyedonostzeffs did their worst during the last reign. Reaction has reached its high-water mark. Radicalism is making more rapid progress than ever before in the land of the Tsars. In the growing industrial centres of the West and North, among the ever-enlarging heretical communities of the South, and among the *intelligenza* of the towns, forces are at work which no regimen of "buckshot and bayonets" can stay. While Tolstoy issues the challenging summons to a new Reformation in the heart of Russia, the voice of western humanism echoes back sympathy and encouragement, and the peoples of the East and the West shake hands in the dawn of a new century.

G. H. PERRIS.

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